ARTICLES, ESSAYS, SYMPOSIA REMARKS, AND SPEECHES

1942 - 1987

by BAYARD RUSTIN

(arranged by subject)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

THE RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

By Bayard Rustin

The A. Philip Randolph Institute~~s~~ was founded in 1964 with the three-fold purpose of serving civil rights activists, strengthening the political alliances needed to assure democratic social change, and projecting social and economic programs that could improve the lives of all Americans.

The Institute's philosophy is based on the premise that Negroes by themselves do not possess sufficient political power to effect the reforms which alone can bring about economic and social justice in America. They need the support of large segments of white America.

It is the Institute's goal, therefore, to forge a new and dynamic unity between black Americans and those other groups that advocate social progress--the trade union movement, religious organizations, liberals and students. Only through an alliance of these diverse segments can be forged an effective majority with the power to democratize our institutions so that millions of individuals will no longer suffer from deprivation and discrimination.

The Institute's ideals and actions are shaped by adherence to the principles of integration, non-violence, democracy and economic equality.

These principles were integral parts of the life and philosophy of the Institute's president, A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Randolph, the founder and president emeritus of the

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was a pioneer civil rights activist, an influential journalist and a militant trade unionist. It was Randolph who first recognized the need for a strong labor-Negro coalition. It was through his determination that, despite many obstacles and frustrations, this alliance has today become a reality. Randolph also promoted the concept of the mass, non-violent protest which became the civil rights movement's most effective tactic during the 1960's.

The programs sponsored by the Institute are designed to increase the political power of the poor through voter registration and education and to continue A. Philip Randolph's efforts to cement a strong Negro-Labor alliance.

In the spring and summer of 1968, therefore, the Randolph Institute (with the support of the Committee on Political Education and the Departments of Education and Civil Rights of the AFL-CIO) sponsored six regional conferences with Negro trade unionists. The conferences--held in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Columbus, Philadelphia, Chicago and Atlanta--attracted over 1,000 trade unionists from 35 industrial areas. As a result of these meetings, non-partisan voter registration campaigns among blacks were planned in 44 key cities and counties across the nation.

Working closely with trade unions and NAACP branches, the Institute mounted a significant attack on the "Go Fishing" appeal of black and New Left nihilists, an appeal which was repudiated on Election Day when a high percentage of registered Negroes voted.

The Institute's political activity did not cease with the conclusion of the 1968 campaign. In March, 1970, it sponsored a conference of the black union organizations which had spearheaded the voter registration and voter mobilization campaigns in 1968. More than 100 black trade unionists from 40 cities, representing every major trade union, attended this first national conference in Nashville.

This conference resulted in the creation of a number of affiliate groups which will carry out a continuing program of voter registration and education in their local community. The purposes of the affiliate organizations, as spelled out of the Nashville conference are:

--To work within the trade union movement to strengthen it.

--To engage in voter registration and education and to encourage greater participation in the political process.

--To maximize support for those economic and social programs that are essential to the advancement of trade unions, the poor and minority groups.

There are now 36 affiliate groups in 18 states and the District of Columbia. These include St. Francis County and Phillips County, Arkansas; Fresno, Kern County, Los Angeles, Pomona Valley-Riverside, San Bernardin~~a~~o, San Francisco, and San Joaquin, California; Connecticut; Deleware; Jacksonville, Florida; Atlanta and Savannah, Georgia; Boston, Massachusetts; Mississippi; Essex County and Passaic County, N.J.; Indianapolis, Ind.; St. Louis, Mo.; Durham, Wilmington and Greensboro, N.C.; Cincinnati, Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio; Lawton and Oklahoma

City, Okla.; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Charleston, S.C.; and Memphis and Nashville, Tenn.

The success of the political efforts of the Institute and its affiliates is dramatically reflected in the results of the 1970 elections. The black turn-out for a non-presidential year was higher than ever before and there were record votes in several of the cities where the affiliate groups were in operation. The increase in the Negro vote played a major role in the successes of progressive Senators and Congressmen who were under strong attack from Nixon and Agnew. Another result was the increasing success of blacks who were elected to Congress and to state and local offices. The most dramatic triumphs came in the South. In South Carolina, a moderate defeated a race-baiting segregationist for Governor. A moderate replaced a segregationist governor in Georgia while progressives captured the Senate and Governor races in Florida. A liberal was elected Governor of Arkansas.

The Randolph Institute affiliates will be active again in 1972 in the effort to elect a progressive to the White House, to elect liberals to the House, Senate and state legislatures and to elect blacks to state and local offices. It is one of the foundations of the Institute's philosophy that blacks cannot achieve complete economic equality unless they exercise their power at the polling place to elect progressive candidates.

The Institute is not content to simply organize black voters. It also seeks to build coalitions among those groups that should ally with Negroes on issues of mutual interest. To foster this coalition, the Institute has acted as catalyst to bring together the various segments of this coalition so that their goals may be achieved and their problems solved without division or acrimony.

The Institute served as the principal organizer of the Emergency City-Wide Committee for the Public Schools, which conducted a successful fight to retain important educational programs and salvage the jobs of school paraprofessionals in New York City.

The Institute drafted a statement calling for continued American support to Israel. The statement was signed by over sixty of the most prominent black leaders in America, among whom were Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, Doroghy Height, Roy Wilkins, Carl Stokes, Richard Hatcher and seven congressmen. The statement was published in 17 newspapers and magazines as an advertisement and as a news story. It was placed into the Congressional Record by Congressman Lester Wolff.

In conjunction with the League for Industrial Democracy, the Randolph Institute organized a special citizens committee to support the General Electric strike in 1969. Among the committee's sponsors were prominent Americans in the civil rights movement, the religious community, student groups, and the political scene. Former Senator Paul Douglas was chairman of the committee and Bayard Rustin, executive director of the Randolph Institute, served as vice chairman.

The Committee placed a full-page advertisement in the News of the Week section of The New York Times. Headlined "A Word About Some Forgotten Americans: the ad provided facts and figures to puncture the myth of GE as a socially progressive inflation fighter. It pointed to GE's repeated violations of labor laws, the company's enormous profitability and the economic difficulties of the workers.

Readers of the ad were urged to enroll in the Committee and to express their solidarity with the striking workers by sending in contributions of $3.25, the average hourly salary of a GE worker.

The Institute is also involved in an on-going program to spread the message of social and economic justice, democracy and integration. Along with myself, Norman Hill our associate director, Ernest Rice McKinney my assistant and Maida Kemp, director of the Institute's mid-west office have made numerous speaking appearances before union meetings and conventions, academic institutions and the communications media.

The Institute prepares and distributes books, pamphlets and papers dealing with economics, labor unions, politics and black protest. Many of these originally appeared in such national publications as Commentary, The New York Times Magazine, Harper's and The New Leader.

An important phase of the Institute's activity is done in conjunction with other organizations. It works very closely with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which is the leading lobbying groups for civil rights legislation. The Leadership Conference played a major role in the successful fight to block the appointment of Clement Haynesworth and G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court.

Working in conjunction with the Institute is the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. The educational fund was originally established to provide a forum where concerned individuals could discuss strategies and programs that could further the cause of racial equality. One of its main endeavors in the administration of the Joint Apprenticeship Program sponsored by the educational fund and the Workers Defense League. The Joint Apprenticeship Program recruits and tutors minority youths and then places them in building trades apprenticeship programs. To date more than 3,500 have been placed as apprentices, and 500 older workers have been recruited and placed as journeymen.

Even more impressive has been the proficiency with which the JAP has placed those apprentices. The JAP runs only about one-fifth of the total enrollment in the various outreach apprenticeship programs, but accounts for over one-third of the placements. The disproportionate placement of apprentices is testimony to the JAP's staff and methods. There are 23 field offices of the JAP in eight states. The executive director of the program is Ernest Green, one of the first group of black students to integrate Central High School in Little Rock. The JAP has grown rapidly in recent years and now has a staff of over 120 professionals, almost all of whom are black under 30 years of age. They yield to no one in their desire for militant change and they are also willing to do the tedious work that is necessary to bring about such change.

Debate and Understanding, Winter 1976, Volume I, No. 1
Quarterly Journal for the study of Black Americans'
Economic, Political, and Social Development.
(official publication of Martin Luther King, Jr. Afro-American
Cultural Center at Boston University

The History of The A. Philip Randolph Institute

by **Bayard Rustin**

THE A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1965 on the premise that the civil rights movement had entered a new period requiring new strategies and new programs. The emergence of this new period prompted an essay I had written the previous February for *Commentary*. The civil rights movement, I observed, was facing the question, "What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? The minute the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. And what also became clear is that all these interrelated problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action." In short politics had to supplant protest as the strategy and vehicle of black progress.

As the civil rights movement won its great legislative victories in 1964 and 1965, it evolved from a protest movement into a full-fledged social movement. By necessity, it became concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*. After the battle against legal segregation, blacks found themselves stymied by barriers of far greater magnitude. The problems which now confronted the black movement, while conditioned by Jim Crow, did not vanish upon its demise. They were more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they were then as they are today the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs but human needs generally.

It was commonplace in the middle 60's among blacks to talk of the need for political power. But the crucial need was not manifestos of black political power, but an understanding of the nature of political power and sound strategies for achieving it.

The shift from protest to politics was ubiquitous. But the shift was celebrated far more in rhetoric than it was realized in action. The tactical and strategic differences between protest and politics as means of black advancement were as important as they were difficult to understand in the beginning. A handful of blacks, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as *directly* to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely *represented*. In arriving at a political decision, numbers and organizations are crucial, especially for the economically disenfranchised.

The shift from protest to politics presented a set of problems that are common to all transitions from one period into another. It required of the black struggle an analysis of the new problems it must confront, the projections of new goals, and a re-evaluation of tactics and strategies.

Finding solutions was no longer limited to the South. Problems were no longer strictly legal, involving clear and simple violations of civil rights. Nor were they any longer exclusively racial in character, involving discrimination against a single group. The problems became in most respects social and economic, involving such things as the redistribution of wealth; re-evaluation of the government's capacity to undertake the necessary social planning to deal with problems of employment, education, health care, transportation, and the quality of our urban civilization. The greater scope and complexity of these problems demanded a new approach on the part of what should now properly be called a social and economic movement.

If government action is required to deal with problems rooted in the institutional structure of society, clearly a strategy of protest by a minority group is insufficient. Such a strategy can raise issues, and can and did lead to effective action on limited issues such as public accommodations and voting rights. But it is incapable of providing the essential resource that is required to bring about massive government action, namely political power. For this a movement is needed that is durable and capable of actually assuming power. And that movement must include a majority of Americans, black, white, and others.

The philosophy of the Randolph Institute has been based on the understanding that blacks cannot win political power alone nor do they themselves possess sufficient political power to effect the reforms which alone can bring about economic and social justice in America. We need allies in large segments of the white community. The future of the black struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the *effective* political majority in the United States.

It has been the Institute's goal, therefore, to forego a new and dynamic unity between black Americans and those other groups that advocate social progress — the trade union movement, religious organizations, liberals, and students. Only through coalition of these diverse elements can an effective majority win the power to democratize our institutions so that millions of individuals will no longer suffer from deprivation and discrimination.

The Institute was founded with the threefold purpose of serving civil rights activists, strengthening the political alliances needed to assure democratic social change, and projecting the social and economic programs that would improve the lives of all Americans.

The most powerful social institution that could be enlisted for the progressive majority coalition is the American trade union movement. But the alliance between labor and black Americans, both desirable and necessary, is a very special alliance. The Randolph Institute has attempted to give institutional expression to the importance of the nation's 3 million black trade unionists. Like Martin Luther King at the 1961 AFL-CIO convention, we felt it was of the utmost importance to recognize that Negroes are overwhelmingly a working people. We have never been able to develop much in the way of a capitalist class. We are workers, and as workers we have the same needs as our white counterparts—full employment, decent wages, job security, pensions, a safe workplace, quality public education, livable cities.

It is on this premise - that blacks share with white workers a common interest in labor's program, that the strategy of the Randolph Institute has been based.

If blacks are to achieve equality it is essential that they be in the mainstream of the labor movement. Black trade unionists, in our view, are in a position to play a strategic role in the formation of a progressive majority coalition, with the unions and blacks at its core. Black trade unionists by playing active roles in their unions and in the black community are a catalytic force in the coalition. Clearly if the coalition is to evolve it is necessary to impress upon the labor movement the need to recognize the importance of blacks to the labor movement and to explain the labor movement to the black community.

Though a coalition between blacks and labor is indispensable and natural, it is by no means automatic nor is it easy. This idea was not a new one. A. Philip Randolph, the founder and first president of the Institute, was the first to recognize the need for a strong labor-Negro alliance. More than anyone it was his determination over many years, despite many frustrations and obstacles, that has made this alliance a reality.

To facilitate the construction of a strong progressive coalition of heterogeneous elements the Randolph Institute has carried on a program of public education, developing and communicating positions on issues which threaten to divide the black community or which encourage differences between blacks, the liberal community, the labor movement, or other racial and ethnic groups. In the ten years since 1965 the divisive and confusing issues have changed enormously. But as dissimilar as these issues have been, they have all had the potential of breaking the coalition and thus have demanded intelligent and creative responses to minimize the tensions between the coalition members and transform disunity into cooperation.

To a large extent these divisive issues have proven momentary as well as peripheral. It has now become apparent, as we argued in the 1960s, that solutions to the problems of poverty, substandard housing, and unemployment can not be solved through gimmicks like community control or black capitalism. Blacks have rejected separatism and recognized that their future is inextricably linked with that of America as a whole. Black students themselves are rejecting the empty concession of black studies and pursuing education that will provide real skills and understanding.

In the last several years, the Institute has confronted new issues that threaten to divide the coalition. Schemes of quotas and breaking the seniority system have been pushed as advantageous to blacks. In pamphlets and speeches, we have argued that this is not the case. Such schemes will not noticeably advance blacks economically, but weaken the coalition that is needed if we are to have full employment, which is the greatest single weapon against poverty and the most important means of black economic advancement.

Because labor supports the black community in times of need, the Institute has supported the labor movement on important issues. Just as important, since three million blacks are union members, Institute support of the labor movement is a natural outgrowth of our members' interests. There is probably no better illustration of this than the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike where the Randolph Institute, Norm Hill and myself were all heavily involved.

The Randolph Institute in 1968 at the urging of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta set up the "Don't Buy Scab Grapes" Committee in New York. We have supported on several occasions the United Federation of Teachers, which we believe to be one of the most positive forces for educational change in New York City. Among our other labor activities we played a key role in establishing a national Citizens Committee to Support the GE strikers during the 1969 strike of 140,000 workers from thirteen unions and we supported the Amalgamated Clothing Workers boycott of the Farah Company.

Our ideals and actions have been shaped by adherence to the principles of integration, non-violence, democracy, and economic equality. These principles have led the Institute to support a number of human rights issues that would normally be considered remote from the black agenda. But blacks are no longer the continuous objects of history, we are now becoming participants in it. As a result, the horizon of black concern must be broadened. The principles that have guided the black movement, and which must be adopted by a progressive majority coalition, will be sterile if we do not apply them with equal vigor and enthusiasm to those that do not directly and immediately concern us. The Institute has supported, from this perspective, dissidents in the Soviet Union, the democratic state of Israel, and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

The Randolph Institute believes that the black movement must adopt a basically national orientation so that the impact of our local advances is not blunted by a failing economy. To reach objectives that are national in scope, we must develop a set of strategies that are broad enough not only to accomplish our goals but also to solidify our relationship with other progressive elements in society. This is no easy task, for the progressive coalition contains elements which do not always agree or, for that matter, regard each other with affection.

The emergence of the new political orientation in the black community was slow to develop because it did not base itself on explosive, short-lived emotions; rather, it took root in gradually evolving political and economic conditions, till at the beginning of the 1970s it began to bear fruit in the form of genuine political power. This new movement of the black struggle was a political and economic movement with two primary goals. First, the development of black political power through increased voter registration and participation. And second, the use of this power to elect consistently liberal black and white officials and to cultivate alliances with other political elements toward the goal of building a majority movement. The new political movement in the black community was able to achieve some degree of genuine political power in large part because of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which brought more than a million blacks in the South into the political process.

The most visible, though not necessarily the most important, manifestation of this new political power was the dramatic increase in the number of black elected officials, particularly in the South. But the new numbers of black voters brought more fundamental changes as Southern politicians have had to pay attention to the black vote and, thus, to black needs.

For the full impact of the new political movement in the black community to be realized, voter registration and education programs are an absolute must. Beginning in 1968 the Institute has been actively involved in those programs. In the late spring and summer of 1968 we sponsored six regional conferences with black trade union leaders. The conferences were attended by more than 1,000 black trade unionists. As a direct result of those conferences, non-partisan voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives were established in 40 cities.

In March 1970, the Institute called together the conveners of the black trade unionist groups which had conducted voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. More than 100 black trade unionists from 40 cities, representing every major trade union attended the conference in Nashville, Tennessee. The basic policies and guidelines for formal affiliation with the Institute were set forth. The purposes of affiliation were these: to work within the trade union movement to strengthen and improve it; to engage in voter registration and education and to encourage greater participation in the political process; and to maximize support for those economic and social programs that are essential to the advancement of trade unions, the poor, and minority groups.

The growth of Institute affiliates since 1970 has been remarkable. From 24 affiliates in 20 states in 1970 they expanded to 74 affiliates in 30 states in 1972 to 150 affiliates in 35 states in 1974. This phenomenal growth has been largely through the efforts of Norman Hill, then associate director and now the executive director, who traveled extensively to organize and oversee the operations of the affiliates.

The programs have a cumulative effect. We have been running voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts since 1968: many local affiliates have considerable experience in coordinating these campaigns. The chapter activists have developed roots in the local community; they have built the Institute into a respected force for social change.

While low voter participation remains a severe problem in many black communities, this tradition can be overcome where there is a vigorous, locally based effort to encourage voter participation. In Atlanta, where the Institute has had a strong chapter for a number of years, black participation now often exceeds white participation rates. Literally hundreds of thousands of blacks have been registered to vote by our local affiliates. During 1973, for example, the Institute conducted its most extensive registration campaign in Los Angeles, where 100,000 minority group voters were registered.

The cooperation between the Randolph Institute and our local affiliates is based upon these objectives: 1) to develop a broad-based organization of black trade unionists from all segments of the labor movement, 2) to become a political force, 3) to maximize community support for political and legislative programs aiding the black community and the labor movement economically, politically, and socially, 4) to develop a cooperative, working relationship with local and state labor movements, and 5) to encourage participation of black trade unionists in their unions.

To assist our affiliates in meeting these objectives the Institute with the cooperation and assistance of the labor movement, provides a number of services: raising and distributing funds; structuring voter registration, voter education and get-out-the vote drives in cooperation with national COPE and state and local central labor bodies; publishing and distributing materials and holding conferences to strengthen the Negro-labor alliance; and aiding the local groups in developing support in the black community for union organizing drives, outreach recruitment programs involving the building trades and other activities that relate to the trade union movement.

Local gains are important in and of themselves. They are important for psychological reasons; for their consciousness raising value. They are also important for helping to guarantee a measure of justice and equity to black people in their dealings with local governments. It is the local official, after all, who serves as intermediary between the community and the political superstructure, ensuring that his or her constituents receive their fair share of municipal services and helping to determine the priorities of the local government.

The black unionist should play a role similar to that of the local official. It is the black union member, after all, who provides the link between his own community and the rest of the broad working class. For the same reasons that the entire labor movement, including its black members, is playing a vanguard role in national politics, the minority union members will be occupying a leadership role in the minority community.

The black unionist can help shape the political strategy of the black community. Because of his experience with the labor movement, the black unionist has a unique, first hand knowledge of the necessity of careful organization, the need to build coalition, and the importance of developing a tone and style that makes interracial cooperation an easier matter. In the black community, it falls to the trade unionist to stand firm against demagoguery, phony militancy, and the politics of despair.

The black unionist can also make an important contribution by spreading the political message of organized labor. There is a vast ignorance in the society at large about the political contribution of organized labor. The press, the educational systems, all the institutions which shape the attitudes of American society have either distorted or systematically ignored labor's role, thus leaving it to labor itself to spread the message of its achievements and ideals. Black unionists have a responsibility for educating the leaders and institutions of their community about organized labor.

Two developments of significance support our original view of the importance of a coalition between blacks and labor. There has been increased participation and leadership by black unionist within the political structure of organized labor. During the 1974 elections, literally thousands of black unionists played key political roles within their unions and within the overall framework of COPE.

This reflects the growing importance of the black unionist within the ranks of labor and the increasing importance of the labor movement within the minority community.

The second development is the increasing number of blacks holding union leadership positions. To point to just a few examples—four blacks have been elected to the executive board of the South Carolina Federation of Labor, the election of a black as the first vice president of the central labor council in Memphis, Tennessee, and the election of a second black as secretary-treasurer of a major international union. These few examples are part of a trend, which goes beyond tokenism, of black participation at all levels of one of America's largest and most powerful institution in a profoundly meaningful and real way. The democratic structures of organized labor are not without flaws and discrimination does continue to block the advancement of qualified individuals. But when placed in the perspective of American history, labor is today playing the same role it played in the 1930s, when it was the first mass institution to open its ranks to black workers, to welcome black workers as equal individuals and to bestow upon them benefits equal to white workers. Today, partially because of the efforts of A. Philip Randolph and others like him, and partially because of its traditional functioning (and partially, I would like to think, because of the work of the Randolph Institute) organized labor is fulfilling its role as vanguard by becoming the first institution in which blacks enjoy, not simply representation, but tangible influence.

It is often lamented that the struggle for racial equality no longer occupies a central place in national priorities. For numerous and complex reasons this is unfortunately the case. But we are convinced that the idea of equality which lies behind the civil rights movement will again emerge a major objective of national social policy. Its reemergence will not, however, be as a racial issue, but as one grounded in social class. At no time in our history has the convergence of the interests of black and white poor and working people been more apparent than in the present period of economic uncertainty and growing scarcity.

It is now almost universally acknowledged that the road to racial progress lies through economic change; change that is comprehensive, thoroughgoing and carefully planned. No one is seriously suggesting, as many once did, that black people can escape the cycle of poverty, chronic unemployment, and widespread underemployment by gilding the ghetto through black capitalism schemes or by organizing the poor out of their conditon of poverty. Separatism is no longer looked on as a viable alternative. For better or worse, blacks recognize that they are an integral part of American life, and that they will rise or fall with the broad forces that are now seeking to transform American society along humanitarian and just lines.

There is nothing new in this proposition; many have been saying much the same thing for years. Those who have recently discovered the need for broad, systemic change have not hit upon something new or unique; they are but echoing voices from the past whose counsel was tragically ignored.

The most prominent and prophetic of these voices was that of A. Philip Randolph, who, at the occasion of the 1963 March on Washington, called upon the civil rights forces and their allies to forge a society in which "the sanctity of the private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality." Mr. Randolph declared at that time that "civil rights is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty."

Given the mood of substantial segments of the national leadership, there is a dual challenge in the coming years. The first is to work for the political empowerment of those who do not find a nine percent, or even a five percent level of unemployment tolerable and who have the will to summon up the resources of the nation to transform the direction of the economy. The second challenge is to spell out a comprehensive program for social change that will meet the needs of all Americans who are unemployed, impoverished or otherwise excluded from the economic and social mainstream.

The most recent effort to formulate such a program was the Freedom Budget which A. Philip Randolph introduced in 1966. The Freedom Budget was issued at a time of growing confusion within the civil rights movement: when demands for separatism and Black Power were being voiced by those who had previously adhered to non-violence and integration and when gimmicks and panaceas were replacing realizable programs on many agendas. Many interpreted the Freedom Budget as simply another panacea; as we have learned, it was the only well-thought out program capable of bringing to fruition the great goals that had inspired the supporters of racial equality in the days of the movement's infancy.

The Freedom Budget was not, of course, drawn up to meet today's problems, which are quite different, and, in many ways, far more severe than those of ten years ago. What is important to recall is the vision and philosophy from which the Freedom Budget derived. This vision and philosophy alone represent hope of bringing about basic changes in the economic order.

Economic change is still the most pressing issue facing society. And the future strength of America depends on the ability to make far-reaching changes in the economic order.

The progressive majority coalition that the Randolph Institute has supported since its inception is still a potential coalition. It is still beset with divisions and uncertainties and has not really begun to implement the needed programs. But the possibilities of such a coalition are nonetheless encouraging. Black Americans are in a position to bring about major changes in the social and economic structure of American society. Never before in the history of the United States have black Americans been in such a strategic and influential political position. The A. Philip Randolph Institute will continue to devote its energies to ensuring that this opportunity is not wasted. We will advocate intelligent, sophisticated political action, calculate the nature of the opposition, and attempt to discover the most effective tactics. We will struggle for the most realistic and radical objectives that can be attained.

---

1. Bayard Rustin, *Down the Line* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 112.

HISTORY OF THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

By Bayard Rustin

FOR DEBATE AND UNDERSTANDING

November 10, 1975

It was commonplace in the middle 60s among blacks to talk of the need for political power. But the crucial need was not manifestos of black political power, but an understanding of the nature of political power and sound strategies for achieving it.

The shift from protest to politics was ubiquitious. But the shift was celebrated far more in rhetoric than it was realized in action. The tactical and strategic differences between protest and politics as means of black advancement were as important as they were difficult to understand in the beginning. A handful of blacks, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as *directly* to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely *represented*. In arriving at a political decision, numbers and organizations are crucial, especially for the economically disenfranchised.

The shift from protest to politics presented a set of problems that are common to all transitions from one period into another. It required of the black struggle an analysis of the new problems it must confront, the projections of new goals, and a re-evaluation of tactics and strategies.

Finding solutions was no longer limited to the South. Problems were no longer strictly legal, involving clear and simple violations of civil rights. Nor were they any longer exclusively racial in character, involving discrimination against a single group. The problems became in most respects social and economic, involving such things as the redistribution of wealth; re-evaluation of the government's capacity to undertake the necessary social planning to deal with problems of employment, education, health care, transportation, and the quality of our urban civilization.

The greater scope and complexity of these problems demanded a new approach on the part of what should now properly be called a social and economic movement.

If government action is required to deal with problems rooted in the institutional structure of society, clearly a strategy of protest by a minority group is insufficient. Such a strategy can raise issues, and can and did lead to effective action on limited issues such as public accommodations and voting rights. But it is incapable of providing the essential resource that is required to bring about massive government action, namely political power. For this a movement is needed that is durable and capable of actually assuming power. And that movement must include a majority of Americans, black, white, and others.

The philosophy of the Randolph Institute has been based on the understanding that blacks cannot win political power alone nor do they themselves possess sufficient political power to effect the reforms which alone can bring about economic and social justice in America. We need allies in large segments of the white community. The future of the black struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States.

It has been the Institute's goal, therefore, to forge a new and dynamic unity between black Americans and those other groups that advocate social progress--the trade union movement, religious organizations, liberals, and students. Only through coalition of these diverse elements can an effective majority with the power to democratize our institutions so that millions of individuals will no longer suffer from deprivation and discrimination.

The Institute was founded with the three-fold purpose of serving civil rights activists, strengthening the political alliances needed to assure democratic social change, and projecting the social and economic programs that could improve the lives of all Americans.

The most powerful social institution that could be enlisted for the progressive majority coalition, is the American trade union movement.

But the alliance between labor and black Americans, both desirable and necessary, is a very special alliance. The Randolph Institute has attempted to give institutional expression to the importance of the nation's 3 million black trade unionists. Like Martin Luther King at the 1961 AFL-CIO convention, we felt it was of the utmost importance to recognize that Negroes are overwhelmingly a working people. We have never been able to develop much in the way of a capitalist class. We are workers, and as workers have the same needs as our white counterparts--full employment, decent wages, job security, pensions, a safe workplace, quality public education, livable cities.

It is on this premise that blacks share with white workers a common interest in labor's program that the strategy Randolph Institute has been based.

If blacks are to achieve equality it is essential that they be in the mainstream of the labor movement. Black trade unionists, in our view, are in a position to play a strategic role in the formation of a progressive majority coalition, with the unions and blacks at its core. Black trade unionists by playing active roles in their unions and in the black community are a catalytic force in the coalition. Clearly if the coalition is to evolve it is necessary to impress upon the labor movement the need to recognize the importance of blacks to the labor movement and to explain the labor movement to the black community.

For though a coalition between blacks and labor is indispensable and natural, it is by no means automatic nor was it easy. This idea was not a new one. A. Philip Randolph, the founder and first president of the Institute, was the first to recognize the need for a strong-labor-Negro alliance. More than anyone it was his determination over many years, despite many frustrations and obstacles, that has made this alliance a reality.

To facilitate the construction of a strong progressive coalition of heterogeneous elements the Randolph Institute has carried on a program of public education, developing and communicating positions on issues which threaten to divide the black community or which encourage differences between blacks, the liberal community, the labor movement, or other racial and ethnic groups. In the ten years since 1965 the divisive and confusing issues have changed enormously. But as dissimilar as these issues have been, they have all had the potential of breaking the coalition and thus have demanded intelligent and creative responses to minimize the tensions between the coalition members and transform disunity into cooperation.

To a large extend these divisive issues have proven momentary as well as peripheral. It has now become apparent, as we argued in the 1960s, that solutions to the problems of poverty, substandard housing, and unemployment can not be solved through gimmicks like community control or black capitalism. Blacks have rejected separatism and recognized that their future is inextricably linked with that of America as a whole. Black students themselves are rejecting the empty concession of black studies and pursuing education that will provide real skills and understanding.

In the last several years, the Institute has confronted new issues that threaten to divide the coalition. Schemes of quotas and breaking the seniority system have been pushed as advantageous to blacks. In pamphlets and speeches, we have argued that this is not the case. Such schemes will not noticeably advance blacks economically, but would weaken the coalition that is needed if we are to have full employment, which is the greatest single weapon against poverty and the most important means of black economic advancement.

Because labor supports the black community in times of need, the Institute has supported the labor movement on important issues. Just as important, since three million blacks are union members, Institute support of the labor movement is a natural outgrowth of our members interests. There is probably no better illustration of this than the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike where the Randolph Institute, Norm Hill and myself were all heavily involved.

The Randolph Institute in 1968 at the urging of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta set up the "Dont Buy Scab Grapes" Committee in New York. We have supported on several occasions the United Federation of Teachers, which we believe to be one of the most positive forces for educational change in New York City. Among our other labor activities was playing a key role in establishing a national Citizens Committee to Support the GE strikers during the 1969 strike of 140,000 workers from thirteen unions and support for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers boycott of the Farah Company. ¶Our ideals and actions have been shaped by adherence to the principles of integration, non-violence, democracy, and economic equality. These principles have led the Institute to support a number of human rights issues that would normally be considered remote from the black agenda. But blacks are no longer the continuous objects of history, we are now becoming participants in it. As a result, the horizon of black concern must be broadened. The principles that have guided the black movement, and which must be adopted by a progressive majority coalition, will be sterile if we do not apply them with equal vigor and enthusiasm to those issues that do not directly and immediately concern us. The Institute has supported, from this perspective, dissidents in the

Soviet Union, the democratic state of Israel, and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

The Randolph Institute believes that the black movement must adopt a basically national orientation so that the impact of our local advances is not blunted by a failing economy. To reach objectives that are national in scope, we must develop a set of strategies that are broad enough not only to accomplish our goals but also to solidify our relationship with other progressive elements in society. This is no easy task, for the progressive coalition contains elements who do not always agree or, for that matter, regard each other with affection.

The emergence of the new political orientation in the black community was slow to develop because it did not base itself on explosive, short-lived emotions, but took root in gradually evolving political and economic conditions, till at the beginning of the 1970s it began to bear fruit in the form of genuine political power.

This new movement of the black struggle was a political and economic movement with two primary goals. First, the development of black political power through increased voter registration and participation. And second, the use of this power to elect consistently liberal black and white officials and to cultivate alliances with other political elements toward the goal of building a majority movement.

The new political movement in the black community was able to achieve some degree of genuine political power in large part because of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which brought more than a million blacks in the South into the political process.

The most visible, though not necessarily the most important, manifestation of this new political power was the dramatic increase in the number of black elected officials, particularly in the South. But the new numbers of black voters brought more fundamental changes as Southern politicians have had to pay attention to the black vote and, thus, to black needs.

For the full impact of the new political movement in the black community to be realized voter registration and education programs are an absolute must. Beginning in 1968 the Institute has been actively involved in those programs. In the late spring and summer of 1968 we sponsored six regional conferences with black trade union leaders. The conferences were attended by more than 1,000 black trade unionists. As a direct result of those conferences, non-partisan voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives were established in 40 cities.

In March 1970, the Institute called together the conveners of the black trade unionists groups which had conducted voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. More than 100 black trade unionists from 40 cities, representing every major trade union attended the conference in Nashville, Tennessee. The basic policies and guidelines for formal affiliation with the Institute were set forth. The purposes of affiliation were these: to work within the trade union movement to strengthen and improve it, to engage in voter registration and education and to encourage greater participation in the political process, and to maximize support for those economic and social programs that are essential to the advancement of trade unions, the poor, and minority groups.

The growth of Institute affiliates since 1970 has been remarkable. From 24 affiliates in 20 states in 1970 they expanded to 74 affiliates in 30 states in 1972 to 150 affiliates in 35 states in 1974.

no ¶ This pehnomenal growth has been largely through the efforts of Norman Hill, then associate director and now the executive director, who traveled extensively to organize and oversee the operations of the affiliates.

The programs have a cumulative effect. We have been running voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts since 1968: many local affiliates have considerable experience in coordinating these campaigns. The chapter activists have developed roots in the local community; they have built the Institute into a respected force for social change.

While low voter participation remains a severe problem in many black communities, where there is a vigorous, locally based effort to encourage voter participation, past traditions of low participation can be overcome. In Atlanta, where the Institute has had a strong chapter for a number of years, black participation now often exceeds white participation rates. Literally hundreds of thousands of blacks have been registered to vote by our local affiliates. During 1973, for example, the Institute conducted its most extensive registration campaign in Los Angeles, where 100,000 minority group voters were registered..

The cooperation between the Randolph Institute and our local affiliates is based upon these objectives: 1) to develop a broad-based organization of black trade unionists from all segments of the labor movement, 2) to become a political force, 3) to maximize community support for political and legislative programs aiding the black community and the labor movement economically, politically, and socially, 4) to develop a cooperative, working relationship with local and state labor movements, and 5) to encourage participation of black trade unionists in their unions.

To assist our affiliates in meeting thse objectives the Institute with the cooperation and assistance of the labor movement, provides a number of services: raising and distributing funds; structuring voter registration, voter education and get-out-the-vote drives in cooperation with national

COPE and state and local central labor bodies; publishing and distributing materials and holding conferences to strengthen the Negro-labor alliance; and aiding the local groups in developing support in the black community for union organizing drives, out-reach recruitment programs involving the building trades and other activities that relate to the trade union movement.

Local gains are important in and of themselves. They are important for psychological reasons; for their consciousness raising value. They are also important for helping to guarantee a measure of justice and equity to black people in their dealings with local governments. It is the local official, after all, who serves as intermediary between the community and the political superstructure, ensuring that his or her constituents receive their fair share of municipal services and helping to determine the priorities of the local government.

The black unionist should play a role similar to that of the local official. It is the black union member, after all, who provides the link between his own community and the rest of the broad working class. For the same reasons that the entire labor movement, including, of course, its black members, is playing a vanguard role in national politics, the minority union members will be occupying a leadership role in the minority community.

The black unionist can help shape the political strategy of the black community. Because of his experience with the labor movement, the black unionist has a unique, first hand knowledge of the necessity of careful organization, the need to build coalition, and the importance of developing a tone and style that makes interracial cooperation an easier matter. In the black community, it falls to the trade unionist to stand firm against demagoguery, phony militancy, and the politics of despair.

The black unionist can also make an important contribution by spreading the political message of organized labor. There is a vast ignorance in the society at large about the political contribution of organized labor. The press, the educational systems, all the institutions which shape the attitudes of American society have either distorted or systematically ignored labor's role, thus leaving it to labor itself to spread the message of its achievements and ideals. Black unionists have a responsibility for educating the leaders and institutions of their community about organized labor.

Two developments of significance support our original view of the importance of a coalition between blacks and labor. There has been increased participation and leadership by black unionists within the political structure of organized labor. During the 1974 elections, literally thousands of black unionists played key political roles within their unions and within the overall framework of COPE. This reflects the growing importance of the black unionist within the ranks of labor and the increasing importance of the labor movement within the minority community.

The second development is the increasing number of blacks holding union leadership positions. To point to just a few examples--four blacks have been elected to the executive board of the South Carolina Federation of Labor, the election of a black as the first vice president of the central labor council in Memphis, Tennessee, and the election of a second black as secretary-treasurer of a major international union. These few examples are part of a trend, which goes beyond tokenism, of black participation at all levels of one of America's largest and most powerful institution in a profoundly meaningful and real way. The democratic structures of organized labor are not without flaws and discrimination does continue to block the advancement of qualified individuals. But when placed in the perspective of American history, labor is today playing the same role it played in the 1930s, when it was the first mass institution to open its ranks to black workers, to welcome black workers as equal individuals and to bestow upon them benefits equal to white workers. Today, partially because of the efforts of A. Philip Randolph and others like him, and partially because of its traditional functioning (and partially, I would like to think, because of the work of the Randolph Institute) organized labor is fulfilling its role as vanguard by becoming the first institution in which blacks enjoy, not simply representation, but tangible influence.

It is often lamented that the struggle for racial equality no longer occupies a central place in national priorities. For numerous and complex reasons this is unfortunately the case. But we are convinced that idea of equality which lay behind the civil rights movement will again emerge a major objective of national social policy. Its reemergence will not, however, be as a racial issue, but as one grounded in social class. At no time in our history has the convergence of the interests of black and white poor and working people been more apparent than in the present period of economic uncertainty and growing scarcity.

It is now almost universally acknowledged that the road to racial progress lies through economic change; change that is comprehensive, thoroughgoing and carefully planned. No one is seriously suggesting, as many once did, that black people can escape the cycle of poverty, chronic unemployment, and widespread underemployment by gilding the ghetto through black capitalism schemes or by organizing the poor out of their condition of poverty. Separatism is no longer looked on a viable alternative; for better or worse, blacks recognize that they are an integral part of American life, and will rise or fall with the broad forces that are now seeking to transform American society along humanitarian and just lines.

There is nothing new in this proposition; many have been saying much the same thing for years. Those who have recently discovered the need for broad, systemic change have not hit upon something new or unique; they are but echoing voices from the past whose counsel was tragically ignored.

The most prominent and prophetic of these voices was that of A. Philip Randolph, who, at the occasion of the 1963 March on Washington, called upon the civil rights forces and their allies to forge a society in which "the sanctity of the private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality. "Mr. Randolph declared at that time that the "civil rights is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty."

Given the mood of substantial segments of the national leadership, there is dual challenge in the coming years. The first is to work for the political empowerment of those who do not find a nine percent, or even a five percent level of unemployment tolerable and who have the will to summon up the resources of the nation to transform the direction of the economy. The second challenge is to spell out a comprehensive program for social change that will meet the needs of all Americans who are unemployed, impoverished or otherwise excluded from the economic and social mainstream.

The most recent effort to formulate such a program was the Freedom Budget which A. Philip Randolph introduced in 1966. The Freedom Budget was issued at at a time of growing confusion within the civil rights movement: when demands for separatism and Black Power were being voiced by those who had previously adhered to non-violence and integration and when gimmicks and panaceas were replacing realizable programs on many agendas. Many interpreted the Freedom

Budget as simple another panacea; as we have learned, it was the only well-thought out program capable of bringing to fruition the great goals that had inspired the supporters of racial equality in the days of the movement's infancy.

The Freedom Budget was not, of course, drawn up to meet today's problems, which are quite different, and, in many ways, far more severe than those of ten years ago. What is important to recall is the vision and philosophy from which the Freedom Budget derived. This vision and philosophy alone represent hope of bringing about basic changes in the economic order.

Economic change is still the most pressing issue facing society and the future strength of America depends on the ability to make far-reaching changes in the economic order.

The progressive majority coalition that the Randolph Institute has supported since its inception is still a potential coalition. It is still beset with divisions and uncertainties and has not really begun to implement the needed programs. But the possibilities of such a coalition are nonetheless encouraging. Black Americans are in a position to bring about major changes in the social and economic structure of American society. Never before in the history of the United States have black Americans been in such a strategic and influential political position. The A. Philip Randolph Institute will continue to devote its energies to ensuring that this opportunity is not wasted. We will advocate intelligent, sophisticated political action, calculate the nature of the opposition, and attempt to discover the most effective tactics. We will struggle for the most realistic and radical objectives that can be attained.

Article

Despite the historic achievements of the past decade more Negroes today than ever before are unemployed, live in substandard housing, and attend segregated and inferior schools. The income gap between white and black continues to widen, and embittered Negro youth can find no way by which they might escape the ghetto with its poverty and despair.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1964 to mobilize the nation's resources with the objectives of promoting justice and equality for all Americans. The Institute's philosophy is based is the premise that Negroes *by themselves* do not possess sufficient political power to effect the urgently needed economic and social reforms which alone can bring about full equality for all of our citizens. They need the support of large segments of white, and it is, therefore, the Institute's objective to forge a new and dynamic unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progress--organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals. We believe that only such a coalition can become the effective majority in this country with the power to democratize our institutions so that millions of indiviuals need no longer suffer from deprivation and discrimination.

The Institute is, therefore, primarity an *agent of change*. It's ideals and it's actions are shaped by the principles of integration, non-violence, democracy and economic equality. It, therefore, opposes separatism, whether it is advocated by blacks or by whites; and violence,which at best can bring only immediate transitory gains for the purpose of pacification, and at worst a violent reaction for the purpose of repression. And it is critical of programs designed to give a minority only a sense of participation but not the substance of economic equality which must be the basis of democratic society.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a ten year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the provision of adequate eduation and medical care for all our citizens. Other Institute programs are designed to enhance the political power of the poor through voter education and registration, as well as their economic power through the expanding the job opportunities for the unemployed and up-grading the wages and the lives of the working poor.

I. ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

A. MEMPHIS SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE

The Memphis Sanitation Workers are predominantly black and grievously underpaid. Early in 1968 they voted to strike the City of Memphis to gain the right to unionize, to bargain collectively, and to achieve higher wayes. At the out set of the strike, their union--The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO) --asked the assistance of the Institute. Norman Hill, the Associate Director of the Institute was sent to Memphis where he was instrumental in organizing eht march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The

Institute also helped the union in organizing a labor committee -- "Memphis U. S. A." -- which raised hundreds of thousands of dollars to support the workers. Following Dr. King's assassination, the union and striking workers invited the Institute's Executive Director, Bayard Rustin, to organized a memorial march. More than 50,000 people from across the nation came to Memphis to march in support of the strikers and in memory of Dr. King. Mr. Rustin also mobilized national press support for the strikers, and he raised more than $180,000 for the union's strike fund.

B. MEXICAN-AMERICAN FARM WORKERS

Migrant workers in America are exploited, impoverished, and unorganized. The Mexican American farm workers in California have been struggling to change these conditions, and under the leadership of Caesar Chavez they have formed the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO). For three years they have struck the industrialized farm corporations in California, seeking union recognition and decent wayes and working conditions. The Institute has supported this effort, as well as the recent attempts to organize a nation-wide boycott of California table grapes. The Institute established a "Don't Buy Scab Grapes" Committee in New York City, funded a public relations program for this Committee, took part in organizing mass picketing of Grand Union chain stores, and helped negotiate the removal of California table grapes from the shelves of other chains.

II. FREEDOM THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX

II. FREEDOM THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX

A. THE MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGE

For American Negroes, Mississippi is the most politically repressive state in the nation. In 1968, a coalition of Negro and white liberal forces to challenge the rightsof the segregationist state organization to be seated at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The coalition, included the NAACP, The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, State AFL-CIO and the Mississippi Young Democrats. At Dr. Aaron Henry's request for support of the coalition's challenge, the institute organized an ad hoc national committee which included the representative of all the liberal elements of/the Democratic Party. The Institute helped to publicize the cause of the coalition, called the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, and raised almost $30,000 to finance a precinct and a state convention to choose delegates for the Chicago convention. The full delegation reached Chicago, argued its case successfully before the Credentials Committee, and was seated at the Convention.

B. VOTER REGISTRATION

Voter education and registration of Negroes is a primary concern of the Institute. With the aid of COPE and the AFL-CIO, the Institute sponsored six regional conferences in the spring-summer of 1968 for Negro trade union leaders. More than 1,000 black trade unionists attended to formulate nonpartisan voter registration in major urban areas.

With more than $225,000 funds and dozens of organizers on loan from traderunions, the Institute organized a massive registration and get-out-the-vote campaign among Negroes in 44 key cities and counties across the country. More than one million pieces of Institute literature urging Negroes to vote were distributed. The Institute used paid newspaper ads, radio spots and leaflets to support the effort. Working closely with NAACP branches, ministers, students and other local groups, Institute staff helped to produce large Negro voter turnouts. The estimate is that between 85 and 90 per cent of Negroes registered actually voted, as compared to the national average of 80 per cent.

III. ECONOMIC EQUALITY: THE FREEDOM BUDGET

Since issuing the Freedom Budget in 1966, much of the Institute's resources have been devoted to publicizing it as widely as possible and in stimulating national debate over its recommendations. Both Mr. Randolph and Mr. Rustin have testified before Congressional Committees in support of the Freedom Budget and have lectured and writted widely on its merits. As a result of these efforts, many national organizations and unions have announced their support of the Budget. In 1967 the Institute held four regional conferences for college students for the purpose of studying the Freedom Budget and formulating programs in its support. Local committees have been formed to promulgate it and countless local meetings and speeches have been arranged for the Institute staff to explain its relevance to the problems of the poor.

III. CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT: IMPLEMENTING THE LAW

In cooperation with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the Institute has ppened a Washington office and, with

with funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity, is conducting a systematic study of how ell existing civil rights, social and welfare legislation is being enforced by the agencies of the Federal Government. Part of the sudy's function is to recommend ways of improving such enforcement. "Project Enforcement" will examine whether present enforcement helps those persons--especially the poor and the minorities-who were meant to benefit from Congressional legislation.

VI. PUBLIC EDUCATION

The Institute conducts a vast program of public education. In addition to its effort to publicize the Freedom Budget and its voter activities; the Institute has distributed almost two million pieces of literature. It publishes booklets, reprints and magazine articles on a variety of critically important subjects.ranging from school decentralization and Negro-Jewish relations to the need for a new liberal coalition to solve the urgent problems of the ghetto. Almost a quarter of a million copies of the Institute's attack on the Right to Work laws have been distributed, including a Spanish/English edition by Mr. Rustin and Cesar Chavez. Scores of newspaper and magazine articles have been authored by the Institute staff, and hundreds of speaking engagemants have been filled by them and the Board.

JOB TRAINING: Breaking the Barriers in the Skilled Trades

The Joint Apprenticeship Progsam, sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund and the Workers Defense League, has placed more than 900 Negro and Puerto Rican young men as apprentices in joint union-management programs. Instense study

an

and work is required of these young men, but the rewards are great--high salaries and the possibility of becoming a skilled craftsman or contractor.

The JAP is directed by Ernest Green and has offices in eight cities with a national staff of 60 workers. It represents the first comprehensive effort to overcome the traditional barriers to the employment of minority youth in the skilled trades. A step by step prodedure has been established which guarantees successful placement. There is tutoring in basic mathematics, physics and vocabulary. Loans are arranged for each applicant's fees and tools until a job can be found for him, and he receives on-going service from JAP staff even after he is on the job. Consequently, the drop-out rate in this program lies been less than one percent. As a result of the success of the JAP, it has become a model for other out-reach programs throughout the country.

PERSONAL TRIBUTES

Ralph Bunche

HENRY LEE MOON
Editor

Official Organ of the
National Association
for the Advancement
of Colored People.

THE CRISIS

FOUNDED 1910

CRISIS PUBLISHING CO., INC. • 1790 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019 TELEPHONE (212) 245-2100

President
Stephen Gill Spottswood
Vice President
Buell Gallagher
Secretary
Samuel A. Williams
Assistant Secretary
Roy Wilkins
Treasurer
Kivie Kaplan
Board Members
Lucile Bluford
Henry Lee Moon

November 23, 1971

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

The Crisis is dedicating its February, 1972, issue to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche in recognition of the major contributions he has made to world peace and to racial justice at home. Among his many commitments has been his long service as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

As the official organ of the NAACP, The Crisis is asking a number of friends and associates of Dr. Bunche in various fields for a brief comment -- 100 to 150 words, more or less -- on him as a person, international peacemaker and crusader for interracial justice or any other phase of his career. We sincerely hope that you will find it possible to write your comment for publication in this special Bunche issue of our magazine.

Time is of the essence. We face a December 6, 1971, deadline for this February, 1972, edition. We will be most grateful to you if you send your expression of appreciation of Dr. Bunche to us before December 6.

Sincerely,

Henry

Henry Lee Moon
Editor

HLM:cw

P.S. Get Well Soon, We Miss You.

426

Statement On Ralph Bunche

by Bayard Rustin

Ralph Bunche has spent the most productive years of his life in daily contact with the powerful and mighty of the world. As an assistant to the Secretary General of the United Nations he achieved international acclaim and a Nobel Peace Prize in recognition for his services as one of the greatest peace negotiators of this century. For these great services to his fellow man, Ralph Bunche is well known throughout the world.

Although it is not as widely known, even in the black community, Ralph Bunche was one of the early leaders in the Negro's struggle for equality. As he moved among the diplomats at the U.N. or in some foreign land his thoughts were never far removed from the civil rights struggle and those persons, particularly the young, who were spearheading the campaign against Jim Crow.

When the civil rights movement was still in its embryonic stages // Anne W. he and Mrs. Bunche arranged fund raising affairs for CORE. In the sixties, the Bunches organized the first affair for the support of SNCC and helped send Diane Nash, SNCC's leader, on a nationwide tour to study the black youth revolution and the sit-ins. The Bunches raised funds for Dr. King's numerous non-violent projects just as they had helped A. Philip Randolph mobilize the campaigns, for a fair employment practices commission and the abolition of Jim Crow in the armed services. For these and countless other causes, Dr. Bunche marched across this country for justice.

During the years I have worked in the civil rights movement, Dr. Bunche was always available when he was needed, no matter how crushing his schedule. He always made it clear that if he were needed we were to contact him, no matter if he were at the U.N. or at home. Despite his schedule, I never waited more than a few hours for his call. He was always available, both to the young and old, who worked for justice and for peace.

Statement On Ralph Bunche

by A. Philip Randolph

Important as Dr. Bunche's work with the United Nations has been, I remember him best for his early commitment to the civil rights campaigns during the 1930s and 1940s. Our movement was young then, and it was totally committed young people like Ralph Bunche whose spirit and resilience, in the face of overwhelming odds gave strength to the rest of us.

The field work of Ralph Bunche and others enabled B. Gunnar Myrdal to write An American Dilemna, a landmark work both for its scholarship and its emotional impact on American society. His assistance during the campaigns for a fair employment practice commission and an end to racial segregation in the military was invaluable. These important campaigns laid the foundation for the progress we were to achieve during the 1950s and 1960s.

Ralph Bunches was an early militant, in the finest tradition of the term, whether he was fighting for an end to racial injustices in his native land or attempting to reach a just compromise between two warring nations.

I am reading this statement on Behalf of Bayard Rustin.

Ralph Bunche will be sorely missed by those of active ~~ixkxxkfx~~ in the fight for socialx justice, and world peace.

He was an early fighter for civil rights: helping prepare the landmark study ~~xfx~~ An American Dildmma, risking his life traveling throughout the south to research that book; participating in all the great civil rights marches andx raising funds to help Dr. King and the non-violent movement. No matter how crushing his schedule was Dr. Bunche was always available to help. ~~thxxxxfxxxhixxx~~

TRIBUTE BY BAYARD RUSTIN AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR A.J. MUSTE AT FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE'

There was probably no one outside of A.J.'s own family who knew him better than I did. We went through many moments of personal and political crisis together, and we travelled all over the world -- through England, India, and across the Sahara -- together. And there was probably no one whom A.J. loved better than he loved me, because there was no one who gave him as much trouble.

There were three personal characteristics I cherished most about A.J.

Fitst, he was a man of intense joy. I remember and incident that took place while we were in India together. I had heard A.J. several times express a wish to see the gypsies dance, and one night, long after he had retired to bed, I heard a troupe of gypsies coming down the streets. This was about two in the morning, but I rushed into A.J.'s room and shook him violently. "Wake up, A.J.," I said, "the gypsies are coming."

"The who?" A.J. muttered drowsily and with a clear note of irritation.in

"The gypsies, A.J. Don't you want to see the gypsies?"

"Will you please get the hell out and leave me alone," he said and rolled over.

"But A.J., you always said you wanted to see the gypsies." I got no reply, and decided to give up. I turned and was walking towards the door when I was brought up sharp by A.J.'s voice. "Wait a minute," he said, " you aren't going without me, are you?"

And he ended up dancing with the gypsies till almost daybreak.

Then there was the time when I was being particularly difficult at a meeting of the F.O.R. and A.J. became irritated. "How come you give so much damn trouble," A.J. said, "and you are the black sheep of the F.O.R. family?"

I pretended injury: "Well, A.J.," Issaid, "I never thought I would live to hear such racist talk from you." A.J. looked up -- registered surprise -- then broke into uncontrolled laughter. I laughed mildly also. After a few moments he became serious and said, " Now go back to your office - I'll talk to you later."

The second thing I cherished about A.J. was that he was a truly liberated man. There was this young Negro who had gained acceptance in one of the finest colleges in the East. No sooner had he arrived there than he started ignoring his studies and chasing the girls. The result was that his marks suffered, and it reached the point where the college knew he should be dropped. This college called to ask my advise, and as I was not sure of my own feelings in the matter, I asked A.J. to come up with me and have a talk with the student and the Dean. After the Dean had recited the history of the case, A.J. turned to the boy and asked whether it was an accurate report. "Yes,Sir," the boy said. Well, you should have seen how worked up A.J. became. He agreed with the Dean that the boy should be suspended, and chided the boy in the sternest of terms, refusing to inflict upon him the indignity of being treated as a special case because he was a Negro. Now this impressed me, tremendously, because many other white liberals would have felt obliged to make some special plea for the unfortunate black youth. The boy left the college for a semester, returned to become an honor student and later wrote A.J. that his stern warning had saved him from himself.

And, finally, the third thing that I cherished about A.J. was his profound concern for the suffering of human beings. No meeting of the F.O.R. was so important that A.J. couldn't be disturbed and told that this prostitute, this thief, or this lonely person was in trouble. And no matter how important that meeting was A.J. would leave to extend a hand of help and fellowship. In all the years I knew him, never once did he fail to write a letter or raise his voice or even walk into the night to help someone who was in distress. No movement was more important to A.J. than a human being in trouble. He spent his most lonely, creative and inspired hours with the troubled of this world.

Clarence Senior was a man of many talents and many careers. In the field of struggle for a more humane world, he was a true Renaissance man. A distinguished scholar in the field of Latin American affairs, he was also a prominent educator and a dedicated partisan of the cause of civil rights for all Americans. And as all who knew him gladly attest, he was also a warm and good man. He will be sorely missed.

Most likely he will be remembered primarily for his scholarly achievements. His books on Puerto Rico, including a biography of Santiago Iglesias, are the products of a sharp mind that is not satisfied to merely analyze survey data. He was concerned with values and people -- indeed, with the fate of mandkind."The prime task of modern times," he wrote, "is to make democracy a living, growing factor in the daily lives of men, women and children of all creeds and colors, everywhere on earth." These are not the words of a sociologist. They are the words of a life-long Socialist whose goal was not just to write about the world but to make it a better place for ordinary people to live in.

For all of Clarence Senior's intellectual achievements, many of his friends will remember him most for his enormous contribution to the American Socialist movement. David Shannon, the historian of the American Socialist Party, writes that when Clarence Senior became national secretary of the SP at the age of 26 (he was the youngest national secretary in the history of the party) "he had the vigor and executive ability that the party so sorely needed..." The number of part locals more than doubled to over 1600 during his first three years on the job. He thought of [illegible] raise socialist issues. He was a fine organizer and an excellent administrator.

This is all ancient history now, but just telling the story is a measure of the man we have lost. He combined so many fine qualities. He was a man of ideas and a man of the world, a man respected equally for his thoughts and his actions. There are few, if any, people like that today in this age of technology and specialization. And perhaps the absence of men like Clarence Senior is one reason why so many young people lack direction and feel profoundly alienated from our culture. Though he is no longer with us, he can still serve as a model that young people can aspire to emulate. We will miss him. But we dare not forget him.

THE CRISIS, March 1978

The Legacy of Hubert Humphrey

By BAYARD RUSTIN

AN emptiness, a void descended upon the nation with the death of Hubert Humphrey [January 13, 1978]. We have lost a dear friend, a brave and enthusiastic warrior for social justice. He represented the best in America, the promise of decency and democracy for all our citizens, the continual renewal of freedom. He believed in the goodness of our people and in the responsibility of our institutions to create the conditions in which goodness might flourish. His was not a naive faith that ignored evil; he saw injustice as an enemy to be defeated by the forces of reason, compassion, and understanding.

No cause was dearer to Hubert than civil rights; no man's contributions were more crucial, untiring, or indispensable than his. The modern civil rights era can truly be said to have begun with his call for a strong civil rights platform at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. "There are those who say to you 'We are rushing this issue of civil rights.' I say we are 172 years late. There are those who say, 'This issue of civil rights is an infringement of states' rights.' The time has arrived for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights. People—human beings—this is the issue of the 20th century." He was always at the head of that great, still uncompleted march, ever faithful to that dream. He rallied Congressional support for the 1963 March on Washington and guided the 1964 Civil Rights Act through the Senate, overcoming a bitter 57-day southern filibuster. It was not only among the greatest legislative and moral dramas in the history of American politics, but also a landmark chapter in the expansion of freedom.

NEVER has one man, over so long a period, so fully and forcefully represented the aspirations and hopes of the deprived, downtrodden, and unfortunate. He embraced unfashionable causes and through a persistent and often lonely advocacy transformed them into reality. He was the prime mover behind Medicare, the Peace Corps, the Food for Peace Program, and much of the most important social legislation of the last thirty years.

His politics combined imagination, moral idealism, and responsibility. He was not afraid to dream, to innovate, but he did not overlook the importance of achieving, rather than simply advocating, change. He understood the necessity of mastering political power for the service of social justice.

That he never served as President was a tragedy, not so much personally for Hubert Humphrey but for the nation. He could have done so much good for so many. It is an irony that many who not so long ago denounced him as passé and old that came to recognize his continuing virtues only after they had helped contribute to his defeat.

HUBERT Humphrey brought qualities to American life that will be sorely missed. There was an exuberance and caring about him that ran deep and was uniquely felt by workers, blacks, and the poor. He understood suffering and could see through the maze of statistics to people. His liberalism sprang not from a set of abstract principles, but from a vibrant search for solutions to human problems.

It is a measure of the constancy of his vision that in his final years he not only worked to complete unfinished projects, but also launched a new crusade for social justice: the fight for a meaningful national commitment to full employment. The finest and most fitting tribute we can pay to this man who did so much to make America a better country is the passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill.

Hubert Humphrey leaves a legacy that will long endure. Wherever men and women strive to ease the pain of suffering, work to bring hope and opportunity to the despairing and rejected, and struggle to replace injustice and hatred with fairness and compassion, his labors will be continued.

MR. RUSTIN is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City.

CRISIS

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

by Bayard Rustin

A. Philip Randolph is one of the greatest leaders of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice, and equality in America. He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice, and he has inspired three generations of activists to follow his example. By virtue of these efforts he has won the esteemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

Asa Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida in 1889. His father was an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) and then moved North where he continued his studies at the City College of New York. In 1914 Mr. Randolph was married to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher.

During these early years he read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and developed a commitment to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integration, and economic equality which he has adhered to throughout his life. These principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in The Messenger, a magazine that Mr. Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism ever undertaken.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the most trying and confusing of times. In the 1920's he and leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. argued for integration against the

Back-to-Africa campaign of Marcus Garvey, just as today they has opposed the movement for black separatism. As a result of his deep faith in the democratic principle, he has realized that social change is not dependent on the desisions of the few, but on the mobilization of masses of individuals to achieve economic and social justice through direct political action. And he has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937 after 12 long years.

This victory not only made possible the first contract signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader, but it also became a symbol of what could happen if black people organized and bargained collectively. The BSCP enable thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, and what is more important, it became the central focus of the Negro struggle for economic equality. Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They formed what was, in effect, a network for the distribution of political literature.

They became staunch members of the N. A. A. C. P. with which they worked closely on local and national issues. Given their deep commitment to equality for Negroes,it is not surpising that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked a forward thrust in the civil rights movement, was the head of the Montgomery division of the BSCP.

The political strategy of mass protest has become commonplace during the last decade, and it is often forgotten that it was developed by A. Philip Randolph at a time when the use of such tactics by Negroes was unheard-of. He shared with leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. the belief that Negroes would not achieve economic advancement without struggling for it, and the awareness that as an oppressed people, the very act of struggle would confer upon Negroes a dignity they had been denied. It was in 1941, therefore, with the advent of World War II, that Mr. Randolph conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington to protest the exclusion of black people from jobs in the defense industries. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere, The idea was scoffed at or scorned by most people in the white community, and it was so unpredecented that even many Negroes had difficulty believing that it could be made into a reality. Walter White, then Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P, was one of the first prominent Negroes to give it total support. ~~But~~ With the help of the N.A.A.C.P., local

March on Washington Committees began to spring up across the country, and as the March assumed larger and larger proportions, the pressure on President Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the March, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes who were also beginning to sense their power as an organized group and the effectiveness of non-violent direct action tactics.

In 1948 Mr. Randolph established the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, and he threatened that Negroes _en masse_ would refuse to serve in the armed forces if that institution remained segregated. After thirty Negroes were put in prison for refusing induction, President Truman Began to take seriously the threat of a mass movement. The President met with Mr. Randolph after which he issued an Executive Order complying with his demands, and it is a testament both to ~~his~~ Mr. Randolph's achievement, and to the work which has yet to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated institution in America.

Mr. Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement. He conceived and directed the great March on Washington of 1963 which brought a quarter of a million black and white Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes. It should be added that this demonstration, like the Prayer Pilgrimage of 1957, the Youth March for Integrated

Schools in 1958 and 1959, could not have succeeded without the financial and political assistance of the N.A.A.C.P. And today, as he approaches 80 years of age, he is the president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which is carrying on the struggle to achieve economic, social and political freedom for Negro Americans.

Mr. Randolph's vision of a free and integrated society is still the objective of the vast majority of black people. It is shared most significantly by the N.A.A.C.P. which is the largest and only mass-based Negro organization in America. There are many Negroes, ~~for example~~ however, who are advocating racial separatism and black nationalism because they are engaged in a very profound and significant quest for psychological identity. I am in sympathy with this quest to a degree, as was Mr. Randolph in 1940 whenehe wrote:

> ...the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom. Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

But

But Mr. Randolph did not believe that blacks should isolate themselves, and therefore added:

> But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join,sound, broad, liberal, social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom.

Mr. Randolph's position is not only morally correct but strategically necessary, for Negroes today are in danger of letting a psychological imperative destroy the possibility for social and economic liberation. They are emphasizing blackness to the point where they are isolating themselves from broad political movements for social justice, and they are forgetting that as one-tenth of the population, Negroes cannot by themselves transform our social institutions to the point where ~~Negroes~~ inequality shall be ~~equal citizens~~ eliminated. And they are advocating a brand of separatism which has meant--and always will mean--the impoverishment and exploitation of black people.

We are, therefore, still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. By his presence, he poses a challenge to his followers. That challenge is to build, through means that are democratic and non-violent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself.

# # # #

Reub

80th birthday

Letter t oPRotestant bodies:

I am writing to ask you to join me in paying tribute to one of America's truly great men, A. Philip Randolph. This spring Mr. Randolph will celebrate his 80th birthday. And to celebrate this occasion xhax we are honoring him with a series of tributes, including a testimonial dinner on May 6th at the Waldorf-Axtxx Asteria Hotel.

We all know how important Mr. Randolph has been to the struggle for equality. He has inspired successive generations of civil rights leaders and activists; he is the originator of mass direct action, and he was the prime force behind the 1963 March on Washington, His whole life has been dedicated to the eradication of economic, political and social inequality.

Last spring, under Mr. Randolph's leadership, we began a new activity: Northern Voter Registartion. As you well know, many eligible black voters do not register or get to the polls in the North. Mr. Randolph believed that Negro trade unionists/[illegible]/ -- those who live and work in the ghetto -- could well counter xxxxx the indifference and organize successful voter drives. He was right.

The staff of the Randolph Ixxxxxx Institute met with more than 1,000 Negro trade unionists from 35 major citties, and helped set up voter registration campaigns in xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx each of these cities. The drives enlisted the aid of grass/roots groups, NAACP chapters and ministerial associations, They were understaffed and underbudgeted, but on xx election day the results xx were clear; registration was up 10 to 13 per cent and voter turnout was high.

These groups now want to continue in existence. They have learned much from the last election. They want to maintain their new alliances, and most important, they want t o developx programs and leadership for the next period.

For my part, I can think of no better way to honor A. Philip Randolph than to help these groups stay alive. The proceeds of the dinner on May 6th~~x~~ will be precisely for that purpose.

I hope you will join Thurgood Marshall, George Meany, Roy Wilkins, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. and me in honoring Mr. Randolph on May 6th. I hope, also, that you will subscribe to the maximum number of tickets.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
~~Executive Director~~
Honorary Chairman

1
ENC:

NEW LEADR

THE TOTAL VISION OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

by Bayard Rustin

Social struggle, if it is to effectively uplift masses of impoverished and exploited individuals, must articulate and satisfy their diverse needs and reconcile objectives that are often seen to be in contradiction to each other. A people that has been degraded by poverty and a caste system of segregation, for example, will have the inchoate desire for dignity and liberation, but that desire will remain unfulfilled until it is given programmatic direction by a political movement. And in the process of that fulfillment, there is always the danger that the felt need, which derives from a perception of fundamental and historic injustices, will conflict with the required political strategy which, by its nature, must respond to circumstances of the moment.

I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his sixty years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people as well as of the means by which it must be achieved. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and everything he has done has sprung from this basic premise. He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but he has seen that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. Moreover, while he has felt that salvation for Negroes is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. And finally, as a result of his deep faith in the democratic principle, he has realized that social change is not dependent on the decisions of the few, but on the mobilization of masses of individuals to acheive economic and social justice through direct political action. ¶ A. Philip Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the Twentieth Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism--whether it was advocated in the 1920's by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960's by black nationalists--because of his belief in the principle of integration and also his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people. And again, he has rejected elitism--either in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or as a proposal for black capitalism--because of his commitment to democracy and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority at the expense of the majority. And he has adhered to non-violeance as a moral principle *and* as the most effective means of political struggle.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers who were striking for just demands. Mr. Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves, and he embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are two million black trade unionists in America who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination. Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of black workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

This victory not only made possible the first contract signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader, but it also became a symbol of what could happen if black people organized and bargained collectively. The BSCP enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, and what is more important, it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement. Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They formed what was, in effect, network for the distribution of political literature, and it is not surprising that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was the head of the Montgomery division of the BSCP and a porter himself.

The political strategy of mass protest has become commonplace during the last decade, and it is often forgotten that it was developed by A. Philip Randolph at a time when the use of such tactics by Negroes was unheard-of. He believed that Negroes would not achieve economic advancement without struggling for it, but he was more profoundly aware that as an oppressed people, the very act of struggle would confer upon Negroes a dignity they had been denied. It was in 1941, therefore, with the advent of World War

II, that Mr. Randolph conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington to protest the exclusion of black people from jobs in the defense industries. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. The idea was scoffed at or scorned by most people in the white community, and it was so unprecendented that even many Negroes had difficulty believing that it could be made into a reality. But local March on Washington Committees began to spring up across the country, and as the March assumed larger proportions, the pressure on President Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled datedof the March, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committees Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes who were also beginning to sense their power as an organized group and the effectiveness of non-violent direct action tactics. ¶/Mr. Randolph has been guided by his persisting concern for the economic welfare of Negroes, even when his actions seemed to be directed towards non-economic ends. For example, in 1948 he travelled to Washington to speak with President Truman on the problem of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph was of course concerned that Negroes in the army be treated with dignity, but the more fundamental difficulty he saw was that segregation would exclude them from the high-paying officer positions as well as from training programs in skills they would need for post-service civilian employment. Mr. Randolph's influence and authority were such that another Executive Order was issued to comply with his demands, and it is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has yet to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

In 1955, when Mr. Randolph urged me to go South to help Dr. King organize the Montegomery bus boycott, he again had a dual objective.

He felt that Negroes had a right to sit where they wanted to on public accommodations. But he also saw that if the boycott was successful in Montgomery and spread elsewhere, it would open up thousands of jobs for Negroes as bus drivers and in restaurants, parks, and libraries. His conception was that where Negroes were free to come, they would be free to work; and if this was not the case, that having gained access to an institution, they would use the same techniques for getting employment in it that they had originally used to open it up. And this is what has happened throughout the South.

Again, in 1958 Mr. Randolph brought 35,000 youngsters to Washington--and following year 50,000--to protest school segregation. His interest here also transcended the problem of dignity or of Negroes and whites attending the same schools together. He was concerned with the growing threat posed to Negro employment by cybernation and automation. He understood that since education is the basis for economic advancement, it is a necessity that all educational institutions and opportunities be open to Negroes. Today, a decade later, we can see even more clearly the devastating effect which the combination of automation and inferior segregated education has had on the employment of blacks.

It was Mr. Randolph's perception of the economic basis of Negro freedom which enabled him to grasp the unique significance of the 1963 March on Washington. He conceived of the March as the termination of of the period of massive protest--during which Negroes had destroyed the Jim Crow institutions in the South--and the inauguration of the period of massive action at the ballot box to bring about a new economic program. He understood that the central problem faced by Negroes was no longer simply one of civil rights but of economic rights, for the former would lack social substance without the infusion of the latter. He, therefore, called for a March on Washington which brought a quarter of a million Americans to the nation's capitol to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

It was at that time, however, that President Kennedy introduced what was to become the 1964 Civil Rights Act which, in the minds of some people became the main focus of the March. Mr. Randolph, however, refused to be misled by the transient emotionalism of that moment, and he persisted in his demand for an economic program. At the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," he projected the idea of the Freedom Budget which called for an annual Federal expenditure of $18.5 billion for ten years to wipe out poverty. Mr. Randolph was not speaking here of tax incentives for industry, of voluntary assistance by private individuals, of of community action programs. He was speaking of full employment and a guaranteed income, the rebuilding of our cities, and the provision of superior schools for all of our children and free medical care for all of our citizens. He was speaking, very simply and without rhetoric, of a achieving equality in America.

And he was not speaking unrealistically, for he was proposed along with The Freedom Budget a political strategy for achieving it. It is a strategy that calls for the building of a coalition of Negroes, the labor movement, liberals, religious organizations, and students. If these groups could united they would form a majority movement which would be capable of democratizing the economic, social, and political power of this nation.

Today there are many Negroes and liberals who reject the idea of this coalition for the reason, I think, that they have failed to view the problem of inequality in its totality. Unlike A. Philip Randolph, their vision is fractured and constricted. There are Negroes, for example, who are advocating racial separatism and black nationalism because they are engaged in a very profound and significant quest for psychological identity. I am in sympathy with this quest to a degree, as was Mr. Randolph in 1940 when he wrote:

> ...the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom. Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

~~But~~ Mr. Randolph did not, however, believe that blacks should isolate themselves, and therefore added:

> But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join sound, broad, liberal, social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom.

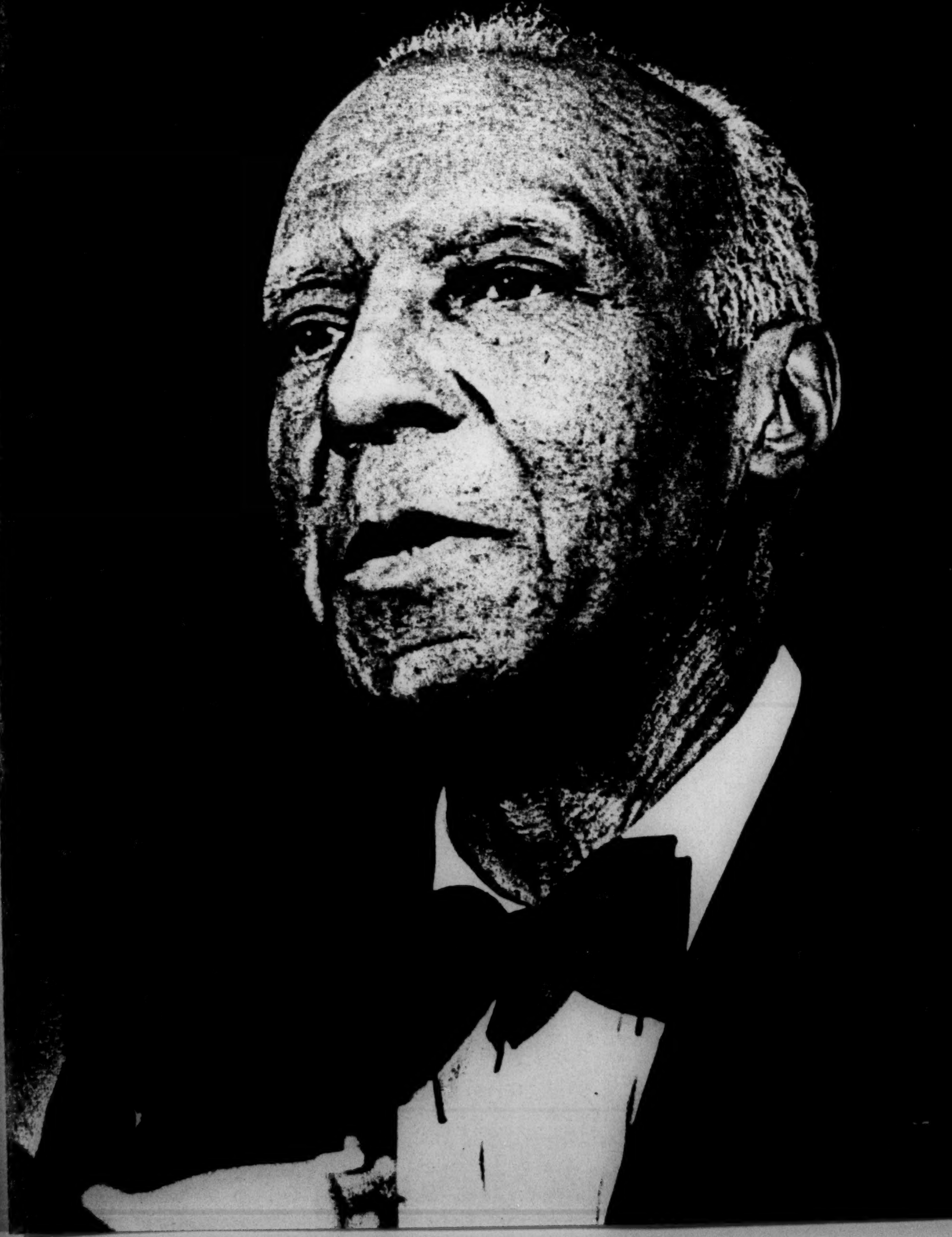
Mr. Randolph's position is not only morally correct but strategically necessary, for Negroes today are in danger of letting a psychological imperative destroy the possibility for social and economic liberation. They are emphasizing blackness to the point where they are isolating themselves from broad political movements for social justice, and they are forgetting that as one-tenth of the population, they cannot *by themselves* achieve the necessary social changes such as those embodied in the Freedom Budget.

There are also many liberals who are so obsessed with the p psychological aspects of the racial problem that they neglect its ecomonic dimensions. While Mr. Randolph always understood the ecomomic implications of integration, these liberals, during the early years of the Civil Rights Movement, favored it primarily as a means of fostering better relations between blacks and whites. And now that the cry of black nationalism has arisen from some Negroes, these liberals have transferred their concern for brotherhood to a concentration on the necessity for blacks to achieve pride and identity and for whites to p purge themselves of their guilt and racism. In both the earlier and the current cases there is a failure to confront the overriding fact of poverty, and most mistakenly today, there is the abandonment of the objective of building an integrated movement to achieve aconomic equality.

We are, therefore, still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he approaches his eightieth birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains. And by his presence, he poses a challenge to his followers. That challenge is to build, through means that are democratic and non-violent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself.

#:#:#

A. Philip Randolph



A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph is president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925. He served as international president of the Union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He is a vice president emeritus of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council.

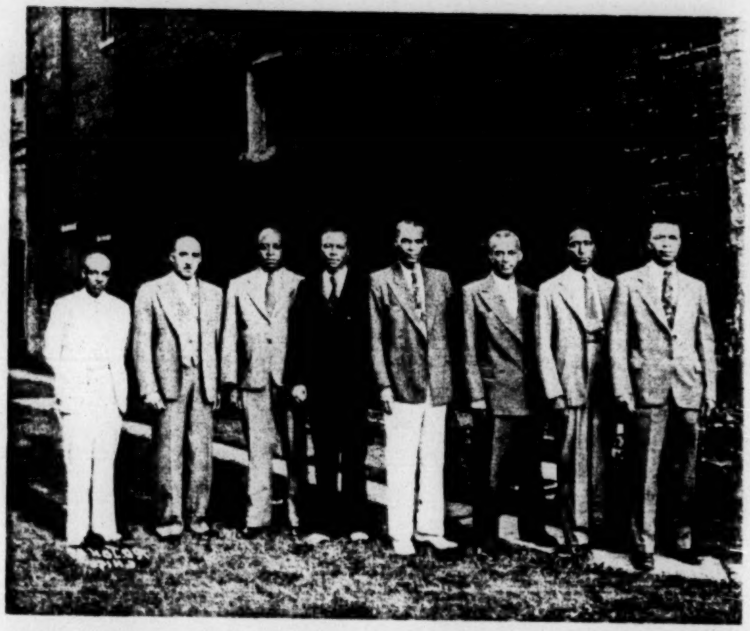
Mr. Randolph, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearaean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science and developed an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro journalism. As co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, Mr. Randolph stressed economics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lusk Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America"—a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T.T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). This uphill battle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression, was finally won in 1937 and made possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader. Meanwhile, in 1928, THE MESSENGER became THE BLACK WORKER, the official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.



Early photo of A. Philip Randolph (fourth from left) with leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

In the 1940's Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest—a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Negro movement—in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Wahington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the demonstration only *after* President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. In 1948, Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, masses of Negroes would refuse induction. Soon Executive Order 9981 was issued to comply with his demands.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Mr. Randolph holds numerous university honorary degrees, and has been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and, in 1964, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

The Struggle for Justice, As He Has Seen It

Labor and the Negro Revolution

But, since neither labor or the Negro is fully free and because both can only survive and win their complete rights within the framework of a democratic society, Negroes and white trade unionists can most effectively advance their cause by the recognition of the common interest both have at the point of production, on the job and in the union hall, as well as at the ballot box.

Both have the problem of getting the southern political demagogues off their backs, who ride into office from year to year on the slogan of racialism. Both have the problem of liberating themselves from the economic clutches of exploitation of city industrial and financial capitalists of the South and a semi-feudalistic plantation oligarchy.

From address to National Conference, NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR &
CO
TIONS
AFL
CIO

Addressing the national convention of the AFL-CIO.

A. Philip Randolph and Milton Webster of the Brotherhood with AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Labor and Blacks

While Negroes had and still have legitimate grievances against discriminatory practices of some unions which should be pressed for correction, organized labor, too, has a legitimate complaint against the indifference, if not outright opposition of some sections of Negro leadership to trade union aims and practices. Just as the poor white workers of the South were sold propaganda that they had a stake in the segregation and subjugation of their colored brothers, so Negroes were sold propaganda that their best interests were tied up with organized big business against organized labor.

Philanthropy of the rich for Negro institutions, educational and religious, were pointed to as evidence of the friendship of capital for the Negro worker; while trade unions were roundly berated and condemned for exclusion of Negro workers from membership and jobs. Irked and distressed by the attacks from capital and some Negro leaders, some trade union leaders replied by denouncing Negroes as strike breakers and poor union members. History will show that both groups were partially right and wrong.

From address to National Conference of NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the local union is the point where Negro workers must demonstrate their loyalty to the union cause and, by religious attendance at union meetings, to keep the fight alive against racism. It is also important that in the local union a vigorous fight be made by both white and Negro members, in the interest of the realization of the goals of the union by unremitting struggle, suffering and sacrifice. It is important that colored workers recognize, along with their white brothers, that no union can ever accumulate and build power except it pass through the fires of great suffering, struggle, trouble, hardship and trial. This quality is far more important than money, for while it is possible to build a union without money it is not possible to build a union without the spiritual and moral qualities of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of a better life for the workers.

From address to National Conference of NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

It is of noteworthy interest that at this period of crisis in the civil rights revolution and the highest peak of organizational power of the American labor movement, that its leadership should reside in the hands of a worker of fine moral integrity, vision and courage, such as George Meany, who is forthrightly and strongly committed to the cause of civil rights, amply attested in notable speeches and action.

From address to National Conference, NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

The Futility of Violence

In this great fight for freedom, Negroes should not permit themselves to be provoked to the use of violence against violence under any circumstances. For just as violence cannot win civil rights for Negroes; violence by the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, by the same token, cannot defeat the fight by Negroes for their civil rights.

If Negroes continue wisely to shun the use of violence like a plague and keep the fight against segregation upon the high level of discussion, debate, argument, reason, fact and evidence, on the public platform, in the press, on the television and radio, our cause of integration will ultimately prevail because history is on our side.

From address at Orchestra Hall; Chicago; May 17, 1956.

Be not dismayed by the frightful wave of violence and persecution against persons of color now sweeping the South. It is written in the stars that the old order of southern fedualism, with its remnants and vestiges of lynching, peonage, vagrancy laws, mob violence, Ku Klux Klan, anti-labor union practices expressed in right-to-work laws, widespread illiteracy, low wages, dying; its death will come as a result of the emergence of the dynamic impulse for freedom surging in the hearts of Negroes, together with the march of industrialization, urbanization, labor union organization, extension of education and the modernization of government through the spread of the ballot. These new forces will create and build a new South, free for the white and black masses to pursue a life of dignity and decency.

From statement delivered to the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom; May 17, 1957; Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Thus, leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee go around calling upon Negroes to "get themselves some guns" for protection when trouble comes.

This commitment to violence as the major strategy to effect basic social change is not only an exhibition of the sickness of infantile leftism but a dangerous form of mindless madness. Violence settles nothing. Violence only begets violence. it does not inspire a forward march by the black

During World War I.

avant-garde to new fields of racial creativity, but to reaction, frustration and despair.

From report to the triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; September 2, 1968; New Orleans, Louisiana.

Civil Rights and Economic Rights

Civil rights and economic rights supplement and complement each other. One is insecure without the other. Civil rights and civil liberties; namely, freedom of the press, speech, assembly, and religious worship, trial by jury, habeas corpus, right of petition, right to vote and to be voted for, freedom from self-incrimination or double jeopardy, constitute the pillars of our democratic society. They are the attributes of citizenship. Without them an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen. If an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen he cannot register his consent or dissent upon policies of state; he cannot effectively exercise a permanent influence upon the course and change of the economy which involve the means whereby he lives.

Thus, Negroes have no alternative but to throw their all into the balance, to fight for civil rights and civil liberties so as to possess the tools with which to struggle for economic rights and economic liberties, the *sine qua non* of political and economic democracy.

From address to Americans for Democratic Action; February 1, 1964; Washington, D.C.

Industrialism

Negroes are caught up in the dilemma of being propelled to keep the Civil Rights Revolution moving forward at an accelerated pace to the rapid realization of its mission without being devoured by the revolution of science. Negroes have major stakes in, and must profit from, both revolutions. But if the Civil Rights Revolution is not completed, they will become the stepchildren of the new scientific revolution, if not the victims of social-economic devolution.

Without a victorious Civil Rights Revolution Negroes cannot adequately participate in or benefit from the revolution of the new industrialism.

From address to the Americans for Democratic Action; February 1, 1964; Washington, D.C.

As a young man in New York, around 1912.

The Role of the Pullman Porter

The handful of porters who weathered the storms of Pullman oppression were the shock troops of black labor. They were the first black workers who had openly dared to beard the mighty industrial lion of Pullman in its den.

Yes, Pullman was fierce and cruel. It had brutally battered the railroad workers under the matchless leadership of the great Gene Debs in the celebrated Pullman strike of 1894.

During the bitter, grey and hapless days there was not a single Negro organization which the Brotherhood could call its friend, and only one or two black papers, and not a single nationally known leader. The Brotherhood porters and leaders were the black untouchables. But the small band of militant, weatherbeaten black proletarian brothers of the ghetto never faltered. With heads erect and souls uncurbed, porters who had been fired on account of membership in the union were stirred by the spirit of the labor hymn, *Solidarity Forever:*

> In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold
> Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand fold
> We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old
> For the Union makes us strong.
>
> They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn
> But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn
> We can break their might power, gain our freedom when we learn
> That the Union makes us strong.

The Brotherhood preached this philosophy to the black worker in particular, and the Negro communities in general. The Brotherhood gave the porter, and incidentally the Negro workers as a whole, a sense of racial and class identity and pride. While the Brotherhood fought to break down racial barriers in labor unions, it also fought against Negro workers permitting themselves to be used as scabs against their white brothers on strike.

From report to the triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; September 2, 1968; New Orleans, Louisiana.

The Common Enemy

Finally, we call upon the white workers and black workers, poor white sharecroppers and poor black sharecroppers of the South to join hands and build trade unions, credit unions and cooperatives on a basis of their common interests and go to the polls and throw out of office the political demagogues who ride into power every election on the issue of racial discrimination.

We believe that when the poor whites of the South, drugged with the opium of white supremacy, open their eyes and realize who their main enemies are, namely; the plantation semi-feudalistic oligarchy, city-business and industrial capitalists and parasitic, demagogic politicians, they will join hands with poor blacks and fight for the liberation of both groups from segregation, economic exploitation and social oppression to the end of eliminating illiteracy, disease and poverty.

From address at Madison Square Garden rally; May 24, 1956.

Communists and the Civil Rights Movement

Because the Negro working masses possess deep and legitimate grievances on account of racial discrimination and segregation, they will be offered magnificent milleniums by all sorts of Messiahs if only they follow the gospel according to St. Stalin of the Soviet Union. While no compromise must be countenanced or entertained in the struggle of Negroes for civil rights, and be it said to the credit of militant Negro leadership and American democratic liberalism, this fight for civil rights is steadily, if slowly, being won, Negro workers must choose, with great care and vigilance and understanding, the allies they accept for support and cooperation. Just as Negro workers could not, with grace or in principle, accept help, even if offered, from the Ku Klux Klan, a species of Facism, which is the enemy of democracy, nor can they, by the same token, join hands and march forward with Communists on any front, since they represent, not only an anti-democratic, economic, political and social system, but they owe and maintain allegiance with a foreign state, Soviet Russia, the enemy of America and the free world.

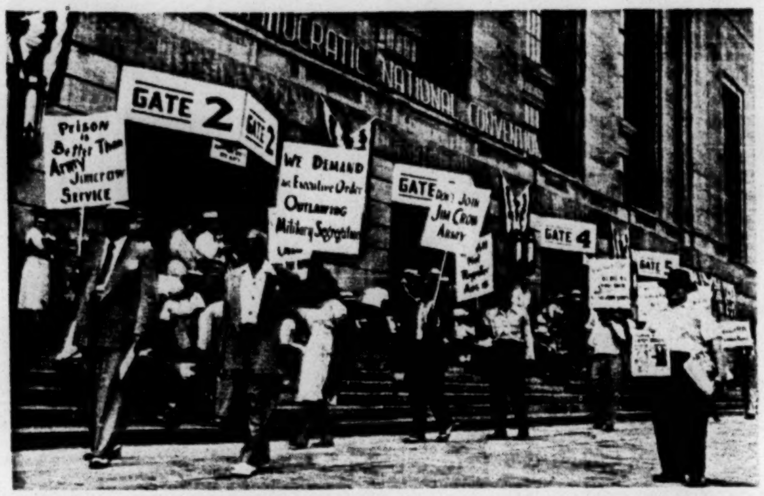
Wherever trade unions have been taken over by the Communist agents of the Russian politbureau, such as the Communists are in every country today, not only have the workers suffered, but the democratic government of the workers has been undermined and destroyed, thereby establishing Communist labor concentration camps of slavery and the police state climate of frustration and fear.

From address to Negro Labor Committee; March 1, 1952

To An Emerging Nation

In order that this task may be progressively and constructively carried forward, your country must not only be free of external domination but free from within. Freedom and democracy do not inhere in independence per se, nor do they automatically follow therefrom. All of the moral, spiritual and intellectual resources of the leaders and people of Ghana will be required to hammer out and maintain free democratic institutions and a free way of life that are basically implicit in the mandates of nationalism. But I need not tell your great leaders that the job of building a sound, free economy will be no less challenging and difficult than winning independence.

From statement delivered at the Ghana Independence Celebration; March, 1957; Accra, Ghana.


DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
GATE 2
GATE 2
Prison is Better Than Army Jimcrow Service
WE DEMAND an Executive Order Outlawing Military Segregation
GATE
Don't Join Jim Crow Army
GATE 4
GATE 5

Leading protesters demanding an end to Jim Crow in the armed services at the 1948 Democratic national convention in Philadelphia.

Jim Crow Must Go

Today I should like to make clear to the Senate Armed Services Committee and through you, to Congress and the American people that passage now if a jim-crow draft may only result in a mass civil disobedience movement along the lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism. I must emphasize that the current agitation for civil rights is no longer a mere expression of hope on the part of Negroes. On the one hand, it is a positive, resolute outreaching for full manhood. On the other hand, it is an equally determined will to stop acquiescing in anything less. Negroes demand full, unqualified first-class citizenship.

From testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the demand for an end to segregation in the military forces; March 31, 1948.

Grant Reynolds and A. Philip Randolph testify before Senate Committee to demand an end to segregation in the military forces in 1948.

A Lesson of History

Now, history is replete with evidence of the fact that in this competitive struggle among social forces in the national community for support and concessions from the state to redress wrongs against any group, the state invariably moves in the direction and confers its favor upon that social force such as labor or business, prohibition or temperance, negroes or the South, which, in the context of the times, constitutes the greatest challenge to the stability and power of the state. The philosophy behind this historical fact is that government only moves when it is moved by pressure from social forces. It never initiates action in behalf of any groups of its citizens on a basis of sympathy, mercy or justice.

From address to the State of the Race Conference; April 24, 1956; Washington, D.C.

Segregation a Sin

Since segregation demeans and degrades the dignity of the human personality, it is not only a form of aggression against individual liberty, a major cornerstone of democracy, but it is also in conflict with the basic Judeo-Christian ethic which emphasizes the worth of every individual human being.

Thus, segregation is not only an abomination against humanity, but is a sin, and a sin should not be gradually accepted or gradually rejected. It is paradoxical to think of one gradually accepting the law of God or the law of the State.

May I submit that despite much discussion by some southern leaders about the practicality of gradualism, I know of no instances where southern leaders advocate gradualism, if it is construed to mean eventual racial and social equality with white men, even in astronomical time. This position of the South is understandable in the light of its belief in the racial inferiority of the Negro. Thus, the Negro and the South, in the terms of the logic of their positions on racial equality, are required to oppose gradualism, but for different reasons.

From address to the State of the Race Conference; April 24, 1956; Washington, D.C.

Toil and Trouble.

The following are excerpted from "A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait," by Jervis Anderson.

"The Sea Is Ruff"

After looking into the history of the porters' grievances, Randolph wrote and published two articles—"The Case of the Pullman Porter" and "Pullman Porters Need Their Own Union"—in the July and August, 1925, issues of the *Messenger*. They aroused such interest among porters in New York that Ashley Totten renewed his pressure upon Randolph to take on the job of organizing a union. And this time Randolph agreed. An organizing committee was set up, with himself as general organizer; W. H. DesVerney, deputy general organizer; and Roy Lancaster, secretary-treasurer. Lancaster also became business manager of the *Messenger*, which Randolph agreed to transform into the voice of the new union. Totten, Thomas Patterson, and R. R. Matthews continued working on the railroads.

Randolph's decision to lead the new movement had turned mainly on two considerations. First, no one else seemed willing to take kup the porters' cause. And, second, on further reflection, he saw the porters as his last and, possibly, best chance to promote the idea of labor unionism among black workers. "The Pullman porter," he told Benjamin Stolberg a year later, "seems to be made to order to carry the gospel of unionism in the colored world. His home is everywhere."

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was launched on the night of August 25, 1925, in the auditorium of the Imperial Lodge of Elks, at 160 West 129th Street. The New York *Amsterdam News* called the gathering of 500 "the greatest labor mass meeting ever held of, for and by Negro working men." But not all were well-wishers and potential members. According to the *Amsterdam News*, there were also "a few of the Company's spies and several hat-in-hand porters, waiting to get information to carry back to the Pullman offices." Because of this, the inaugural meeting had to be a cautious and restrained affair. Randolph recalls it:

I told the men I didn't want one porter to open his mouth in the meeting, lest the stool pigeons reported them to the Pullman Company. So I ran the whole meeting myself. I told them I would now give the invocation, and I gave it. I told them I was going to sing the Brotherhood's song, "Hold the Fort," and I sang it. I told them I was going to make the announcements and introduce the guest speakers, and I did. I told them now I was going to make the main speech, and then I did. At the end of the meeting, I moved the vote of thanks, said the benediction, and told everyone to go home and not hold any discussions on the street corners.

Photo taken around 1929, during the early period of Mr. Randolph's tenure as President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Randolph also told the porters what the Brotherhood would be demanding: recognition of the union and abolition of the company's Plan of Employee Representation; and end to tipping, and a minimum monthly wage of $150; a basic work month of 240 hours, compensation for "deadheading," and an end to "doubling out"; conductor's pay for conductor's work; and, "by no means last, that porters be treated like men."

The following day, more than 200 porters came to the *Messenger's* office—also headquarters of the new Brotherhood—to join the union. The initial enthusiasm was so great that within two months the Brotherhood would claim a majority of the porters in New York.

It was about this time, while Randolph was back in New York, that a story started circulating that the Pullman Company had sent him a blank check, redeemable in six figures, to abandon the Brotherhood. Today, only one man declares that the story is true. Randolph himself has neither admitted nor denied it, perhaps because—as Roy Wilkins once said, while telling the story at an affair in Randolph's honor—"Mr. Randolph is a modest man." C. L. Dellums says, "It is one of those stories you can't publish, because everyone would deny it." The man who says it's true is William Bowe, a charter member of the New York Brotherhood, who succeeded Ashley Totten as secretary-treasurer. Bowe knows it's true, he says, because "I was present at the attempt to purchase Randolph." It was, he recalls, "in the Harlem apartment of a porter named Owens. There were four of us there. Owens, Randolph, the porter stool pigeon who brought the check, and myself. Randolph had me hiding in another room. The stool pigeon, a porter working out of Philadelphia—I won't call his name—didn't know I was witnessing the transaction. He gave Randolph the check and told him all he had to do was fill in the amount. And Randolph, with his poker face, said, 'Take this blank check back to where you got it and tell them I'm not for sale.'" Randolph confines himself to the comment that "it was a feat to avoid being corrupted by the Pullman Company, because those fellows could corrupt Jesus Christ."

But, as one of the Brotherhood's organizers—O. W. Bynum—has said, recalling what every union porter felt at the time, "Randolph could not be bought. He had no interest in worldly goods. He would walk away from the Empire State Building if you gave it to him." Then, too, aside from his genuine disregard for "worldly goods," Randolph—as he had written in an internal office memo, in 1931—considered "the Brotherhood a high public and racial trust and I propose that its work shall always be conducted upon a high plane of honor, integrity and character."

It was not until April 1, 1937, three days after the Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of the amended Railway Labor Act, that the Pullman Company started bargaining in good faith. And it was not until August 25—the twelfth anniversary of the Brotherhood—that E. G. Carry announced to the mediator and the Brotherhood's negotiators, "Gentlemen, the Pullman Company is ready to sign." The agreement, the first ever signed between a union of black workers and a major American corporation, called for a reduction in the work month from 400 to 240 hours, and an annual wage package of $1,250,000.

E. G. Carry may not have realized that August 25 was the union's birthday, or, as the Brotherhood men suspected, he would have held out another day. Nevertheless, after twelve years of one of the bitterest struggles in American labor history, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had finally be recognized.

Almost overnight, Randolph became the most popular black political figure in America. A year earlier, the Brotherhood had become a full-fledged member of the AFL when, anticipating its victory, William Green had awarded it an international charter. After the union's victory, New York's Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, receiving a delegation of porters at City Hall, praised Randolph as "one of the foremost progressive labor leaders in America." And a few years later, the Brotherhood would help to win for blacks a place in American society that the Pullman porter of old had not known and could hardly have foreseen.

Negroes in Motion

In December, 1940, Randolph and Milton Webster left Washington by train to visit Brotherhood divisions in the South. As the train rumbled through Virginia, both men were silent. Whatever was on Randolph's mind, Webster, a self-confessed "loud-mouth" who "talk[ed] too much sometimes," was consulting old memories. "I always," he said later, "get a deep feeling, a funny feeling whenever I cross the Potomac River, and I'm always silent. They ran me and my old man from down South when I was a boy and I haven't been particular about going down there since."

Randolph finally broke the silence. "You know, Web," he said, "calling on the President and holding those conferences are not going to get us anywhere."

"We are going to have to do something about it," Randolph went on.

This changed Webster's mood. "Here it comes again," he said to himself, warily, remembering that "Brother Randolph was always figuring out something for us to do, sticking his nose in everything to see where he can stir something up." Wondering what Randolph had "up his sleeve" this time, Webster did not reply, but kept looking out across the Virginia landscape.

Randolph continued: "I think we ought to get 10,000 Negroes to march on Washington in

With Eleanor Roosevelt and Fiorello LaGuardia at a 1946 Madison Square Garden Rally to save the Fair Employment Practices Commission from extinction.

protest, march down Pennsylvania Avenue. What do you think of that?"

Webster replied, guardedly, that it was a good idea, "but where are you going to get 10,000 Negroes?"

"I think we can get them," Randolph said, and both men resumed the silence.

On their first stop, in Savannah, Georgia, the Brotherhood's leaders called a public meeting to announce that they were "gathering 10,000 Negroes to march on Washington to demand jobs in the defense industry."

From Savannah, they went on to Jacksonville, Tampa, and Miami, preaching march at each stop. Black newspapers picked up the story, and when Randolph and Webster returned to New York, the idea, according to Webster, "had caught on fire."

The idea "grew like Topsy," recalls Benjamin McLaurin, who as an officer of the Brotherhood, would become one of the chief organizers of the march. "It got out of hand almost overnight. People began writing us, 'What can we do?' How could they go about getting groups together?"

By the end of May, Randolph, responding to pressure from supporters, had, indeed, raised the ante. He was calling now for 100,000 marchers: "When 100,000 Negroes march on Washington, it will wake up Negro as well as white America ... I call upon Negroes everywhere ... to gird for an epoch-making march and demonstration ... Let the Negro masses march! Let the Negro masses speak!" ...

The White House meeting was held on June 18.

"Hello, Phil," the President said. "Which class were you in at Harvard?"

"I never went to Harvard, Mr. President."

"I was sure you did," Roosevelt replied. "Anyway, you and I share a kinship in our great interest in human and social justice."

"That's right, Mr. President."

Roosevelt, a man of great charm, had merely embarked upon one of his favorite filibuster stratagems. But, finding he could not engage Randolph in small talk, he turned raconteur and started regaling his audience with old political anecdotes. Randolph, unfailingly well-mannered, allowed himself to be entertained. But the clock was running, the President's time was no doubt well budgeted, and Randolph had no way of knowing when Roosevelt might suddenly inform the gathering that it was time for him to leave for another appointment. So, with as much graciousness as he commanded, Randolph broke in:

"Mr. President, time is running on. You are quite busy, I know. But what we want to talk with you about is the problem of jobs for Negroes in defense industries. Our people are being turned away at factory gates because they are colored. They can't live with this thing. Now, what are you going to do about it?"

Bayard Rustin and Mr. Randolph at press conference before historic March on Washington.

"Well, Phil, what do you want me to do?"

"Mr. President, we want you to do something that will enable Negro workers to get work in these plants."

"Why," Roosevelt replied, "I surely want them to work, too. I'll call up the heads of the various defense plants and have them see to it that Negroes are given the same opportunity to work in defense plants as any other citizen in the country."

"We want you to do more than that," Randolph said. "We want something concrete, something tangible, definite, positive, and affirmative."

"What do you mean?"

"Mr. President, we want you to issue an executive order making it mandatory that Negroes be permitted to work in these plants."

"Well, Phil," Roosevelt replied, "you know I can't do that. If I issue an executive order for you, then there'll be no end to other groups coming in here and asking me to issue executive orders for them, too. In any event, I couldn't do anything unless you called off this march of yours. Questions like this can't be settled with a sledge hammer."

"I'm sorry, Mr. President, the march cannot be called off."

"How many people do you plan to bring?" Roosevelt wanted to know.

"One hundred thousand, Mr. President."

Roosevelt seemed torn between alarm and disbelief. Perhaps this was a bluff. He turned to Walter White, as if to a man whose word he could trust, looked White squarely in the eye for a few seconds, and asked, "Walter, how many people will really march?"

White's eyes did not blink. He said, "One hundred thousand, Mr. President."

[It may, at that, have been a bluff. Randolph and White certainly expected a march of thousands. March committees around the country could have

At the 1965 White House Conference on Civil Rights, A. Philip Randolph proposed the Freedom Budget, a ten year program to abolish poverty and racial discrimination. With Randolph at press conference were Morris B. Abram, Martin Luther King, John Lewis, then head of the Student Non-Violent coordinating Committee and currently head of the Voter Education Project, and William T. Coleman, currently Secretary of Transportation in the Ford Administration.

turned out at least 10,000 marchers. The question was whether they could, indeed, muster an army of 100,000. Then, too, what is one to make of what William Bowe, one of Randolph's lieutenants in the Brotherhood, said later? "Personally," Bowe said, with a twinkle in his eyes, "I don't know how far we could march. I didn't think we could go as far as South Ferry.]

"You can't bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington," Roosevelt said. "Somebody might get killed."

Randolph said that that was unlikely, especially if the President himself came out and addressed the gathering.

Roosevelt was not amused. "Call it off," he said curtly, "and we'll talk again."

Randolph said he had a pledge of honor with his people, and he could not go back to them with anything less than an executive order.

Budging somewhat, Roosevelt suggested that Randolph and White confer with his presidential assistants over some way of solving the problem with defense contractors.

"Not defense contractors alone," Randolph broke in. "The government, too. The government is the worst offender."

This, Roosevelt seemed to feel, was going a bit too far, and he informed the president of the porters' union that it was not the policy of the President of the United States to rule, or be ruled, with a gun at his head.

"Then," Randolph replied, "I shall have to stand by the pledge I've made to the people."

It was Mayor La Guardia who broke the impasse. "Gentlemen," he said, "it is clear that Mr. Randolph is not going to call off the march, and I suggest we all begin to seek a formula.

Roosevelt welcomed the opening, and asked Mrs. Rosenberg, La Guardia, and Aubrey Williams to take the group to an anteroom and work out a solution. But the solution proposed was the one Randolph had already rejected—the President's promise to call up the heads of defense plants and urge them to follow a nondiscriminatory policy. When both Randolph and La Guardia dismissed the proposal, a committee of five was appointed to draw up an executive order to be submitted to the President. This satisfied Randolph, and he left for New York—to continue preparing for the march, at least until he was assured that the President would sign the order.

It took a few days to work out a draft of the order that was acceptable to Randolph—one that had "teeth in it" and could be enforced. The chief legal draftsman for the government was a young lawyer in the Office for Emergency Management, named Joseph L. Rauh. Every draft that Rauh prepared was sent back to him as being not strong enough. They had all been read over the telephone to Randolph, in New York, and he had rejected every one. Rauh could no longer contain himself when what he considered his best and final draft was thrown back at him because, once again, it was not strong enough for Randolph. "Who the hell is this guy Randolph?" Rauh exploded at his superiors. "What the hell has *he* got over the President of the United States?" Rauh would later come to know, admire, and work with Randolph in a number of public causes, and would say, "I don't know that I've met a greater man in my life."

Randolph liked Rauh's very next effort, however, and on June 25, six days before the march was scheduled to take place, the President signed and issued Executive Order 8802—declaring it to be the policy of the United States "that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin," and that "it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations . . . to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries." To enforce the order, the President appointed a temporary Fair Employment Practices Committee to "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination" and to take "appropriate steps to redress grievances." Mrs. Roosevelt wrote Randolph to say she was glad the march had been called off and to hope that "from this first step, we may go on to others." On July 19, the President appointed the Fair Employment Practices Committee, chaired by Mark Ethridge, of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and including Milton P. Webster, first vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph had declined to serve on the committee.

We Won't Go

Though President Roosevelt's executive order of June, 1941, did not touch upon the problem of segregation in the armed forces, Randolph and the March on Washington movement had decided against pressing a desegregation campaign. They felt that such a campaign, in arousing public feeling—black feeling, at any rate—against the military, might tend to embarrass the nation's war effort. Two years after the war, however, when Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, called for a peacetime draft, a new opportunity arose for Randolph—if not the declining march movement—to wage a crusade against the racial practices of the armed services.

The 1947 draft bill, proposing universal military training, contained no provision for a ban against segregation. This, Randolph said in a statement to the press, was "pregnant with indecency;" and, that November, he and Grant Reynolds, Commissioner of Correction for New York State, founded the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training—which expanded, early in 1948, into the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

On March 22, 1948, after Randolph had made it clear that the civil disobedience movement would be satisfied with nothing less than an executive order against military segregation, President Truman invited a group of black spokesmen to the White House to discuss the subject. Among them were Randolph, Walter White, Mary McLeod Bethune, Lester Granger, and Charles Houston, a special counsel for the NAACP.

As Randolph remembers, the meeting had been proceeding smoothly and amicably, until he said to Truman, "Mr. President, after making several trips around the country, I can tell you that the mood among Negroes of this country is that they will never bear arms again until all forms of bias and discrimination are abolished."

Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, and Lyndon Johnson at the White House in 1965.

Happy
Birthday
CHIEF

80th Birthday celebration.

In a battle of bluntness Harry Truman came out second to no man, and he told Randolph, "I wish you hadn't made that statement. I don't like it at all."

Charles Houston intervened: "But, Mr. President, don't you want to know what is happening in the country?" Truman said he certainly wanted to know what was happening in the country; a president attracted more than enough yes men.

"Well, that's what I'm giving you, Mr. President," Randolph said, seizing the advantage before it disappeared again. "I'm giving you the facts." When the President allowed him to proceed, Randolph ran headlong into Truman again: "Mr. President, as you know, we are calling upon you to issue an executive order abolishing segregation in the armed forces." At this point, Truman simply thanked his visitors for coming, and said there didn't seem to be much more that they could talk fruitfully about.

But Truman's rebuff merely aroused Randolph's defiance. Testifying, nine days later, during hearings on the universal military training bill, Randolph (appearing with Grant Reynolds) told the Senate Armed Services Committee:

> This time Negroes will not take a jim crow draft lying down. The conscience of the world will be shaken as by nothing else when thousands and thousands of us second-class Americans choose imprisonment in preference to permanent military slavery. . . . I personally will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy.

On his way from the Armed Services Committee hearings, Randolph stopped off at the old March on

Washington headquarters, in the capital, to address a group of young people who had gathered to await his report of the confrontation with Morse. "I am prepared," he told them, "to oppose a Jim Crow army till I rot in jail." And, upon returning to Harlem, he launched a series of public meetings, at the corner of Seventh Avenue and 125th Street, in which he counseled young men to refuse induction in a segregated army. In giving such counsel, he said, he was fully aware he was violating the Selective Service Act. "My exemption from the draft," he told one of the meetings, "is merely by accident of birth. And it imposes on me and others a special responsibility, a special moral obligation, not to expect of our younger brothers a conduct that the rules of self-respect and human decency preclude."

But the most telling endorsement of Randolph's campaign came from those immediately affected. A poll of young black men, in Harlem, showed that 71 per cent favored a civil disobedience campaign against the draft. It only proved that Max Lerner had been correct when he wrote in the newspaper *PM* that "Randolph and Reynolds come closer to the true feelings of the masses of American Negroes than their more cautious and circumspect colleagues."

In July, 1948, while Hubert Humphrey, at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, was waging his historic fight against the Dixiecrats to obtain a strong civil rights plank in the party's platform, scores of blacks, led by Randolph, were picketing the convention hall. Randolph's own picket sign read: "Prison is better than Army Jim Crow service."

Under the combined pressure of the Randolph campaign, the Humphrey civil rights floor fight, and the need to retain the black vote in the November election, President Truman, on July 26, issued Executive Order 9981, calling for an end to military discrimination "as rapidly as possible." The language was not clear, however—the word "segregation" had not been used—and Randolph wanted to know from Truman whether "you interpret your Executive Order on Armed Services to mean that its policy and purpose is to eliminate discrimination and segregation." When Truman replied, through Senator J. Howard McGrath, one of his spokesmen, that the order did indeed ban segregation, Randolph called off the civil disobedience campaign, and wired congratulations to the President for his "high order of statesmanship and courage."

At recent birthday celebration with Ernest Green, Director of the Recruitment and Training Program.

Address at the March On Washington

Fellow Americans, we are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organizations. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed, and exploited. But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro nor is it confined to civil rights, for our whtie allies know that they cannot be free while we are not; and we know that we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty. Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens, but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them. Yes, we want a Fair Employment Practices Act, but what good will it do if profit-geared automation destroys the jobs of millions of workers, black and white? We want integrated public schools, but that means we also want federal aid to education—all forms of education. We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic, and social advancement of man along moral lines.

Now, we know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing, we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this proper priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment, and to put automation at the service of humand needs, not at the service of profits—for we are the first victims of unemployment. Negroes are in the forefront of today's movement for social and racial justice because we know we cannot expect the realization of our aspirations through the same old anti-democratic social institutions and philosophies that have all along frustrated our aspirations.

A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin before Lincoln Monument just prior to the 1963 March on Washington.

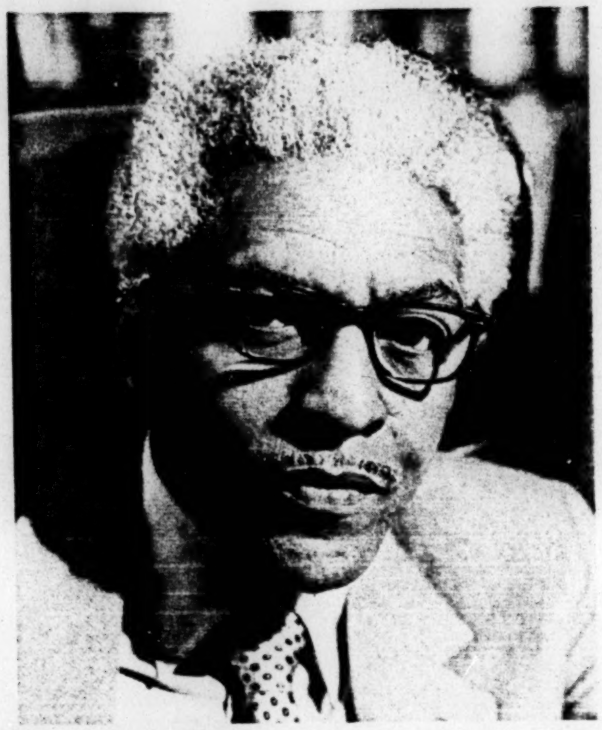
And so we have taken our struggle into the streets, as the labor movement took its struggle into the streets, as Jesus Christ led the multitudes through the streets of Judea. The plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the federal government was indifferent to our demands. It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. It was not until thousands demonstrated in the South that lunch counters and other public accommodations were integrated. It was not until the freedom riders were brutalized in Alabama that the 1964 Supreme Court decision banning discrimination in interstate travel was enforced, and it was not until construction sites were picketed in the North that Negro workers were hired.

Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than with enforcing racial democracy. The months and years ahead will ring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle but a new beginning, not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life.

Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of federal aid to education, and there you will find the enemy of the Negro—the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seks to dominate the Congress. We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy. In the struggle against these forces, all of us should be prepared to take to the streets. The spirit and techniques that built the labor movement, founded churches, and now guide the civil rights revolution must be a massive crusade, must be launched against the unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and the racists that seek to strangle Congress.

We here today are only the first wave. When we leave, it will be to carry the civil rights revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land, and we shall return again and again to Washington in ever growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less, and may God grant that we may have the courage, the strength, and the faith in this hour of trial by fire never to falter.

With Martin Luther King.



BAYARD RUSTIN

NORMAN HILL

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was established in 1965, the year in which the black struggle won one of its greatest legislative victories, the Voting Rights Act. The Institute has acted on the premise that to complete the agenda of the civil rights movement would require a movement which sought basic, far-reaching changes in the nation's social and economic structures. The means of effecting this transformation, moreover, would be political. Thus the Institute directs its program to extending democracy to those who have been traditionally disenfranchised or discouraged from participating in the political system.

The changes in the ensuing years have been dramatic. Millions more blacks, are voting and over 3,000 blacks serve as elected officials. But representation in and of itself is not enough — witness the scandalous rate of black unemployment, the deterioration of the cities and the inability to stem inner-city blight. Blacks alone do not have the power to secure the changes in national policy necessary to complete the legacy of the civil rights movement.

This is why the Institute has worked for the creation of a broad-based, national coalition of those forces who believe in social progress for minorities, the poor, and working people.

We believe the black unionist is a source of strength in our society. Our programs seek to enhance the role of the black unionist, both in the black community and in the labor movement itself.

The ideals of the Institute are the same ideals which have guided A. Philip Randolph in his life-long struggle for racial and social progress. They are the principles which produced the March on Washington, the successful campaigns to organize black workers, and the struggle against discrimination in federal employment and Jim Crow in the armed services.

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

Bayard Rustin
President

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

Robert W. Gilmore
Treasurer

National Advisory Board
Dorothy Height
Vernon E. Jordan
John Lewis
Roy Wilkins

Executive Board
I. W. Abel
George Agree
Joan Allen
Jervis Anderson
Alexander E. Barkan
Kenneth Blaylock
Charles Bloomstein
Peter Bommarito
John T. Burnell
Sol C. Chaikin
Kenneth B. Clark
Jacob Clayman
Mose Collins
Clara Dasher
Earl W. Davis
Hal C. Davis
Walter Davis
Bernard Englander
Murray H. Finley
Angelo Fosco
Alex Fuller
William Gary
Floyd Gipson
Raymond Gray
Ernest Green
A. F. Grospiron
Matthew Guinan
Paul Hall
Alvin Heaps
Johnnie Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
James T. Housewright
Benny Jackson
Mattie Jackson
Paul Jennings
James Jones, Sr.
Tom Kahn
Maida Springer Kemp
Leon Keyserling
Roy Kirkley
Henry Lacayo
Herbert A. Levine
Dennis Lockhart
John H. Lyons
Will Maslow
Benjamin E. Mays
Robert McGlotten
Isaiah Minkoff
Clarence Mitchell
Paul Montemayore
Emanuel Muravchik
Warren Pate
William Pollard
Robert Powell
Arch Puddington
S. Frank Raftery
Richard Ravitch
Howard Richardson
John P. Roche
Albert Shanker
Horace Sheffield
Donald Slaiman
Lorenzo Stephens
William Stodghill
Louis Stulberg
Joseph Tonelli
Thomas Turner
Gus Tyler
Barbara VanBlake
Walter Waddy
Roosevelt Watts
Hunter Wharton
Wilbert Williams
C. Vann Woodward
Andrew Young

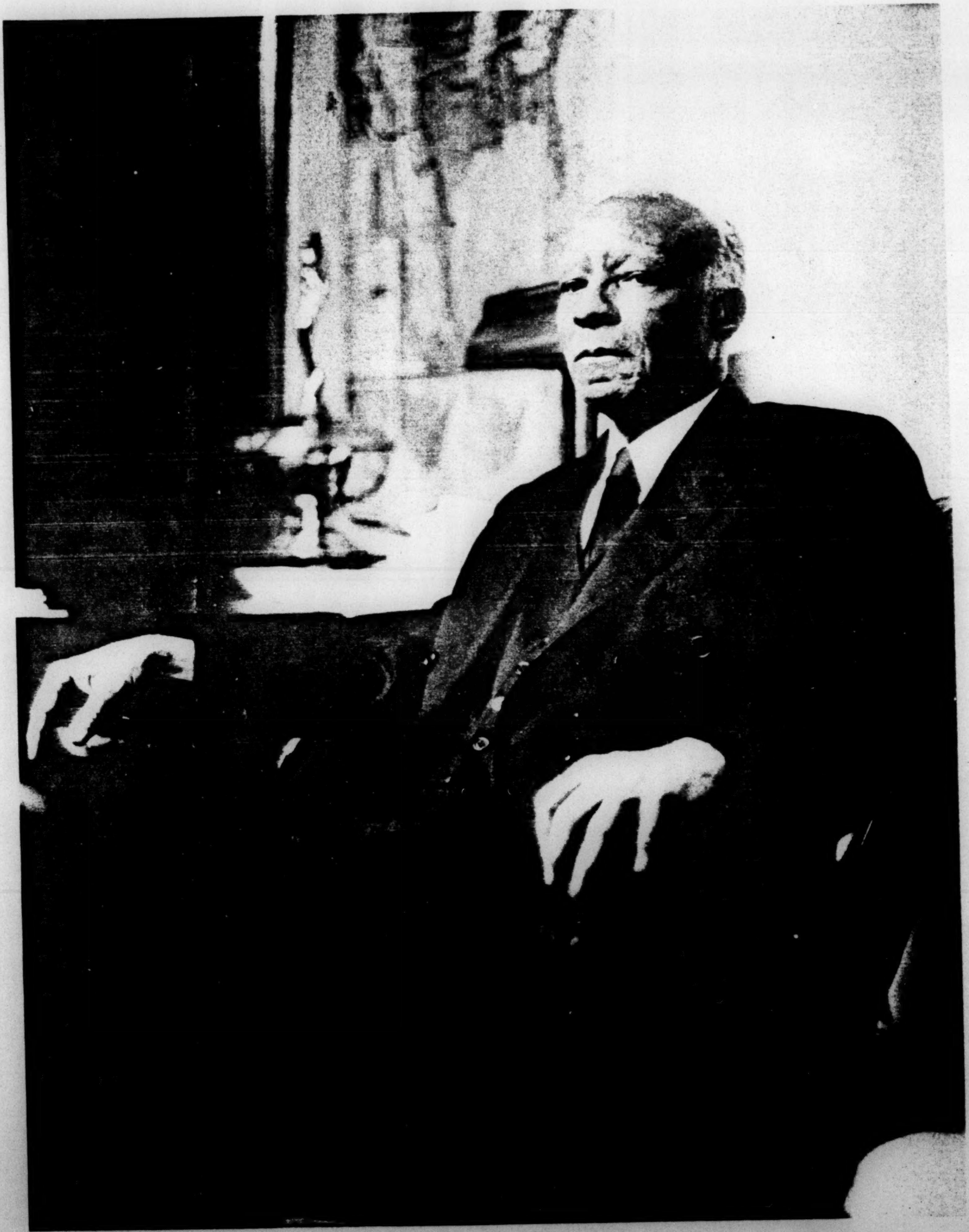
Special Events Consultant
Lionel Hampton

Counsel
John C. Somers

Staff
E. R. McKinney
Assistant to the President

Harriette Siani
Administrative Director

Helen Toth
Assistant to the Executive Director



Anderson, Jervis. *A. Philip Randolph—
A Biographical Portrait*. New York:
Harcourt Brace, c. 1973.
Hardcover $12.50

It is ironic that the black struggle, despite its transforming influence on society, has produced such a scarcity of worthwhile literature. Most that has been written about the civil rights movement, or about the figures who shaped that movement, and is exploitative and sensationalistic—the more angry and anti-white, the higher the profits.

The publication of "*A. Philip Randolph—A Biographical Portrait*" stands in marked contrast to the intellectual wasteland that passes for race relations literature. Its author, Jervis Anderson, has written both an important account of social and racial struggle, and a perceptive portrait of the man I consider the most important figure in the past 50 years of black struggle.

This is not an authorized biography, but rather an objective, honest recounting of Randolph's life. But the author's objectivity, combined with his thoroughness and craftsmanship, gives the work strength.

I have known, worked with and admired A. Philip Randolph for 36 years. Many of my beliefs were first imparted to me by Mr. Randolph—the use of nonviolent civil disobedience, the importance of the labor movement as an instrument for racial equality, the necessity to seek change that will directly benefit working people, and the importance of mass actions—demonstrations, marches, strikes—as a tactic of protest.

There are many lessons to be learned from Mr. Randolph's life, but perhaps none more important than the lesson of what it was like to be a Negro, in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's, and to be engaged in protest.

The description of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is to me one of the most moving chapters in the whole panorama of the campaign for equality. The Brotherhood's lonely fight for recognition was not aided by nationwide boycotts of Pullman cars. Even the black community was, at least initially, unmoved by the Brotherhood's cause. With the exception of two black newspapers and a handful of churches, there was little support forthcoming from Negro institutions of the period. There was only Randolph, and a few porters, or, as often was the case, ex-porters who had been fired for their union activities. Those who, having just entered the struggle for reform, grow despondent after a few failures, should keep in mind that it took the Brotherhood *12 years* to gain recognition, years in which it often seemed as if there was no money, support, or hope.

Because Randolph believed that social movements must be of and for workingmen, he came to break from the views of three of the most influential figures in black thought—Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, and Marcus Garvey.

Washington advised Negroes to accept social segregation and hope that the largesse of white society would one day bring economic emancipation; DuBois said progress would come from the development of a "Talented Tenth"—an enlightened and educated elite; Garvey preached a crude form of black capitalism and a cruder form of race consciousness.

None of the three, however, had a program to deal with the chronic poverty, unemployment, and economic discrimination which were the daily experiences of the vast majority of black Americans. Nor did Washington, DuBois (whom Randolph respected in many ways) or Garvey challenge the basic institutions that discriminated against working people and the poor.

To give even a partial list of Randolph's accomplishments in a paragraph would be to evoke disbelief from most people. He founded the *Messenger*, one of the most important black journals of the 1920's; he founded the Brotherhood; he was the first head of the National Negro Congress; he prodded President Roosevelt to sign the order banning discrimination in defense industries; he fought, and won, a fight for the abolition of Jim Crow in the military; he was instrumental in transforming the labor movement to an institution that has welcomed the participation and championed the rights of minorities.

The culmination of his career as activist was, of course, the 1963 March on Washington, the largest, most effective mass peaceful demonstration in American history. It is altogether fitting that the publication of this biography comes during the tenth anniversary of the March.

Mr. Randolph, at 84, is now in retirement. But he can look back on his career and feel that the principles he refused to betray have been vindicated and that many of the goals for which he sacrificed have been achieved. Today we are in a time of stalemate, when progress is measured in inches, or, sometimes, as simply having held the dike firm against the torrents of reaction. At a time such as this, when many are tempted to give it up, embracing outmoded formulas of black nationalism, or retreating behind a shell of race consciousness, nothing could be more soul reviving than to read, and reflect on — for a long time — the life of A. Philip Randolph.

Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Rustin Remarks

My Dear Friends,

I regret being unable to be with you on this wonderful occasion to pay tribute to your neighbor and my neighbor, A. Philip Randolph. I need not tell you how I feel about Mr. Randolph. He has been my political mentor now for as long as I can remember. He taught me what I know, and I don't mean only politics and sociology. I mean ethics and principles. We could not honor a better man, a wiser man, a man who has done more for his people and for his country.

I wanted to be with you today, but I was called away to a meeting in Paris concerning the plight of the Jewish minorities in the Arab countries of the Middle East. You are aware of this problem, and I'm sure you are as agonize by it as I am. There aren't many things in this world that would take precedence over a meeting to honor A. Philip Randolph, but this is one of them, and I know Mr. Randolph would agree. After all, he has dedicated his whole life to the cause of social justice. He has given sixty beautiful years in the hope that one day there might no longer be any persecuted minorities--black or white, Christian, Jew, or Moslem--anywhere in the world. I'm only doing now what he has taught me to do.

I think it is significant that the committee which organized this salute to A. Philip Randolph represents a neighborhood which is a microcism of the kind of world that we all have been struggling to achieve. No neighborhood is as integrated economically and socially as Chelsea. I am proud to be a resident of Chelsea, and I think that the greatest tribute we can pay to our neighbor Mr. Randolph is to maintain the sense of community and interracial harmony that we have achieved here.

My warmest regards to all of you, and my most profound respects to Mr. Randolph.

* * * *

A. Philip Randolph by Bayard Rustin

It is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his sixty years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people as well as of the means by which it must be achieved. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and everything he has done has sprung from this basic premise.

A. Philip Randolph stands out among Negro leaders of the Twentieth Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism — whether it was advocated in the 1920's by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960's by black nationalists — because of his belief in the principle of integration and also his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people. And again, he has rejected elitism — either in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or as a proposal for black capitalism — because of his com-

mitment to democracy and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority at the expense of the majority. And he has adhered to non-violence as a moral principle *and* as the most effective means of political struggle.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph became the foremost advocate of the full integration of black workers into the American trade union movement. In his struggle to build a Negro-labor alliance, he opposed all efforts by business leaders to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on white workers. In addition, Mr. Randolph became the leader of the campaign to organize the predominantly Negro sleeping car porters — a venture begun in 1925 that was to make possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader. For ten years he battled the railroad companies, and finally in 1935, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won certification and collective bargaining rights. Within a few short years porters had quadrupled their income.

In the 1940's Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest — a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Negro movement — in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the demonstration only *after* President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. In 1948 Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, masses of Negroes would refuse induction. Soon Executive Order 9981 was issued to comply with his demands, and it is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has yet to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

It was Mr. Randolph's perception of the economic basis of Negro freedom which enabled him to grasp the unique significance of the 1963 March on Washington. He conceived of the March as the termination of the period of massive protest — during which Negroes had destroyed the Jim Crow institutions in the South — and the inauguration of the period of massive action at the ballot box to bring about a new economic program. He understood that the central problem faced by Negroes was no longer simply one of *civil* rights but of *economic* rights, for the former would lack social substance without the infusion of the latter. He, therefore, called for a March on Washington which brought a quarter of a million Americans to the nation's capitol to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

At the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," he persisted in his demand for an economic program. He projected the idea of the Freedom Budget which proposed an annual Federal expenditure of $18.5 billion for ten years to wipe out poverty. His program called for full employment and a guaranteed income, the rebuilding of our cities, and the provision of superior schools for all of our children and free medical care for all of our citizens. He was speaking, very simply and without rhetoric, of achieving social and economic justice in America.

And he was not speaking unrealistically, for he was proposing along with the Freedom Budget a political strategy for achieving it. It is a strategy that calls for the building of a coalition of Negroes, the labor movement, liberals, religious organizations, and students. If united, these groups would form a majority movement which would be capable of democratizing the economic, social and political power of this nation.

In this time of confusion, violence, and racial separatism, A. Philip Randolph — at 80 years of age — remains a source of wisdom and courage. By his presence, he poses a challenge to his followers. That challenge is to build, through means that are democratic and non-violent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL
CIO

In Memory of A. Philip Randolph

by Bayard Rustin

Our Chief, Phil Randolph, was for me father, uncle, adviser, defender. And as we pay tribute to him, we must not lose sight of his human qualities. It is in these qualities that we understand his life.

Mr. Randolph was a successful and uniquely gifted labor and civil rights activist, precisely because he was a sensitive, unselfish and dignified human being. He did not study organizational behavior, nor tactical skills, nor social sciences to inspire and create great movements for justice. Rather, his leadership flowed from the depth of his humanity. It flowed from his understanding of the human condition.

His modesty, his integrity, his generosity, and his unshakeable dedication won for him loyalty—and, yes, mostly love—of his comrades in the trade union movement and of his brothers and sisters. We who worked for the Chief never served him out of a sense of coercion or fear, but out of sense of love and a need to share his very deep commitment.

As an illustration of his gentle leadership style, I like to recall an incident which occurred more than 30 years ago. In 1948, some young militants including myself had a serious tactical disagreement with Mr. Randolph. After lengthy and delicate negotiations, he secured an agreement from President Harry Truman to issue an Executive Order banning segregation in the military. Because Truman finally complied with the Chief's central demand, a planned march on Washington was cancelled. But we young militants wanted to proceed with the demonstration with an additional demand—the release of a number of black prisoners. Mr. Randolph however had given his solemn word to Truman and refused to abrogate his agreement.

Thinking ourselves more militant and wiser than the Chief, we held a press conference at 10 a.m. to denounce him and Truman. At 4 p.m. on the same day, Mr. Randolph held a press conference to explain his position and gently chide us for being unwise and mistaken. He issued no condemnation; he said nothing in anger; he never questioned our motives.

BAYARD RUSTIN worked for more than four decades in the labor and civil rights struggles of A. Philip Randolph, who died May 16, 1979. At a June 3 Memorial Service for Randolph, Rustin was one of the speakers along with President Jimmy Carter and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland.

Because of our disagreements at the time, I foolishly avoided Mr. Randolph for nearly two and a half years. Finally, I decided that he had been right all along, and I went to see him. Rather than sternly lecturing me or expecting an apology, he simply looked up from his desk, smiled at me in his unique way, and calmly said, "Bayard, where have you been? I needed you. We have work to do."

Just as his leadership sprang from his humanity, so did his political philosophy. As a young man, he saw and felt the ugly reality of racial oppression that were to him an abomination. The irrationality and cruelty of oppression offended him deeply. And early in his life when he was a mere solitary, powerless individual, he swore to challenge this affront to humanity.

He was also disturbed by the deplorable conditions of American workers, white as well as black. He understood that people subjected to the indignities of arbitrary employer power could never be fully human, nor fully free. He knew that powerless workers could uplift themselves only by uniting in democratic trade unions, the only effective instruments for economic liberation then and now. He thus rejected elitist approaches like W. E. B. DuBois's emphasis on the "Talented Tenth," and modern day movements for "black capitalism." Likewise, he rejected separatist strategies whether they originated with Marcus Garvey in the 1920s or 40 years later with figures like H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael or the Black Panthers.

From his youth, he saw that industrial capitalism created enormous inequalities between people who labored long hours under intolerable conditions and those who lived in luxury from inherited wealth or profits. He believed that an economic system motivated by insecurity, greed and ruthless competition debased everything in that society in a fundamental way.

He also understood the terror and the depravity of absolute power wielded by totalitarian elites. He saw how men like Stalin and Hitler could trample on the most basic human rights of the individual and commit crimes against humanity. And he was aware that systems based on total power constitute a threat to freedom and justice everywhere.

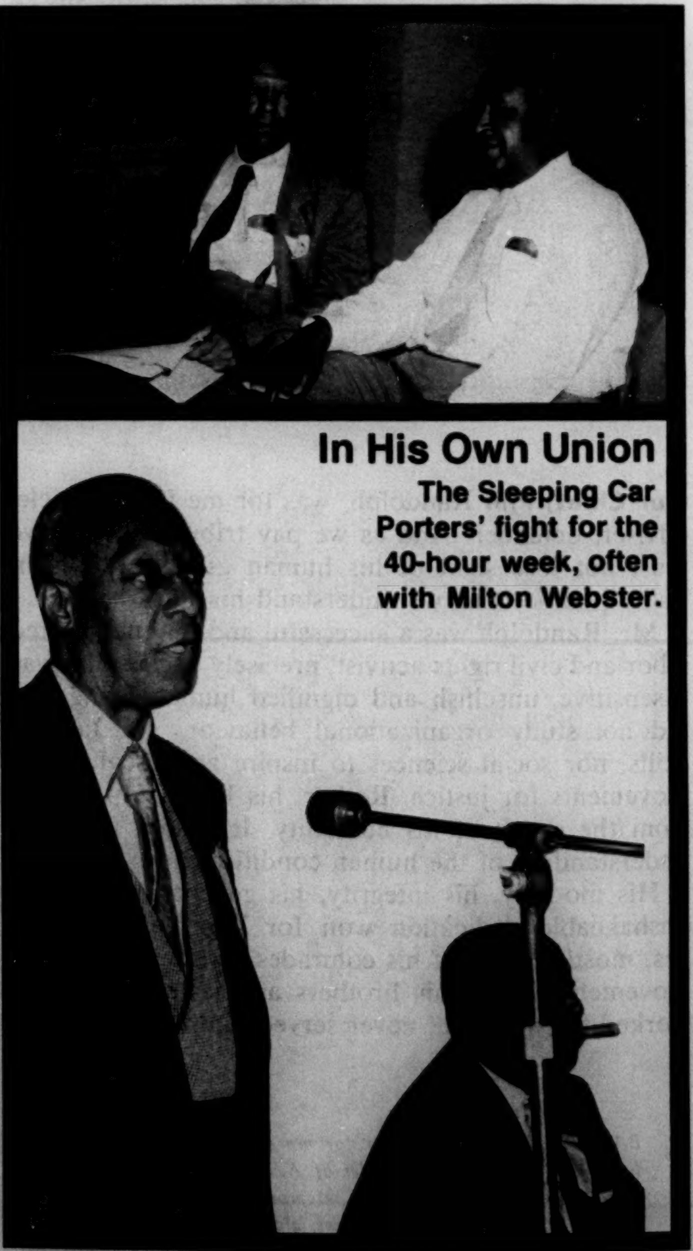
Thus while rejecting religious intolerance, worker exploitation and unbridled capitalism, the Chief never embraced totalitarianism and always was distressed fundamentally by those who in one breath denounced oppression in America and tolerated slavery in totalitarian states.

He believed in democratic socialism, the political system which was the foundation of his strategy and tactics in the trade union movement and in the civil rights movement and which combined with his intelligence, his integrity and his complete lack of sentimentality helped him reject the fads, the easy answers and the separatist illusions that had too frequently plagued movements for liberation.

This philosophy provided as well a basis for universal moral concern which compelled his resistance to any tendency anywhere in the world which defended unjust acts in the name of justice or which excused wrongdoing—either by black or whites—because it was done in the name of some particular freedom, or in the name of democracy, or of anti-colonialism, or of racial liberation, or of any other cause. He was a consistent man.

As a gentle but iron-willed radical, the Chief's commitments were boundless. His concerns flowed to every facet of the human condition. He was a true partisan, that is a partisan for all humanity, regardless of race, religion or nationality. The Chief taught us that the struggle for any right is linked to the struggle for all rights.

The Chief's universality is clearly seen in his world view. Way back in 1942, he urged me and others to devote our energy to a struggle on behalf of Japanese-Americans who were detained during World War II.



In His Own Union

The Sleeping Car Porters' fight for the 40-hour week, often with Milton Webster.

Later, h
with the in
of us to In
Tanzania.
in America
movement
of us to j
King Jr.

More re
ment as w
black Ame
to take th
thousands
totalitarian
Even a fe
me the ur
Haiti who
dom.

Even in
passion w

Later, he urged us to become personally involved with the independence movements of and sent some of us to India, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya and Tanzania. In 1953 he helped create the first committee in America against apartheid. When the civil rights movement began growing in the South, he asked many of us to join the struggle with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

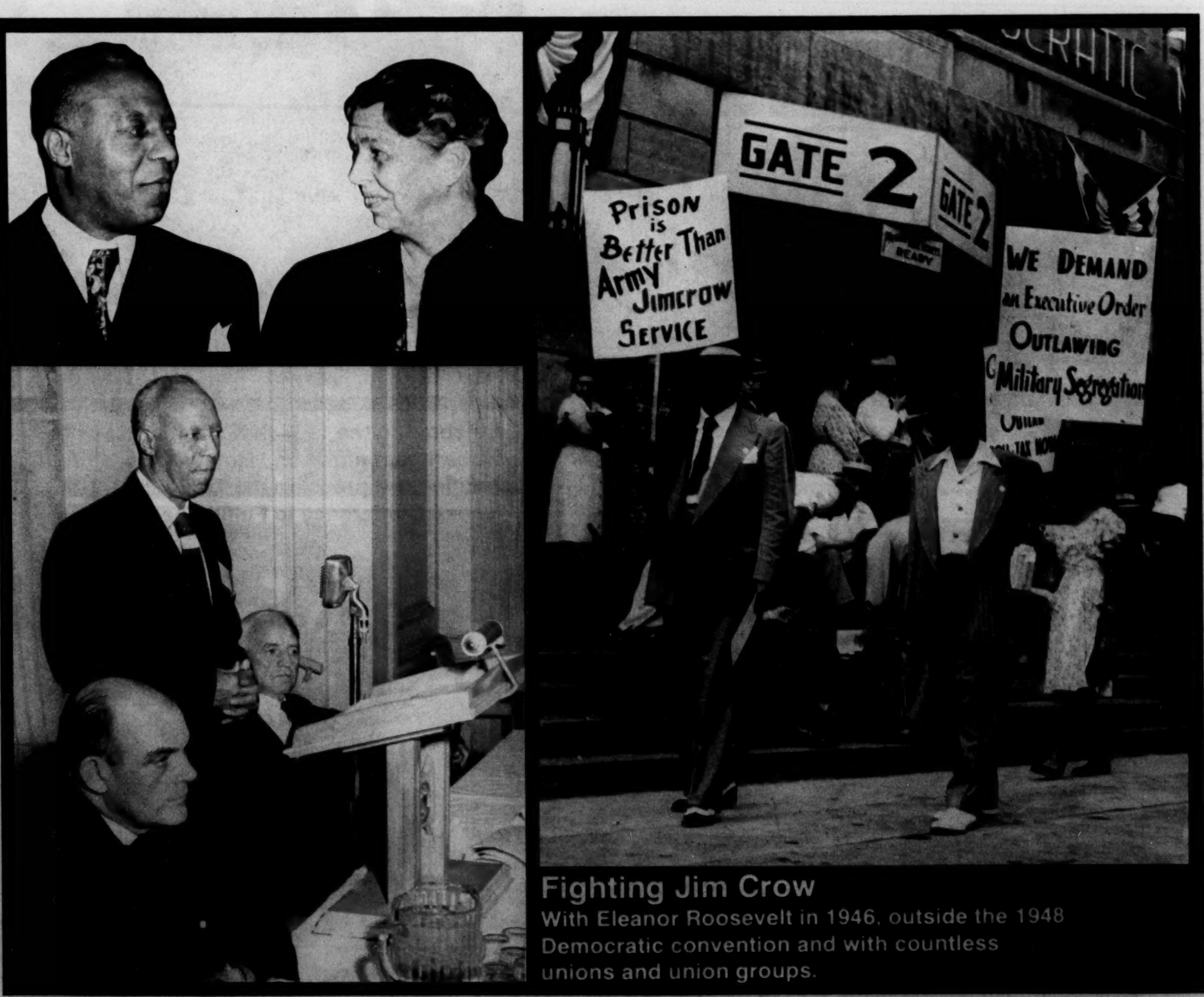
More recently, he offered enthusiastic encouragement as we began the difficult task of organizing the black Americans to support Israel. Later he asked me to take the lead in doing something useful for the thousands of defenseless refugees fleeing the brutal, totalitarian regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Even a few days before his death, he emphasized to me the urgency of assisting the many refugees from Haiti who are reaching our shores in search of freedom.

Even in his final days with us, his concern and compassion were alive and strong. The flame of his humanity still burned strongly even as his physical condition weakened with each passing day.

We who loved him and admired him feel a longing for his presence. But even as we feel an emptiness, a profound sense of loss, we must remember A. Philip Randolph considered himself part of a living, vibrant movement, a movement that embraced thousands whom he always regarded as equals, as his brothers and sisters.

The Chief never exalted or promoted himself at the expense of others. He never demanded—or expected —special privileges or rewards because of his stature as a major leader.

Moreover, he never hesitated to accept responsibility for the errors and indiscretions of his own staff. As an example of this, I remember when President Truman inadvertently received a mass-produced letter with a mimeographed signature from Mr. Randolph. Understandably, the President was furious, and his


CRATIC
GATE 2
GATE 2
Prison is Better Than Army Jimcrow Service
WE DEMAND an Executive Order Outlawing Military Segregation

Fighting Jim Crow

With Eleanor Roosevelt in 1946, outside the 1948 Democratic convention and with countless unions and union groups.

extreme displeasure was communicated to the Chief. The letter, of course, had been sent to Truman by a young, inexperienced staff person unaccustomed to the requirements of protocol and simple civility. Mr. Randolph could have embarrassed the youngster by demanding that he bear the blame for the oversight. But such a thought never occurred to the Chief, who sat down and wrote a personal note of apology to the President, and the incident ended there.

He lived a simple life, a life totally unconcerned with material possessions. The afternoon when the tax examiner came to look over Mr. Randolph's apartment and decide his worth, he found that except for a broken television set, which may be able to be fixed, the price of his possessions was $500.

The thing he most valued, he left to his devoted follower, Brother Douglas Taylor. It was a battered old watch given him years and years ago by the Pullman porters. But while leaving us precious little in

Planning and Completing
The 1963 March on Washington

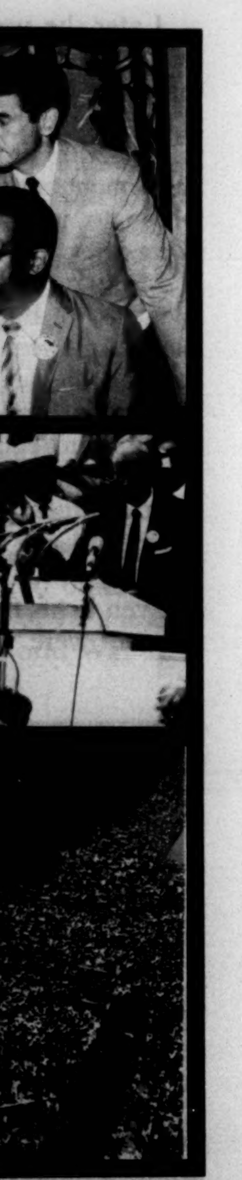
Celebrating the 1964 Civil Rights Act with Hubert Humphrey and Roy Wilkins, and briefing the press on the 1966 White House Conference to Fulfill These Rights.

THE WASHINGTON HI

worldly goo
all of us th
pursuit of tr

Because he
own mortali
indispensabl
younger peo
responsibilit
talents. He
dom, or his
shared these
wanted them
day there ar
people, blac
well-trained
A. Philip Ra
man I shall

Mr. Ranc



s Act with
ins, and
/hite
se

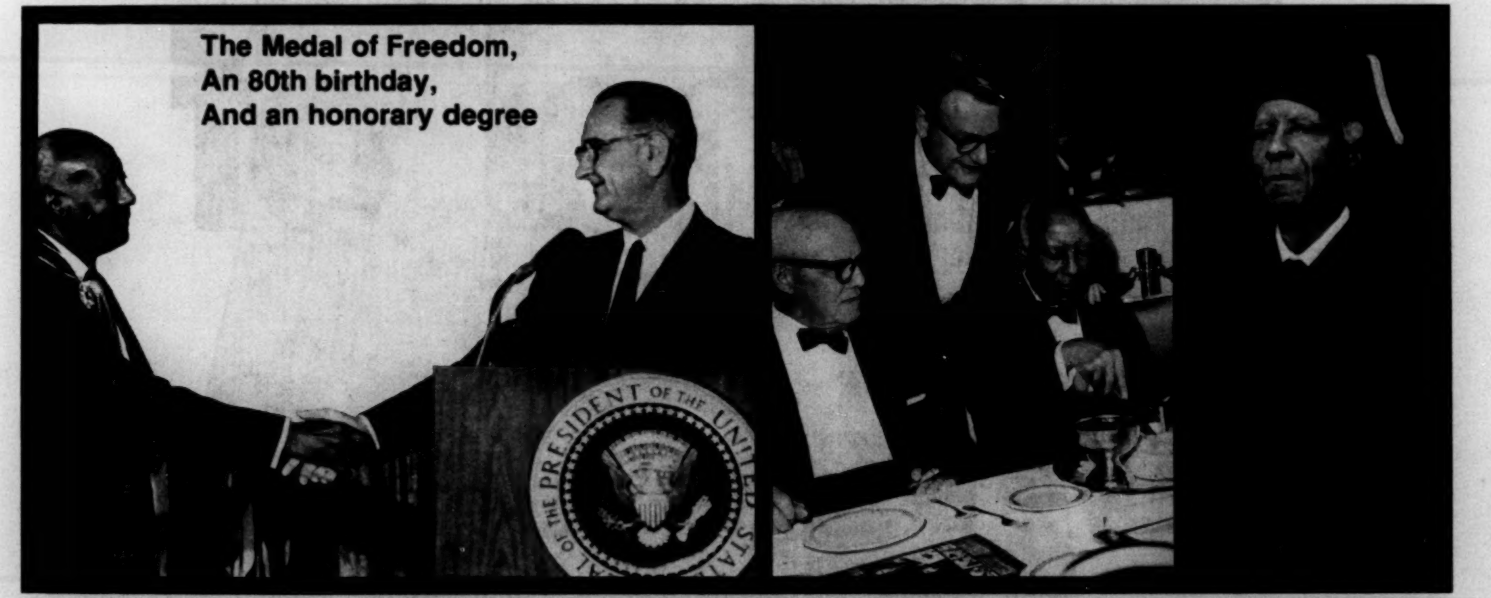
worldly goods, my father, my uncle, my adviser left all of us the wealth of his wisdom acquired in the pursuit of truth.

Because he believed in equality, and understood his own mortality, the Chief never regarded himself as indispensable. He consciously set out to insure that younger people would have the opportunity to assume responsibility and to develop and use their creative talents. He never hoarded his knowledge or his wisdom, or his long years of experience. But rather he shared these generously with young people because he wanted them to grow and blossom. Consequently, today there are men and women, young people and old people, black people and white people, who are the well-trained students and the spiritual children of A. Philip Randolph, the most effective and most gentle man I shall ever know.

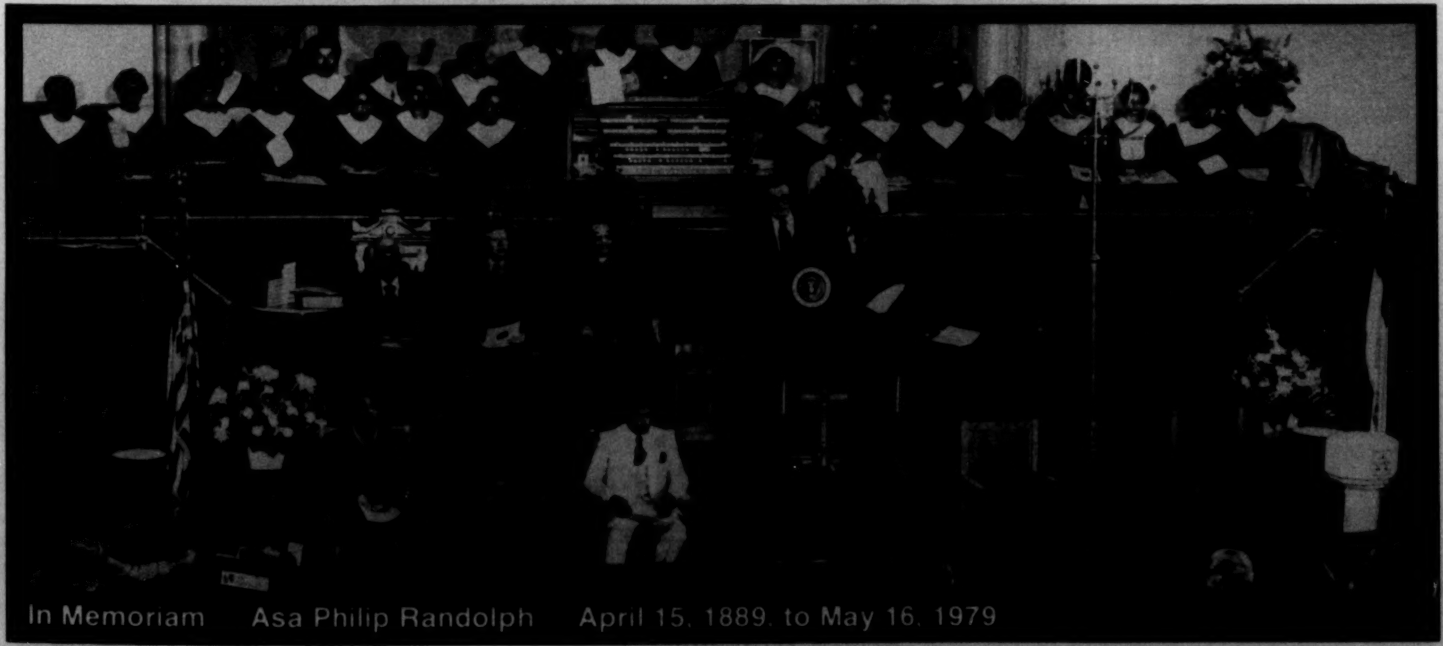
Mr. Randolph was a man I never heard, in 40 years of working with him, say an unkind word about any individual—foe or friend.

I want to share a letter I received from my good friend and comrade Jim Farrell. Jim had a conversation with a Pullman porter back in the 1960s on a Chicago-bound train. Jim told the porter that he knew Mr. Randolph. The porter was thrilled, and he said to him in a sincere voice: "The old gentleman took care of us when we needed it, when we could not take care of ourselves. Now he's old and he needs to be taken care of. And we'll take care of the old gentleman."

Like that Pullman porter, all of us here must recognize our responsibility to "take care of the old gentleman" by taking care of his unfinished work he has left us. We can take care of our beloved Chief by rededicating ourselves to his great cause—the movements for justice, equality, peace and freedom for all people on this earth—regardless of their color, race or creed.



The Medal of Freedom,
An 80th birthday,
And an honorary degree



In Memoriam Asa Philip Randolph April 15, 1889, to May 16, 1979

The Journal of American Labor

The American Federationist

Reprinted from June 1979
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

3

MEMORIES OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

by Bayard Rustin

In my 50 years as a social and human rights activist, I have met and worked with some of the leading figures in the struggle for justice---Gandhi, Norman Thomas, Martin Luther King, Jr., Lech Walesa. But the man who most closely touched my life, whose ideas, character and work helped shape my destiny, was Asa Philip Randolph, this country's premier black labor and civil rights leader. I have chosen to write about Mr. Randolph for two reasons. First, our association was a long and fruitful one. I had the privilege and good fortune of working with Mr. Randolph from about 1939 until his death in 1979 at age 90. Second, though much heralded in his time, Mr. Randolph and his ground-breaking achievements in the struggle for racial and economic equality have been obscured by the passage of time. This was a man whom every major civil rights leader, from Roy Wilkins to Martin Luther King, affectionately and respectfully called "the Chief."

Mr. Randolph was, in the truest sense of the word, a pathfinder. Tall, aristocratic, with just a touch of vanity about his appearance, he was an intellectual imbued with unflappable dignity and courage, who used his outward reserve and quiet demeanor as a potent weapon in the formative years of the civil rights struggle. As a member of the Socialist Party, in 1922 he ran for New York Secretary of State and received an impressive 200,000 votes. Three years later, he organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In subsequent years, he tangled with corporate executives, presidents and this country's most powerful labor leaders, and more often then not, his dignity and steadfastness won concessions that paved the way for black social, economic and political advancement.

Confronted with the humiliations of racism, insults and resistance, he never lost his poise, and he never lost his nerve. He was imperturbable and implacable in his single-minded commitment to his ideals and principles. He was a self-made gentleman and a prudent tactician with the grit and toughness of a boxer. Mr. Randolph was a man of quiet courage, of resoluteness without flashiness, of perseverance without pretension.

Many of these attributes were evident to me at our first meeting, which occurred in 1938 when I was a student at the City College of New York. I had shown a friend of mine a paper I had written in which I concluded that the Communists were the only party sensitive to the needs of blacks. Now this was the time of the Scottsboro trials at which the Communists were actively involved. Well, my friend disagreed with my analysis, and asked me if I had ever met A. Philip Randolph, a Socialist who was firmly anti-Communist. Of course I had heard of Mr. Randolph, but never met him. After some discussion, my friend suggested that we arrange to visit Mr. Randolph at the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters headquarters up on 125th Street in Harlem. I was sure that a man of Randolph's stature would not bother with two young and unknown college kids.

Much to my surprise, we got a call from Mr. Randolph's secretary who told us that he would see us. At that initial meeting, Randolph did three simple things that I saw him do countless times during our long association, and which illustrate the decorum and gentility that earmarked his dealings with people and which, I feel, were a small but integral part of his successes.

When we arrived at Randolph's modest offices for our appointment, it was clear that he was busy and running late. But rather than just keep us waiting, we heard him come over to the door and tell his secretary, loud enough for us to hear: "tell the two gentlemen from City College that I will be a little late." For years and years, when Mr. Randolph had to keep someone waiting, he would either send his secretary or come out in person and explain the delay.

This courteousness and thoughtfulness made quite an impression on me.

The second thing that really impressed me happened as we were ushered into Mr. Randolph's office. This important man, rather than sit smugly behind his desk waiting to receive us, got out of his chair, walked toward us and shook our hands. He then did the something which seemed most unusual. As he showed us to two seats near his desk, he gestured with his hand for us to sit down, but not like most people do my merely pointing to the chair. He made a gesture as if he was brushing or dusting the seat before we sat down, something I also saw him do for years and years.

Although these displays of civility may seem like insignificant and even overly obsequious acts, they were not. I later realized that it was Randolph's courtliness, his staid manners and reserve, that made it so extraordinarily difficult for opponents to dismiss him. In fact, many times, his restrained manner was totally disarming; it was a type of moral judo that threw opponents, including presidents and other officials, off balance. Although these qualities were an innate part of his personality, they were also an effective tactic.

At that initial meeting, Randolph discussed his Socialist beliefs, outlining his positions on child labor, the six-day work week, trade union rights, black economic progress and other matters. I was awed by his eloquence, his equanimity, his bearing and his grasp of the issues.

I was so taken with Mr. Randolph after that first meeting, that a year later I went to work for him in his major campaign to organize a March on Washington to press for an executive order banning segregation in defense plants. During the planning stages of the effort, I got to know Randolph better. And he told me a remarkable story of a negotiating meeting between the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Pullman Company which further underscored his style and shrewdness.

Although always mindful of his dignity and decorum, sometimes Randolph let other, more indelicate spokesmen take the floor when things got nasty or when blunt or undecorous language had to be used to make a point. In 1937, representatives of the Pullman Company sat down with leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, some 12 years after the union was formed. Well, the company representatives were condescending and coarse. They freely used the term "nigger" and "darkie" when referring to the porters. After several minutes of these insults, Mr. Randolph, never losing his composure and never mentioning their ill manners, responded with some brief comments and then turned to Milton Webster, the head of the Midwest region of the union, and said: "Mr. Webster, have you anything to say?" Now, Milton Webster was a huge, imposing man, who must have been about six-feet-five-inches and weighted 260 pounds. He was a tough, no-nonsense man, known for his outspokenness and his temper. Webster lit into the Pullman executives, calling them every vile name under the sun, questioning their ancestry, and thundering that the porters didn't have to put up with any crap from high-handed white bastards. Just as Webster was hitting his stride, Randolph quietly interrupted, and in his measured and aristocratic tone said, "Mr. Webster, if I may interrupt, I think we ought to proceed with the business at hand." Randolph would never have personally cursed out the Pullman representatives, but by calling on Webster, he knew the company men would get the message, in no uncertain terms, that the porters were not to be patronized. The point made, the meeting proceeded without anymore insults from the Pullman representatives. After a series of meetings, the Pullman Company signed a contract with the union, the first time a black union had won an agreement with a white company. Throughout the negotiations, Randolph maintained that air of measured restraint and ultimately won the day.

Randolph also used "deliberate" dignity---that is dignity for a powerful purpose---in his campaign to end discrimination in the defense industry.

Before Pearl Harbor, Randolph had been pressing Franklin Roosevelt to issue an executive order ending segregation in defense plants. When the president hedged, Randolph planned a March on Washington in 1941 to push his demands. At a meeting with Randolph, an exasperated FDR---who was not too eager to desegregate---complained that if 100,000 blacks came into Washington, which was a segregated city, there would be no place for them to eat, to sleep, to go to the toilet. After a brief pause, Randolph told the president that if people wanted to come to Washington he was in no position to stop them. Then, in a quiet, even voice, he told the president that if he was really so concerned about where the marchers would eat, sleep, or go to the toilet, he could, by merely picking up a pen, issue an executive order desegregating public accommodations in the entire city. Randolph spoke so quietly and matter-of-factly, that it took a moment for the implications of his words to sink in, but when they did, Roosevelt's cigarette-holder nearly fell from his mouth. Randolph had come to talk about desegregating defense plants, and here he was escalating his demands and talking about desegregating public facilities in the whole city. Six months before Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt signed an fair employment practices order which called for an end to discrimination in defense plant jobs. As a result, Randolph called off the march.

But he did not halt his efforts to end discrimination in the Armed Services, and this led to several clashes with President Truman and other politicians, notably Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.). And it also led to a serious clash between me and Mr. Randolph, the only one in the four decades of our collaboration.

In 1948, Mr. Randolph appointed me executive secretary of the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. I had served a three-year sentence in Lewsiburg Penitentiary as a conscientious objector during World War II. On March 22, 1948, Randolph and a group of black leaders met with Truman, telling him that unless an executive order was issued barring

segregation in the military, blacks would refuse to bear arms in defense of the country and would engage in other acts of civil disobedience. Truman, ever blunt, said he didn't care to hear such talk, and simply adjourned the meeting. By this time, we had some 50 blacks in jail for evading the draft. Undeterred by Truman's rebuff, Randolph went before the Senate Armed Services Committee, testifying that he would personally continue to advise blacks "to refuse to fight as slaves for a democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy." This open defiance was too much even for Sen. Morse, a liberal and one of Randolph's admirers on the Committee. He asked Randolph if he would continue to counsel disobedience and draft evasion even in the event of war. When Randolph said he would because such action was "in the interest of the soul of the country," Morse shot back that such action would be construed by the government as treason. Unflustered, Randolph replied: "We would be willing to absorb the violence, absorb the terrorism, to face the music and to take whatever comes, and we, as a matter of fact consider that we are more loyal to our country than the people who perpetrate segregation and discrimination upon Negroes because of color or race."

Later that day, Randolph was more emphatic. Speaking to a group of young people at the March on Washington headquarters, he said: "I am prepared to oppose a Jim Crow Army until I rot in jail." What made Randolph's position even more corageous was that there were large segments of the black leadership and media that opposed his stand. The influential Amsterdam News, the widely read New York paper considered the voice of the black community in America, was against him. Several prominent blacks wrote President Truman assuring him that Randolph spoke only for a small, militant minority of blacks. Even the Urban League had doubts about the wisdom of Randolph's radical stand.

But as was usually the case, Randolph had accurately read the mood of the black people. A poll of young black men in Harlem showed that 71 percent favored a civil disobedience campaign against the draft. In July 1948, Randolph led a group of picketers at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia. Later that month, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 calling for an end to military discrimination "as rapidly as possible." After receiving confirmation from presidential advisors that the order did indeed ban segregation, Randolph called off the civil disobedience camapign and moved to disband the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience.

Now being young and impetuous at the time, I argued that dissolving the League would be unfair to those blacks who were still in jail for refusing to serve in the armed forces. Randolph, always a man of great honor, would not be swayed, noting that he had given his solemn word to the President of the United States. He had demanded an executive order, and that demand had been met. Unsatisfied with that answer, a number of "Young Turks" and I decided to outflank Mr. Randolph. He had asked me to call a press conference for 4 p.m. on August 17, 1948, in order to announce the dissolution of the league. Well, we called a press conference of our own for 10 in the morning, during which we denounced Randolph as an Uncle Tom, a sellout, a reactionary, and an old fogey out of touch with the times. Of course, we got all the headlines. For months, we continued to operate the league, sending out correspondence, and continuing to embarass Mr. Randolph. Finally, Randolph was forced to issue a statement. Always a man of great tact and patience, he did not blast us for our impertinence. He merely said that the League had been coopted by a pacifist element that, while useful to keep the movement non-violent, now had its own agenda.

Well, given Randolph's stature, the League lost all influence and resources quickly dried up. It finally collapsed in November 1948. Guilt-ridden and ashamed, and sure that Randolph would never forgive me for my treachery, I avoided him for two whole years. I was convinced that even a man of such understanding, dignity and forebearance would never forget being stabbed in the back by trusted confidants and friends. When I finally mustered the courage to go see him, I went to his modest union office on 125th Street, the very place I had first met him some 10 years earlier, expecting to be chastised for my recklessness. As I was ushered in, there he was, distinguished and dapper as ever, with arms outstretched, waiting to greet me, the way he had done a decade ago. Motioning me to sit down with that same sweep of his arm, he looked at me, and in a calm, even voice said: "Bayard, where have you been? You know that I have needed you." I was moved and overwhelmed. For the rest of our long friendship, he never, ever mentioned what I had done to him.

Mr. Randolph's crowning achievement, the 1963 March on Washington, which led to a confrontation with President Kennedy, also included a dramatic and trying episode that threatened my personal reputation and the march itself. Again, Randolph's dignity and nerve saved my career and what was to become a watershed event of the civil rights movement.

When Randolph asked me to organize the march, he envisioned it as a march for jobs and freedom. By now a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council (the first black to hold this position), Randolph understood that the upcoming phase of the civil rights movement would involve economic justice. In planning the march, Randolph did not consult with the other black leaders until all the mechanisms were in place, presenting them with a fait accompli they would find hard to refuse. When final preparation were being made, a nervous President Kennedy, who had been working to get civil rights legislation passed in Congress, called a meeting on June 22, 1963, of a number of top black leaders. The president voiced his concern about possible violence and the fact that some Congressmen might not vote for the legislation if they felt pressured by a mass demonstration in the nation's capital. His position was that one simply could not bully Congress. After comments from other black leaders, Randolph took the floor, speaking with, as Arthur Schlesinger would later recall, "the quiet dignity which touched Kennedy as it had touched Roosevelt before him." Noting the inevitability of the march, Randolph said: "Mr. President, the Negroes are already in the streets. It is very likely impossible to get them off. If they are bound to be in the streets in any case, is it not better that they be led by organizations dedicated to civil rights and disciplined by struggle rather than to leave them to other leaders who care neither about civil rights nor non-violence?"

With those words, Randolph not only convinced Kennedy that the march was unstoppable, but got him to endorse it as well.

But just as plans were being finalized, a serious crisis arose that would test Randolph's trust in me and all his skills as a leader. Six weeks before the march, Sen. Strom Thurmond stood before the Senate and for over three-quarters of an hour attacked me as the organizer of the march in an effort to disrupt and divide the black leadership. He accused me of being a draft-dodger, a Communist, and a homosexual. The papers jumped all over the story. It made the front page of The New York Times, and it was plastered in papers around the country. By this time, the march had gained international attention. As expected, Sen. Thurmond's accusations caused pandemonium among the black leadership. Roy Wilkins had predicted that if I were made chief organizer of the march these charges would be made.

Randolph quickly called the black leaders together, and there was a fierce debate over my future role. He said that the purpose of Thurmond's remarks was to destroy the march, and that the purpose of the meeting was to make certain that he did not succeed. He then said he had already prepared a statement, and that he wanted all the leaders of the march to sign it, adding that he had called a press conference for the next day at which he would read the statement and tell the media that all the leaders had agreed to it. The statement read: "We have absolute confidence in Bayard Rustin's ability and character, and he will continue to organize the march, which we know will be a great success." Many of the leaders expressed concern that the press would hound them for further comments, to which Mr. Randolph said that the only way to put an end to the controversy was for all of them to repeat the simple statement he had just read.

The next morning, Mr. Randolph met the press alone. It was the biggest press conference to date dealing with the march. There must have been fifty media people there from newspapers, radio and television stations around the country. For ten minutes after he read the statement, the press tried to goad Mr. Randolph to say more. They badgered him with questions. With his customary self-control and calm, Randolph simply repeated the one-line statement. He said it so quietly, that the press corps had to lean in to hear him. And the reporters, who had been incessantly pumping Randolph for more information, recognized the inner strength of this dignified man, and burst into spontaneous applause. It was an unbelievable moment. And six weeks later, on August 28, over 250,000 people gathered in Washington for the largest demonstrations ever in the capital. Only a person of Mr. Randolph's impeccable character and integrity could have pulled the whole thing out of the fire.

The way Mr. Randolph decisively handled the crisis that arose before the March, taught me lessons that would later help me act quickly to protect his dignity. After the March on Selma in 1965, during which he walked several grueling miles in the blazing sun, Mr. Randolph, who was already over 70 and suffered from a serious heart condition, passed out at the train station. Almost immediately, press photographers rushed over trying to get a picture of the stricken warrior lying on the ground. I quickly got together a group of tough, brawny associates, and we formed a human wall to keep the photographers away. At one point, in the heat of the moment, I unfortunately snatched a camera from someone who had taken a picture, and ripped the film out. To this day I regret losing my temper. My associates and I surrounded the Chief until I managed to get Dick Gregory's plane to fly Mr. Randolph to New York and get him to a hospital. Later, a reporter came up to me and complained that the press had to make a living, and the fact that Mr. Randolph had collapsed after the march was news. I recall saying to the man: "It will be over my dead body that anyone ever sees a man of Mr. Randolph's dignity lying helpless on the ground." For over four decades Phil Randolph, with moral fortitude and nobility, had won victories that were the key stepping stones to racial and economic equality for blacks. He had become a symbol of strength and progress. At that moment in Selma, a critical juncture for the civil rights movement he helped launch, I knew I could not allow any impression, any suggestion to emerge, even for a moment, that our gentle warrior was vanquished.

made to suffer when someone criticized the Fascists in Italy? The puzzled priest attempted to answer her by saying that he thought it was because in the land of unanimity public order was disturbed when someone said "No." The girl then asked, "What if it is a good man who says no?" "It would be the same," said the priest. "And what if they should kill him?" asked the girl in tears. Then, "suddenly made glad," Silone writes, the priest replied, "It would be the same, except more so. For it is especially dangerous to kill a good man, for even the corpse might continue to say 'no' with an insistency that only certain corpses are capable of achieving."

And then I remembered Socrates and Jesus and Gandhi. And then my heart was lifted up, for from Martin Luther King's "mountain top" I hear again the new commandment to love one another and I know that Martin Luther King speaks with this "insistency that only certain corpses are capable of achieving." And he shall not be silenced, or God himself will shake the world.

A Silent Tragedy

by BAYARD RUSTIN

The murder of Dr Martin Luther King Jr. was a tragedy for the freedom movement and a blow to the prospects for a just and civil society. Perhaps only once in a century do the ideas of a man and the needs of his time meet in such a dramatic way.

Historically, Dr. King's death marked the end of one stage of the Negro struggle and the beginning of another. As his leadership of the Montgomery bus boycott ushered in the struggle for desegregated public accommodations and voting rights, so his entry into Memphis opened the basic struggle for economic justice on which all other dignities are ultimately based.

From South Vietnam

THE SCHOOL OF YOUTH FOR SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE UNITED BUDDHIST CONGREGATION OF VIETNAM AND ITS NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT RESPECTFULLY SENDS ITS CONDOLENCE TO THE NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD PEACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN UNIVERSAL MOURNING FOR THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING. IN THE NAME OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN LOSING THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN THIS WAR WE SEND OUR RESPECT AND GRATITUDE TO THE REVEREND KING FOR HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM AND HUMAN EXISTENCE. WE PRAY THAT HIS DEATH WILL GIVE RISE TO MANY OTHER KINGS WHO WILL CONTINUE TO STRUGGLE NONVIOLENTLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD PEACE.

The national tributes paid to him were richly deserved, but they are by no means enough. Flags were flown at half mast; the President proclaimed a national day of mourning; the mass media devoted unprecedented coverage to his death and funeral; and the 150,000 people, black and white, who marched through the streets of Atlanta were the largest crowd to ever attend a private funeral in this country.

But there is a silent tragedy in all this adulation and respect. What Dr. King would have wanted, and what he did not get, was a national commitment to the human rights and the social and economic programs for which he fought and for which he died.

Thousands who only yesterday rejected his principles of nonviolent struggle are today the ones who shed the most tears: And yet they still do not commit themselves to the achievement tomorrow of integration, nonviolence and the democratic society for which Dr. King stood.

For example, politicians from all over the land gathered at his funeral. But with few possible exceptions they did not run back to their legislatures to demand the programs that will solve the major problems which Dr. King struggled to solve. This proves that respect and honor are not enough.

Dr. King's death forced millions of Americans who have been practicing racism and discrimination to confront the implications of these practices. His death seemed to have awakened in these millions a desire for repentance. But merely having memorial services or issuing public eulogies is not sufficient repentance. Repentance consists in two acts: 1) Acknowledging one's guilt and expressing one's sorrow; and 2) dedicating and committing one's self to better conduct in the future. What I am fearful of, and what in fact seems evident, is that most people, while taking the first step, will stop short of the second.

True repentance is reflected in the new policy announced by Levitt and Sons in its full-page ad in the *New York Times* the day after Dr. King's funeral. It said in part: "As a tribute to Dr. King, this Company has adopted a new policy—effective at once—eliminating segregation in any place it builds—whether in the U.S. or any other country in the world. We ask all our colleagues to adopt a similar policy without delay. The forces of bigotry and prejudice must not be permitted to prevail any longer, and we urge all builders—large and small alike—to do their part in making America once again the ideal of the world."

When such a policy is endorsed by all institutions and segments of this society, Dr. King's tragic death will be easier for Negro Americans, especially the youth, to understand and to *bear*.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

We count our Progress
On the fingers of our
Martyrs
Each Generation wants
A Crucifixion or
Two
To let men know
What Men can Be
or Do
a Single one
Might well have spared
Gomorrah or Sodom
but Abraham found
None
And the Lord had to save his Seed
for Stations of the Cross

Each Crucifixion
Makes a Bridge
between the Resolution
and the Man of Sorrows

EDWARD P. GOTTLIEB

From the American Friends Service Committee

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S MURDER DEMANDS THAT YOU THIS DAY TAKE INITIATIVE IN LEADING CONGRESS TO MAJOR ACTION ON JOBS, INCOME AND EQUALITY. ONLY AS WE DEAL WITH THE CRIMES OF POVERTY AND EXCLUSION CAN WE GIVE MEANING TO THE DEATH OF DR. KING. EULOGIES WITHOUT ACTION ARE MOCKERY. FEARFUL PLANNING TO CONTAIN THE UNDERSTANDABLE ANGER OF MANY AMERICANS IS AN INADEQUATE AND DANGEROUS RESPONSE TO THIS MOMENT. WE URGE YOU TO GO BEFORE CONGRESS WITH A CALL FOR MASSIVE ACTION AND BEFORE THE NATION WITH A CALL TO CAST OUT RACISM.

STEPHEN G. CARY
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

F

NEWSDAY, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1981

Roy Wilkins' Legacy To Black Civil Rights Is Great and Lasting

By Bayard Rustin

Roy Wilkins was a gentle man with a strong will. He was a man of keen judgment and open-mindedness, a man who was willing to change his mind. In a very real sense he was the statesman of the civil-rights movement.

He was not a man of charisma. He was not a speaker who could electrify crowds with his rhetoric. His strength and his lasting contribution to the movement rested in his thoroughness, his quiet determination and his organizational talents.

It was under Roy Wilkins' aegis that the true black declaration of independence was written. It was not a single document such as the one drafted by America's Founding Fathers. Rather, it was the immense project of legal proceedings and test cases initiated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The cases included the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, but they continued far beyond it. These decisions won rights for blacks in enclave after enclave of American society.

I first directly collaborated with Roy Wilkins during the planning stages of the 1963 March on Washington, which was initiated by A. Philip Randolph, the great black labor leader.

At first, relations between us were somewhat strained because Wilkins, a cautious man by nature, was troubled by my personal history of involvement in socialist and other radical causes. Yet despite initial misunderstandings, once we had begun working together and had come to understand that our goals for the black community were similar, we formed a close bond of friendship.

Despite his initial coolness to the idea of a march on Washington for civil rights and economic justice, once Roy Wilkins was convinced of the project's merits, he and the NAACP were to give the endeavor the strongest financial and organizational support it was to receive. And it was at Wilkins' insistence that Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech there.

Wilkins was frequently vilified by a minority of black extremists who sought to arrogate for themselves the right to speak in the name of all blacks. He led black community opposition to the black-power and separatism movements which did so much to weaken black political power and to heighten racial tensions. He was a committed integrationist and he battled all the way with such extremists as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, who today are mere footnotes in the history of black political life.

Wilkins' contributions were great and lasting. They have survived him, above all, in the form of the NAACP, the organization he helped build into a network with more than 400,000 members. His stewardship of the NAACP encompassed the period of the 1950s and early 1960s during which the civil-rights movement made its greatest progress. But he also led his organization in the more difficult and frequently disappointing period that followed.

‘He was a committed integrationist and he battled all the way with extremists.’

The death of Roy Wilkins closes a great era in the history of the civil-rights movement. It was an era of great visionaries and leaders: Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young—and Roy Wilkins.

We are now, without question, firmly entrenched in a new era, an era whose outlines are not yet easy to perceive.The civil rights movement stands now at a crossroads. One can only hope that new Roy Wilkinses will emerge to lead that movement down the proper path.

Bayard Rustin, a civil rights leader, is chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

BOOK INTRODUCTIONS

FOREWORD to "A Way Out: Solutions for South Africa"

by Bayard Rustin

The ongoing crisis in South Africa continues to befuddle American policymakers. While the American people seem to be united against apartheid and appear to be willing to exert American influence in dismantling this odious system, there is by no means a consensus on the appropriate strategy of how to do so.

The groudswell of popular opposition to the Pretoria regime has forced the Reagan Administration into a de facto desertion of its much maligned "constructive engagement" policy; yet, the government has thus far failed to devise an acceptable alternative. And even though the Senate decision to override President Reagan's veto on sanctions did serve to clarify a previously divided policy, it is equally clear that punitive economic measures alone---while psychologically satisfying---cannot create democracy and a more just society in that troubled land.

It is by now apparent that sanctions and the recent spate of divestment by major American corportions may, in fact, be exacerbating the plight of blacks and other victims of apartheid, as well the economic viability of the front-line states. Moreover, it is a dubious proposition to assume that outside economic pressure can do much to eliminate apartheid or enhance the chances of a democratic transition. However, such selective pressure may be useful if accompanied by a fundamental shift in our approach. U.S. policy can be effective only if our primary objective is to help foster the growth of democracy in South

Africa, not merely to dismantle apartheid.

The American public and policymakers must understand that if our interest is simply to eliminate apartheid, then virtually any tactic and strategy will do, including violence and terror. But if our goal is democracy, then a strategy consistent with democratic ideals and practices is required. And it must be anchored on the supposition that, while U.S. policy may help, the final outcome of the struggle is in the hands of South Africans of all races.

The major objective of U.S. policy, and of its citizens, must be to assist, both financially and morally, groups within South Africa committed to peaceful and progressive change. All too often our foreign policy efforts have been frustrated because we failed to recognize the importance of nurturing and encouraging a democratic center. There are literally hundreds of grass-roots organizations in South Africa---community associations, women's organizations, trade unions, and religious groups---that form the fragile foundation of democratic institutions. These groups serve to broaden the democratic center and ultimately to support constitutional arrangements that will deal both with the fears of those who have dominated and the aspirations of those who have been oppressed. But the middle ground is rapidly eroding. Moderate elements are caught between a brutal white regime and an extremist black segment which advocates violence as the only means to abolish apartheid. Unfortunately, such polarization has caused many whites who had hoped for a progressive solution to either close ranks with the

Botha government or to emigrate.

To arrest this process, to enhance meaningful change and to reduce violence depends on the development and implementation of constitutional arrangements that will allay the anxieties of the white minority while expanding the rights of the non-white majority. Each side will tend to resist change until there is guaranteed protection for all.

In light of recent oppression, internecine violence and polarization, it is clearly time for Americans in and out of government to examine approaches to the problems of South Africa in the context of pragmatic solutions. It is now time to raise a number of difficult questions concerning the possible structure of a post-apartheid South Africa. Among the questions: Can a new Constitution ensure freedom for all, and what kind of document would it be? Is a Bill of Rights essential for individuals? Is a Bill of Rights essential for groups? Is there a consensual basis for the elimination of apartheid? Is there anything to be learned and applied from the Zimbabwe experience or the Swiss-style canton system? If, in light of recent developments, "constructive engagement" has failed, what kind of policy does the U.S. need to develop? Can U.S. policy be directed merely to South Africa, or must it include economic and other considerations that deal with the whole of southern Africa? What can the American people do to strengthen the democratic center?

The significance of this collection of essays lies precisely in the careful exploration of these and other seminal questions too often obscured by the charged emotionalism that has dominated the South Africa debate. The authors in this work offer provocative and concrete suggestions, both philosophical and practical, that illuminate the many complex issues. In discussing possible post-apartheid scenarios and analyzing recent U.S. policy, the authors offer recommendations that may encourage Americans and the American government to be more creative in assessing how best to contribute to the elimination of apartheid and the enhancement of democracy.

Today, South Africa is a tinderbox. It may become one of history's most tragic episodes, no matter what America does. But as this volume makes clear, there are yet avenues of hope if new approaches can be applied. These essays are an invaluable contribution to that process.

8/70 - for Annotated Reader Rustin article

THE SLAVES' VIEW OF SLAVERY

by Bayard Rustin

ONCE A SLAVE: The Slaves' View of Slavery, by Stanley Feldstein, William Morrow and Company, 1971, 329 pp.

The institution of slavery remains the central contradiction and supreme injustice in American history. It was an institution of bondage in a land supposedly of freedom. And it was an especially severe form of bondage, worse in many respects than any other system of slavery that was established in the New World.

As a result of its extraordinary moral and social significance, slavery has been the subject of intensive historical investigation. The conclusions drawn from this investigation have, over the years, reflected the prevailing racial attitudes of the society. Thus, Ulrich B. Phillips' work, which was based upon an assumption of innate racial inferiority and interpreted slavery as a benigh institution, was consistent with the dominant attitudes towards Negroes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries--a period that has been called the nadir of American Negro history. Kenneth Stampp's work in the 1950's reflected the liberalization of racial attitudes at that time, though his assertion that "Negroes _are_, after all, only white men with black skins, nothing more, nothing less," did not do justice to the complexity of the race problem in America. Subsequent attempts by Stanley M. Elkins and Eugene D. Genovese to apply intricate intellectual systems to the study of slavery have produced many new insights, as well as some questionable conclusions.

Stanley Feldstein's new book is an important contribution to the on-going dialogue about the nature of slavery and its meaning in American history. The book is written with admirable modesty and with a clear, unaffected style. His goal is not to work an analysis of slavery into a broader interpretation of American history, but simply, as the title indicates to give "the slaves' view of slavery." It is based on the narratives of slaves and also on the testimony of ex-slaves, much of it recorded by the Federal Writer' Project during the New Deal.

Feldstein has organized the data acquired from these narratives under specific headings such as the passage from Africa, life on the plantation, the slave master's business of rearing, trading, hiring out, and kidnapping slaves, and the attitudes of slaves toward the institution. Given the modest goals of the author, the book is remarkably comprehensive and presents one of the more thorough accounts of slavery that has yet been written. The most refreshing aspect of the book is that it is ~~not~~ written with balance and objectivity, qualities that are too often sacrificed to whatever~~s~~ cause or ideology happens to be currently fashionable.

The central theme of the book is to explain why the victims of slavery saw it as a dehumanizing institution. According to Feldstein, the narrators believed that those dedicated to maintaining slavery had " to suppress and indeed to destroy those human qualities in the slaves which, if left unchecked, would eventually destroy the system. In the slaves' opinion the physcial and psychological pressures of slavery were essential in order to stifle the desire for human freedom and the need for dignity. It was this attempt at dehumanization, either conscious or due to the very nature of the system, which was, in the words of the slave, James Watkins,'the essence of theeagony.'"

Feldstein describe the horrible physical oppression that the slaves were forced to endure, but he concludes that the "moral and emotional wounds...hurt more and dug deeper than any slaveholder's lash." What is remarkable, he points out, is that the slaves were able to resist this dehumanization and retain a sense of their human dignity along with a profound, unlimited desire for freedom.

The book is filled with countless instances of man's capacity to behave brutally toward other men. About the dark passage from Africa, we read that "The groans and suffocating cries for air and water emanating from below deck were described as having 'sickened the soul of humanity.'" And we read about the Coffle, the long line of slaves who were chained together and handcuffed as they were marched to the auction block. The slave Issac Williams noted that they would be lashed unsparingly as they were marched along, and "the poor fainting victims would often lie bleeding on the road and die from sheer exhaustion." We read about the pathetic end of old, "useless" slaves who are left to die unwanted, and about the use of black drivers who were trained for the sole purpose of beating other blacks. "This turning of black against black." Feldstein writes, "was one of the most degrading and dehumanizing aspects of the institution."

The fundamental injustice of slavery, making a chattel out of a human being, was also its greatest absurdity. This absurdity was revealed most clearly in cases where slaves were charged with theft. Some slaves, Lewis Clarke pointed out, would rationalize that if they were property, they could not be accused of stealing. "How could a piece of property steal another piece of property? If both a slave and a horse were missing from a plantation, who was to say the horse did not steal the slave?" By accusing the slave, the master was in effect conceding that slavery's basic assumption--that slaves were property--was untenable.

The slaves showed a remarkable ability to improvise methods of communication, resistance and escape. A 'grapevine" existed for the communication of news and also to inform slaves about a planned escaped. Harriet Tubman reported that such information was often relayed in song. When a slave would sing "I'm gwine to lebe you, I'm boun' for de promised land," it meant that he was about to flee North by means of the Underground Railroad.

The efforts of slaves to gain freedom before the civil war were more often than not unseccessful. One anecdote that the slaves related had to do with Andrew Jackson, the General during the War of 1812 who was to become the "common peoples'" President, ~~of the "common People."~~ It was alleged that Jackson had promised to free any slave who fought with him at the Battle of New Orleans, and that the masters had agreed to these terms. When the battle was over, however, and the slaves who had fought asked Jackson to live up to his promise, he replied, "You are not my property, and I cannot take another man's property and set it free."

One of the most interesting sections of the book deals with the American Colonization Society which, Feldstein reports, was strongly disliked by the slaves. As one slave quipped about the Back-to-Africa idea, "none but a slaveholder could have disc discovered that a man born in a country was not a citizen of it." The slave James Watkins felt that the colonization idea was not based on love or pity for Negroes, but rather on hatred and a deep fear of insurrection. More important than the ulterior motives of the whites were the attitudes of the blacks toward colonization. Feldstein points out in a revealing passage "that despite the horror of their situation, their anger, and their hatred of many of America's institutions besides slavery, the slaves considered themselves Americans, and not Africans. With the exception of those sections that deal with the Dark Passage and the American Colonization Society, the narratives contain almost no references to Africa either as a homeland or as the source of cultural heritage. Whether their almost complete identification with American culture was due to a lack of education about their heritage or otherwise, the fact is, as demonstrated by the vigorous anticolonization sentiment, that these people considered themselves completely American and had almost no cultural or historical identification with Africa."

Today there is a rebirth of interest in and identification with Africa on the part of many blacks, yet there is almost complete unanimity of opinion that the struggle for equality must be waged here in America. What James Watkins said over 100 years ago remains true today: that blacks love their native United States and deplore only "the hatred of the American to the race they have so deeply injured (which) seems to pervade their institutions."

Slavery is the saddest chapter in black American history, and also in all of American history, yet one cannot bat be impressed by the extraordinary strenghth and dignity of the slaves which are so clearly revealed in the narratives studied by Feldstein. Our literature about slavery will no doubt expand in the coming years as a result of the widespread interest in Black Studies. As our understanding of slavery grows, hopefully we shall also see a growth in our desire and ability to deal with the terrible problems that we live with tiday as a result of the worst evil in our past.

FOREWORD by BAYARD RUSTIN

It is man's fate to suffer and his nature to endure. And as William Faulkner has told us, it is his destiny to prevail — to prevail over the wearing burdens of time and fortune and the ultimate indignity of man's inhumanity to man.

The twentieth century is strewn with the victims of human cruelty, and it is also replete with examples of human triumph. The worldwide struggles against war, racism, poverty, colonialism, and totalitarian repression all testify to the truth that while men may be oppressed by slavery, the urge for freedom will persist undiminished; and that while death may break men's bodies, it shall have no dominion over their souls. This was Martin Luther King's message to his people, and it is also the meaning of this collection of Jewish freedom letters from Russia.

One reflects upon the story of the Jewish people with the sense of mystery that is reserved for all great epics. The theme of redemption runs throughout this story and seems both to explain and ultimately to justify human existence. It tells us that freedom will follow slavery, that in suffering we shall find joy, and that death shall give birth to life. To some degree, all of our lives attest to this reality, but rarely if ever has it been demonstrated with such shattering force as during the last fifty years of Jewish experience.

The destruction of European Jewry and the founding of the State of Israel stand together as a monument to what is base and evil in mankind — and to what is good, beautiful and strong. They are also a declaration of the universal human will to survive and be free. For if redemption can follow the Nazi Holocaust, then certainly there is hope for the oppressed throughout the world.

The authors of the letters in this volume suffer from a form of oppression far more subtle than that exercised by the Nazis. The pogrom is still a reality in Soviet society, especially during a period like the present, when the government is deliberately inflaming incipient anti-Semitism as part of its anti-Israel propaganda campaign. But the major threat to Soviet Jewry is not the destruction of life but the obliteration of the Jews as a *people*. The prohibitions placed upon Jewish education and religious observance and culture, combined with discrimination in employment, politics and schooling have given new meaning to the old maxim that it is not easy to be a Jew.

The cry for redemption in these letters takes the simple form of the request to go to Israel. The request has been firmly rejected (and many of those who have made it have been subjected to increased persecution), since it conflicts with what is expedient for Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union wants to increase its influence among the Arab nations, the Arab nations want to cut off the flow of immigrants to Israel, and the largest source of such immigrants today can be found among the three million Soviet Jews. The Jews, therefore, are pawns of Soviet foreign policy.

Beyond this, Russia has denied exit permits to the Jews for internal political reasons. An important part of Communist mythology is that no national problem exists in the Soviet Union. This myth of equality for all nationalities applies to Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Armenians and Georgians as well as to Jews, and its credibility would be totally undermined were the Jewish minority to leave the "socialist" fatherland for the State of Israel. The irony here should not be lost. Jewish emigration to Israel is being restricted in order to buttress what is thought to be the ideal of socialism in the Soviet Union. But that ideal has been perverted by totalitarianism and is far better represented by the democratic social and economic system which has been developed in Israel.

The letters in this volume are like freedom songs, and the voice of Soviet Jewry that emerges from them will be recognized as a kindred voice by the oppressed in many different lands. The moving stories of Ionas Damba and the poet Kerler, Kochubiyevsky's passionate cry of "Let me go!", the courageous example of men like Polsky and Rabinovich who protest against injustice in a country that does not tolerate any words of opposition — these are only a few of the instances in this volume that bear eloquent witness to the irrepressible longing for human freedom.

There will be this longing wherever social and political conditions deny fundamental human rights. That such conditions exist is a measure of our inhumanity toward each other.But it is also a measure of our transcendent humanity that such conditions are resisted. It is in this way that the authors of these letters, without intending it, have contributed to the humanity, perhaps even the redemption, of us all.

Insert 1

introduction by bayard rustin

June 18, 1963

As this pamphlet goes to press the civil rights movement has reached yet a new step in its development. For the first time a thoroughgoing revolution is occurring in the South—from progressive Greensboro, to industrial Birmingham, to semi-rural Jackson the movement includes all levels of the Negro community. It is a movement that consciously intends to transform the white power structure in this country; a movement that has taken the initiative away from the Kennedy administration (and the forces that would contain the movement with moderate concessions); a movement that will not be satisfied with integrated lunch counters and promises but that is demanding jobs and freedom now.

Birmingham has taught white America many lessons; not the least of them that Negroes were serious when they said they would fill the jails until Southern cities were impoverished, and that social dislocation is a reality that confronts all segregated institutions. It ought now to be perfectly clear that Negroes will not wait another twenty-five years. No longer can white liberals merely be proud of those well-dressed students, who are specialists in non-violent action—but now they are confronted by a Negro working class that is demanding equal opportunity and full employment.

The Negro community is now fighting for total freedom. It took three million dollars and a year of struggle simply to convince the powers that be that one has the right to ride in the front of a bus. If it takes this kind of pressure to achieve a single thing, then one can just as well negotiate fully for more, for every economic, political and social right that is presently denied. That is what is important about Birmingham: tokenism is finished.

The Negro masses are no longer prepared to wait for anybody: not for elections, not to count votes, not to wait on the Kennedies or for legislation nor, in fact, for Negro leaders themselves. They are going to move. Nothing can stop them from moving. And if that Negro leadership does not move rapidly enough and effectively enough they will take it into their own hands and move anyhow.

Kenne

And out of this we can see a new phase for the civil rights movement. It is the phase of the use of mass action—non-violent disobedience and non-violent non-cooperation.

Birmingham has proved that no matter what you're up against, if wave after wave of black people keep coming prepared to go to jail, sooner or later there is such confusion, such social dislocation, that white people in the South are faced with a choice: either integrated restaurants or no restaurants at all; integrated public facilities or none at all. And the South then must make its choice for integration, for it would rather have that than chaos.

This struggle is only beginning in the North, but it will be a bitter struggle. It will be an attack on business, on trade unions and on the Government. The Negro will no longer tolerate a situation where for every white man unemployed there are 2 or 3 Negroes unemployed. In the North, Negroes present a growing threat to the social order that less brutally and more subtly than the South attempts to keep him "in his place." In response, moderates today warn of the danger of violence and "extremism" but do not attempt to change the conditions that brutalize the Negro and breed racial conflict. What is needed is an ongoing massive assault on racist political power and institutions.

Insert
last
para

This pamphlet is the continuation of a discussion series that will keep pace with the civil rights movement. As "Unfinished Revolution" by Tom Kahn heralded and analysed the beginning of the new sit-in movement this pamphlet describes its second step: the fight for the ballot and political power.

The mood of the black community is is one of anger and confidence of total victory. The victories to date have given added prestige, to nonviolent resistance as a method. One can only hope that the white community will realize that the black community means what is says: jobs and freedom now.

The Meaning of Birmingham

From an introduction to a pamphlet, Civil Rights: The True Frontier, June 18, 1963

BLACK BUILDERS: A JOB PROGRAM THAT WORKS

Review By Bayard Rustin

It is unfortunately the case that attention is paid to a social problem only when it becomes the center of dramatic controversy. This does not always lead to an enlightened public awareness of the problem, since the news media are inclined to treat only what is newsworthy, which is to say controversial, and not what is fundamental to a solution of the problem. Thus, the building trades have become a "newsworthy" subject as a result of the confrontations between white workers and blacks demanding entrance into the building trades. But it is the nature of confrontations to simplify issues, to pose one force against another in such a way that ignore, grey areas of complexity and common interest. Thus, treating the problem of expanding job opportunities for Negroes and other minorities in the building trades from a perspective of confrontationism inevitably has led to a degree of distortion.

The great virtue of Thomas R. Brooks pamphlet, BLACK BUILDERS: A Job Program That Works, is that it clears away many of the misconceptions about the building trades and presents a constructive and non-violent approach to increasing minority participation in them. The approach which has already stood the test of time and experience, is the one that has been taken by the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund.

The history of the JAP convincingly disproves the two basic assumptions that are made by those who urge confrontationism as a total tactic: that the unions are entirely uncooperative and intransigent and will respond, therefore, only to coersion; and that there are today thousands upon thousands of black youths standing around with lathes and wrenches in their hands, waiting for job openings that they are already prepared to fill.

The help and cooperation the JAP has received from the trade union movement as a whole and the building trades in particular should lay to rest once and for all the first assumption. This is not to say that the building trades have not in the past been resistant to integration, or that there are not now unions that are still difficult to work with. It is only to point out that the approach taken by the JAP has been able to win considerable support in the leadership of the trade union movement. The approach is to prepare blacks and other minority youth to enter the building trades by the established route of apprenticeship. Apprenticeship, of course, is not the total answer, as George Meany and the leaders of the building trades fully recognize. The building trades are now orgainzing non-union journeymen, and through the JAP they are upgrading those who are not yet qualified to be journeymen. Opportunities are being opened to blacks at an ever-increasing rate.

The task of the JAP was not simply to win the support of the building trades its approach. It was also to develop a program of recruitment and training so that black youths could be prepared to compete for job openings. Toward this end, the staff of the JAP--dedicated people like Ernie Green, Maizie Fulston, and Charles Bremer--have worked out a sophisticated method of recruiting ghetto youth into the program (very often a great deal of persuading must be done to overcome the sense of hopelessness that many youths feel), tutoring them for the entrance examination, and follow-up once they are on the job. It is now generally recognized both within and without the trade union movement that the JAP's program is the most effective means for bringing minority youth into the building trades that has yet been developed. And through the establishment of the Institute of the Joint Apprenticeship Training Program, the JAP's techniques can now be passed on to other groups.

As more and more young blacks enter the building trades, they begin to appreciate a basic principle upon which the JAP has based its activities: namely, that change must take place in such a way that doesn't damage the unions. Were it to proceed otherwise--for example, in a way that would undermine job security or wage scales--then these young apprentices would only be hurting themselves, for they stand to benefit from the accomplishments of the unions. They also appreciate a second principle--that ultimately black pride cannot exist apart from such things as a decent job and pride in craftsmanship. In this sense, the graduates of the Joint Apprenticeship Program will have achieved real pride, the kind of pride that will enable them to lead dignified and productive lives.

Introducing a collection of the work of one of the finest satirists and social critics of his generation is no easy task.

For one thing, my preface is in prose - in stolid, stodgy words that seek to be reasonable and judicious. And Jules Feiffer is the master of the comic epiphany, of that dramatic, illuminating moment which is both humorous and a more effective moral comment than any sermon one can imagine. And so, I find it extremely difficult to compress into some hundreds of words the meanings which Feiffer can explore in only six panels of a cartoon strip.

So it would be suicidal to try to paraphrase that which Feiffer has already said with a deftness and decisiveness which mocks those of us who attack injustice in conventional articles and speeches. But beyond this problem of bridging the chasm between our respective styles, there is another difficulty: ~~that~~ Jules Feiffer was one of the very first to discover and identify that contemporary personality known as the "white liberal." That, I think, is what struck me most when I looked back over the work represented in this book. And that raises a most complicated, intricate subject, one that poses as many problems for the introducer as Feiffer's mastery of his art. Yet, I can only try to be equal to the candor and honesty of these drawings, so let me try to confront some of the significance of Feiffer's devestating critique.

In saying that Feiffer was one of the pioneers in defining the "white liberal", I don't mean that his work is obsessed by the theme or even that it dominates this selection. One meets the savage, unconscious white racist in this book, and the hip Negro who had ~~to learn~~ to be cool simply in order to survive. And there is that marvelously touching account of the little white girl who is always getting caught in the middle of sit-ins. It took me back to the simple old days of three or four years ago when the basic issues seemed to be where people sat in buses or drank their coffee, that era of good feeling which perhaps culminated in the gigantic, and quite integrated, March on Washington of 1963.

But since then, the questions of civil rights have become much more basic. They involve Northern urban neighborhood integration and de facto school segregation in the schools of communities which pay their respects to the liberal rhetoric. And there is the still unresolved question of jobs for black men who have been systematically deprived and mis-educated for generations and who are now told to go and "help themsevles" in an automated economy which demands higher levels of skill and training every day. These miseries and indignities of the black ghetto poor no longer permit the Western movie version of the race issue as a struggle between good guys and bad guys, the rustlers from the Ku Klux Klan on the one side and the pious, churchgoing homesteaders on the other.

And Feiffer was one of the very first to understand that there were complexities - and even hypocrisies - in some of the attitudes of white liberalism. "Civil rights used to be so much more tolerable before Negroes got into it," declares one of his characters, and there is a wealth of insight in the comment. For Only ten years go - or was it five? - there was a tremendous ammount of noblesse oblige, of Lord Bountiful, in the psychology of the best, the least racist, of whites.

Then there came ~~It would be foolish to say that~~ the magnificent surge from below which took place in black America in recent years. It ~~and~~ forever destroyed the myth that the passive Negro would gratefully accept his freedom from a well-intentioned, superior and somewhat self-righteous white. Suddenly Negroes - hundreds of thousands of them - got "into civil rights". I am the last one to argue that everything which was done by this vital, passionate ~~contradictory~~ movement was right. I would certainly not claim that black leadership is, by virtue of being black, necessarily more astute and intelligent than white. But I think that it is completely to the good that the exigencies of the struggle (and, above all, the courage of Negroes themselves) have made the old, benevolent approach of so much of white liberalism impossible. And, to state a point which I want to develop a little later on, it is extremely significant that a radical white critic was a premature analyst of this aspect of the white liberal personality.

So here you will meet the children of the dedicated, anti-racist parents who are sent to the exclusive suburban schools and that sinister ~~the Negro~~ Babbit, Mr. Whitey Backlash who gives an off-the-record interview on ~~who refuses to conform to the stereotype and talks about foreign movies~~ a double standard that is ~~rather than the Movement~~ becoming all too familiar in the North. These characters are pure Feiffer - and pure genius.

Secondly, there is one strip which I find a merciless, brilliant critique of all those (honest, sincere) people who tell the Negro to "help himself." This ~~The~~ pompous, moralizing American knows that poverty, unemployment, drug addiction and crime are the simple free choice of the poor, the jobless, the junkie and the criminal. The six pictures are worth at least a dozen doctoral dissertations. For there are so many people who have no sense of the reality~~, the human thickness~~ of Negro life. And to them, they stereotype the black, eighth generation American in his segregated ghetto in the midst of a~~n~~ cybernated economy ~~with~~ as being the same as the aspiring, hopeful white imigrant of two generations ago who came into an America which could, and did, profitably put grade school dropouts to work. They do not understand, as Feiffer so obviously does, the massive social determinants which make the misery of poverty an infinitely more difficult fate to escape than ever before in our history. And then, of course, no group has ever faced a prejudice as profound as the one based on the color of a man's skin.

Finally, I think it is Feiffer's great merit to relate the issues of violence and non-violence to the society itself. The overt Southern racist, and Mr. Whitey Backlash, - and, alas, some white liberals - propose a double standard. On the one hand, the society is to go on being as profoundly violent as it is, proclaiming that it is still necessary to recognize force as the supreme arbiter in international life and power as the decisive factor in the domestic economy. And on the other hand, these same people advise the Negro, who has ~~the~~ suffered the very worst this nation has to give, to be better than anyone else.

To me, it is remarkable that the American Negro has, to a considerable degree, achieved that act of transcendence. For this 10% minority of the American population has created the most effective non-violent mass movement since the time of Gandhi. I have dedicated most of my life to precisely that struggle. And yet, at the same time, Feiffer is absolutely right to point out that the entire society is rotten-ripe with violence. If, then, I think it tragic when Negroes take up arms and strike out in riots and turmoil, I also think that it is understandable. During the first, booming half of the Sixties, when every occupational group advanced, the incomes of the people in Watts declined, their television sets told them of a world in which violence seems to be supreme. To reply to these people in pious sermons - to grandly tell them, as Mr. Whitey Backlash does, that "extremist tactics are losing the Negroes their many moderate friends" - is a viscious irrelevance.

But then does all this mean that I read Jules Feiffer as one more proof of the ultra-militant, nationalist point of view: White liberals are no good, violence is coming and thats fine, non-violence and integration are a fraud. That is not the point at all.

I think Jules Feiffer is absolutely right to expose the hypocrisies of white liberalism - and that his accomplishment in doing this is a triumph of the white liberal tradition. For if one can truthfully say, with Feiffer, that self-righteousness and self-congratulation have often been expressed by those who honestly, but incompetently, seek to fight for freedom, it is also true that there is a profound urge toward self-criticism, toward eventual honesty, among the partisans of social change. Today, a Negro writer like LeRoi Jones attacks Feiffer for being a white liberal - but yesterday, and even ten years ago, Feiffer was already dissecting the phony aspects that are to be found among white liberals. (and black ones too)

I think, in short, that if the movement for integration can really learn Feiffer's lesson that there is great hope. The most decisive fact of the post-War period in America has been the ~~rising~~ growing consciousness of the black man - and things will never again be as they were. The Negro is going to organize, to select his leaders, he is going to *win* his freedom and not accept it from on high.

But the Negro minority cannot transform this powerful nation by itself. And as long as the white majority has its Jules Feiffers to unmask its pretenses, to criticize even the avowed advocates of justice and to do so ruthlessly, - as long as we can talk as honestly as this book talks, there is the hope of an integrated movement which will literally make a new America.

Book
~~Introduct~~

Ⓕ Page

PROTEST AND PREJUDICE : =11

A STUDY OF BELIEF IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY =20

Introduction by
Bayard Rustin

This study by Gary T. Marx of Negro thought and attitudes and the aspirations of our movement tells it like it is, which is not the way ~~too~~ many friends ~~as well as~~ and enemies of the Negro struggle think it is. Its first virtue is that it does not look at the Negro community as simply a monolithic mass of apathy or militancy, but, in pointing out its complexity, takes full account of the variety of social and economic strata and opinions within it. This is in sharp contradiction to one aspect of white chauvinism which holds strongly to the stereotype of a "Big Black" opinion.

At the height of the civil rights struggle, one remembers that even as esteemed a journal as The New York Times, whose civil rights reporting was generally commendable, declared on occasions that "militants" were replacing the "old moderate" leadership of the movement. Such prognoses notwithstanding, the Negro leadership, and especially such thoughtful ~~militants~~ leaders as A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Dr. Martin Luther King, ~~maintained~~ retained, as this study shows, the overwhelming support of the Negro communities, and are today still in positions of leadership. As an act of charity, we can easily forget the ~~member~~ NUMBER of "militants" who at one time or another have been crowned kings of the Negro movement by the mass media. Less humorous, but no more substance, was the ~~The New York Times~~' discovery by the NY Press of the "Blood Brothers", a group of young Negroes supposedly bent on murdering and raping the white race. This, at the time, was a sensational "discovery" but the "Blood Brothers" proved to be without flesh or substance and to have a spiritual existence only in the minds of the reporter and few policemen. Of the same order was the mass media's periodic discovery of enormous upsurges of Black Muslimism, something as fearsome as the "yellow peril." The building of these myths did considerable damage to Negro-white relationships~~;~~ and also led some would-be civil rights leaders, with no real base of support in the Negro community, to issue inflammatory statements on race relations ~~and to denounce the Negro leadership~~ for the sheer sake of getting personal publicity. Through such publicity they hoped to gain at least one supporter in the Negro community and perhaps a little bit of that money from those white philanthropists who had been ~~stimulated~~ frightened by their blood-curdling cries and ~~empty~~ portentous slogans. These great battles of the press release left most of the Negro movement and community completely cold and ~~bored~~ disturbed, but presumably ~~they sold~~ many papers were sold outside of Harlem.

A lot of this foolishness could have been avoided had the mass media maintained the same devotion to truth, the same care in its interviewing, and the same high standards in compiling and analysing information that one finds in ~~this~~ the study at hand. Black Americans are not ~~that~~ so exotic as to prevent the mass media from making ~~pros~~ a ~~and a profound sympathy by the mass media with~~ profound understanding of their human aspirations. ~~is quite possible.~~ ~~This~~ The ability to do this is clearly demonstrated by ~~the makers of this~~ Mr. Marx's study; ~~who~~ he ha~~d~~s not only sympathy, with, but also ~~a~~ considerable background knowledge and experience in the writing of Negro history. In addition, the clear, good writing one finds here ~~are~~ is more than one usually encounters in opinion polls and sociological tracts.

This study, meant to deal with Negro anti-semitism, is part of a larger one on anti-semitism in the United States. It is to the credit of its author and sponsor, the Anti-Defamation League,

(~~[illegible]~~ —)

that they recognized that one cannot understand Negro prejudice against Jews unless one understands something about Negro attitudes, life, and reactions to white prejudice. Rather than isolating Negro anti-semitic attitudes, The study concentrates on examining the social and economic deprivations that lie at the roots of most irrational hatreds and prejudices. ~~rather than on isolating Negro anti-semitic attitudes.~~ To its credit, also, the study did not attempt to apologize for some of the shadier operations of some Jewish businessmen in the ghetto (which, of course, are no different from the chiseling and price gouging preacticed by non-Jewish, white, and Negro businessmen in the "~~Harlems~~ ghetto" throughout the U.S.A.). It recognizes that Negro resentment of these practices are justified, but also ~~the justified resentment of Negroes at these practices as well as~~ points out some of the irrational hostility some Negroes have toward Jews who are not guilty of exploiting them. And, most important, rather than merely deploring unjust attitudes and practices on both sides, ~~it~~ the study attempts to understand them in the context of ghetto conditions and life so that a real solution can be sought.

The discovery by these investigations that there is less anti-Semitism in the Negro community than there is in the broader white community is something that most people don't realize. I am thinking particularly of a television show which not long ago featured 3 Negro "militants" who were supposed to be expressing the typical hatred that Negroes felt toward Jews. They denounced Jews roundly for a variety of offenses to Negroes, ~~and~~ One of the participants even charged a "Jewish-Zionist" conspiracy against black men and people of color throughout the world. It did not matter to the producer of this program, fishing for sensationalism in troubled waters, that his panelists, although presented as Negro spokesmen, had no real following in the Negro community. Even if they represented any thinking

[illegible]

further I ask [illegible] of Jews as cops & white clerk

impact of ghetto life

at all it was that of a thin stratum of the Negro ~~petite~~ petit bourgeoisie with the kind of severe status deprivation upon which anti-semitism feeds. This ~~study~~ book makes it clear that Negroes, if anything, are less intolerant than whites. But, unfortunately, it will reach a much smaller audience than the television program that did such great harm to the relationships between Negroes and Jews.

We cannot and must not tolerate any Negro anti-semitism as we cannot and must not tolerate any anti-Negro prejudices in the Jewish community. Many respected Negro and Jewish leaders have spoken out against such bigotry, and recently James Baldwin and Ossie Davis resigned from the Board of a Negro magazine that gave its pages over to a vicious anti-Jewish article. But more meaningful than appeals for brotherhood and denunciations of prejudice is the recognition that unfair business practices and some forms of anti-semitism are endemic to the ghetto. Ghetto thinking by Negroes who live there and Jews who work there is a product of the social and economic deprivations that exist in its confines. And those that live outside its borders are also victims of the illusions and prejudices common to that larger ghetto. It is the ghetto, the social and economic walls between the races, that must be destroyed if real tolerance and brotherhood are to exist. This is the approach of ~~the~~ Mr. Marx's study, and one of the reasons it is worthy of consideration by both Negroes and whites.

Beyond this, it provides interesting information and thoughtful ~~conclusiges~~ conclusions about the Negro movement and the whole problem of racism and exploitation. As this study throws much light on the dynamics of social struggle and probes the deeper motives and aspirations in the Negro community, many myths fall by the wayside.

For instance: Ghetto life, rather than heightening the desire to struggle, decreases militancy, ~~as~~ since ti limits awareness of the po~~s~~ssibility for change. Thus, the integrated character of the Freedom movement, instead of dampening militancy among Negroes, encourages it. Similarly, membership in major civil rights organizations like the NAACP was found to be a key index of constructive militancy. The ~~A~~awareness of relative deprivation, and not grinding oppression, was found to be a major stimulus to activity. Thus, greater militancy was found not among those most economically depressed, but among steadily employed industrial workers and middle class elements earning between $4,000-6,000 a year. Concrete victories and reforms won by the movement, rather than pacifying and absorbing Negroes into the establishment, as some would-be revolutionaries had argued, inspired them to greater militancy and greater demands for basic social change.

The facts of this study help to puncture another myth held in common by both white moderates and Black Muslims: the pull-yourself-up-by-your-own-bootstraps school of thinking which holds that a major cause of poverty and social misery in the Negro community is ~~its~~ the lack of Negro self-help organizations. What the study shows is that Negroes have at least as many voluntary associations as other ethnic groups, and concludes rightly that the cause of the Negroes' plight is the ghettos' lack of economic wherewithal and not the lack of good intentions or adequate organization. The blame for Negro apathy (much exaggerated, as this study shows) is put right where it belongs: on the American social structure which victimizes the Negro.

Also worthy of consideration is some of the information in this study on Negro reactions to the riots that flared up in a number of ghettos across the country. Although a ~~considerable~~ minority in the Negro community thought the violence did some good, given the large-scale indifference to Negro demands shown by the white community, Negroes in areas where the riots took place, particularly, in Harlem, had the greatest doubts about its usefulness.

Another interesting insight was that the Black Muslims gained most of thier recruits from Southern migrants who can't get jobs ~~and~~ o [illegible] find their bearings amidst the confusion of ghetto and northern industrial life, and are attracted by an authoritarian and hierarchic ideology and a group. Despite the misleading mass media reports, the study correctly concludes: "The 'rising tide' of black nationalism, at least in late 1964, was unduly misleading; strong and consistent support for the Muslims was at least an infinitesimal ripple in the Negro community." Then and now the overwhelming majority of Negroes were committed to integration: not separatism, but integration in its profoundest sense; not tokenism but equal opportunity and a fair share of the good things in life that other Americans enjoy. A number of us in the civil rights movement had always ~~maintained~~ held this ~~was~~ to be true, but amidst all the sound and fury we were often ignored.

But the exaggerated conception in the press of the size of the Black Muslims should not make us sanguine. The frustration and anger resulting from"a dream deferred" is growing in the Negro community, particularly in the racial and economic underclass America has created. Still, as the noted historian C. Vann Woodward pointed out," It is clear that among the great majority of leaders and followers of the Negro movement, the racial reserve of patience and responsibility has never failed." The study bears this out and predicts that "as time passes, the proportion of the Negro community which is aroused and militant will increase." The study concludes that the direction the Negro community movement takes -- toward thoughtful militancy and more effective political action or towards angry outbursts and frustrationstactics -- will be determined by the response of the white majority to the Negroes' just demands. Most Negroes, the study shows, still maintain their committment to non-violent social change and a willingness to work with men of good will in the white community. But should their hopes for true equality be thwarted and the road to social and economic progress remain closed to the Negro masses, there will certainly be a bitter harvest. Already there are ominous signs of this. With the falling off of white support for the Freedom movement, such thoughtful scholars as C. Vann Woodward have warned of the dnagers of a second Reconstruction. "If we are realists we will no longer pretend that the movement for racial justice and Negro rights is sustained by the same foundation of moral assurance, or that it is supported today by the same political conditions, the same interracial accomodations, and such harmony of purpose, and committment and dedication as recently prevailed."

Thus, today, America is at a crossroads. The civil rights revolution generated the most healthy and constructive creative climate the country has known in decades; it sparked social consciousness and action that benefited all Americans. The compromise with racism that marked the first Reconstruction le~~a~~d to an era of reaction and moral callousness towards human rights from which the country has still not fully been freed. And a second Reconstruction means social retrogression, spawned by racial conflict among white and blacks at the bottom of the economic ladder, that will poison our society with bigtry of all kinds at a time when it needs to move dynamically forward to meet the new social problems generated in the wake of our technological revolution. We must recreate, in a new interracial movement, the high idealism and moral committment that was reborn in the United States with the civil rights revolution. But this time we cannot build around the effort to get Negroes a cup of coffee at a segregated lunch-counter, an integrated seat on a bus or a vote in a lily white electorial process. Considerable progress has been made in these areas, but we still have not touched the deeper misery of the black and white poor. The great "coalition of conscience" -that alliance of Negro, labor, liberal and religous groups that offers the best hope for a truly great society -- must be restructured to confront the more basic socio-economic problems of our society and meet the needs of both black and white Americans. To complete the unfinished democratic revolution of our time, we need a program with the social vision of A.Philip Randolph's $185 billion Freedom Budget, which goes to the social and economic roots of bigotry, proposes to tear down the ghettos and slums and replace them with decent integrated communities, and can unite the Negro and white poor as well as all men of good will in the task of a just and equitable social reconstruction. ~~to create a society where real equality is possible~~.

This study delineates the problem, now we must get on with the solution. ~~We must overcome~~.

Rust articles

WADep Introduction

INTRODUCTION

by Bayard Rustin

All the talk we are hearing today about the importance of the names "black" and "Afro-American" to designate Negro Americans, and the persistent assertion that "Black is beautiful" reminds me of something my grandmother said to me when I was young and in the habit of boasting. She said that one only boasts about that which he is insecure. And though for a time I refused to agree with her, I eventually began to see that she had said something very profound.

There is little reason why some Negroes should feel insecure about their identity and their place within American society. While their history has been one of enslavement and exploitation, their survival has been a magnificent achievement which is a far greater source of pride than any name that can be used to designate them. Many Negroes who today claim a lack of identity also unwittingly reveal a lack of historical knowledge.

The root of the problem lies in the racial sterotypes and prejudices by which white America has blinded itself to the dignity of Negroes as human beings. These attitudes have found their way into our history books and our literature, and their presence is felt in daily social intercourse to the point where they pervade the entire society.

It is little wonder that Negroes, as American citizens, have been affected by the prejudices of the dominant American culture which has told them that they are inferior to whites.

Much of what we see going on today is a psychologically healthy attempt, particularly by young Negroes, to right the balance. And it is to be expected that they will act and speak excessively because of the excessive oppression that the Negro has been subjected to in the past. Nor is it surprising that they should at times act foolishly and give exaggerated importance to words and wearing apparel, for the growing process is not easy.

This should give us a clue with which to understand what is happening today, for the excessiveness and foolishness are part of a growth process into manhood. And as such, it is also a passing phase that will be over once it has served its function of facilitating maturation.

One of the more interesting consequences of this development has been the reaction to it of many white liberals. They have equaled, and in some cases surpassed, Negroes in their professed admiration for blackness. Their exaggerated behavior also derives from insecurity, for these liberals are not confident of their attitudes. They fear, perhaps rightly, that they are not entirely free of prejudice. Their treatment of the Negro as an infallible and superior being is merely an inversion--not a repudiation--of the older stereotypes. And as a result of their own dissatisfaction with their secure and affluent situation in society, they are encouraging young blacks to make a revolution-by-proxy which they themselves don't have the courage to make. For them, this revolution will be an exciting diversion. But for Negroes it will be tragic.

The essays in this short pamphlet are a much needed corrective to the confusion that has possessed so many black and white Americans today. The perception of Roy Wilkins and John Morsell, and the humor of Russell Baker and Art Buchwald should help to restore a sense of perspective and balance to our discussion of the race problem.

The essays are also timely, because one of the more dangerous aspects of the cult of blackness has been a tendency toward separatism. I find it ironic that the slogan""separate but equal" should be coming from the lips of Negroes, for it has always been the arguement used by white segregationists to keep the Negro in an unequal and degraded condition. What black separatists fail to comprehend is that integration is not a white plot to destroy black identity, but is rather the only means by which the Negro will achieve economic, social, and political equality in America. And while they cultivate their blackness, the separatists are subverting the very basis for equality.

Martin Luther King, Jr. is dead, but his words serve as a fitting tribute to the ultimate intent of this pamphlet:

> On the one hand, integration is true intergroup, interpersonal living. On the other hand, it is the mutual sharing of power. I cannot see how the Negro will be totally liberated from the crushing weight of poor education, squalid housing, and economic strangulation until he is integrated, with power, into every level of American life.

Foreword to The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor After Slavery

by Bayard Rustin

The history of American blacks between the end of slavery and the beginning of the modern civil rights movement has been sadly neglected. In contrast, the publication of Kenneth Stampp's The Peculiar Institute in 1956 sparked a renaissance of scholarship in the sociology, psychology, history, and economics of slavery. The new research, challenging insights, and novel theories of Stanley Elkins, Herbert Gutmann, Eugene Genovese, Robert Fogel, Stanley Engerman and others has ignited scholarly and popular controversy. But if one result of the renewed interest in slavery has been an enriched understanding of an extraordinarily important period in the evolution of American race relations, considerable confusion is a by-product. The problem is not that the theories of this or that scholar have a pernicious effect on public attitudes or policy. Rather it is that this renewed interest reinforces the tendency to reduce the history of American blacks to the history of slavery. It is widely assumed, perhaps unconsciously, that the proper understanding of slavery holds the key to the recovery of our cities, the solution to the welfare crisis, and even the ending of racial discrimination and inequality. Although slavery is clearly the basis for all future developments of relations between the races, it does not and cannot explain everything. A fuller and more accurate history of slavery is essential, but our understanding will be restricted and incomplete until and unless we have an equal grasp of the history of American black following emancipation.

Daniel Novak's The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor After Slavery is, thus, of more than instrinsic importance and interest.

It is an indication that a new generation of scholars may be beginning to recognize the importance of this neglected period in American history. Although Novak's work is primarily a legal study, it is filled with important insights into the new economic and social system that replaced slavery. It provides much-needed perspectives on the post-slavery South that will be of interest not only to professional historians, but also to everyone who is concerned with understanding the historical and social development of racism and race relations in the United States.

While the failure of Reconstruction--radical or otherwise, to establish a strong and secure basis for black freedom and equality by economically transforming Southern society is well known, much less attention has been given to trying to understand what replaced slavery. The usual concentration upon the politics of the Radical legislatures has, if anything, directed attention away from the more critical questions of economic relationships that replaced slavery. Daniel Novak builds a convincing case that the new system had much in common with slavery: the old fugitive slave laws were reborn and the convict labor system quoted prices for classes of prisoners which were taken directly from the terminology of slavery. His detailed examination of the laws governing labor relations in the postwar South yields a stark and depressing picture of a new social and economic system that continued the oppression and degradation of black workers. As legally defined, the new system closely paralleled serfdom. In fact, Novak observes, compared to the medival serf the freed Negro had considerably less legal protection, while the control of his movements was at least as great.

The accepted wisdom that the entrenchment of Jim Crow was primarily the result of the withdrawal of federal troops from the South following the compromise of 1877 is persuasively challenged by Daniel Novak. He points out that not only did the federal government fail to reconstruct the South, but that it can more accurately be described as a partner in the creation of the new system. It was the Freedman's Bureau, not Southern bourbons or the Klu Klux Klan, which initiated and enforced the regulations that became models for the Black Codes, the legal foundation and reflection of the new system of forced labor. Although the Bureau and the army did try, within limits, to protect the rights of the freeman, they basically supported the emerging system of control.

Even more surprisingly, not a single radical Southern legislature became involved in the labor field in a way that might have, however briefly, destroyed the peonage system set up by the Black Codes and the Freedman's Bureau. Radicalism was restricted to issues like suffrage, segregation, and education, while legislation on labor remained essentially conservative. Thus, during the period when radicalism supposedly ran rampant over the defeated South, something far different was happening. As Novak writes, "the newly-freed agricultural worker was, by consensus, placed in a position of peonage."

The Wheel of Servitude suggests that economics, especially the forced labor system, must be placed at the center of the historians vision if we are to understand Southern history. In Novak's hands this approach yields valuable insights into the nature of the Populist movement and the reasons for its failure. The Populist movement virtually ignored the needs of agrarians caught in the trap of sharecropping and wage labor, the positions occupied by the overwhelming majority of Negro farmers. This was not accidental, according to Novak, for the Populist movement was based upon property owning-farmers. Thus, it is not surprising that Populism did not *fundamentally challenge the Southern system.*

The great value of Daniel Novak's _The Wheel of Servitude_ *is, however, the clarity he brings to explaining the legal mechanisms that re-enslaved of the newly-freed blacks and to discussing how the laws reflected the dependence of the Southern economy upon a system of forced labor. Changes in the lien laws, for instance, are explained as a response to the growth of sharecropping and tenantry as alternatives to wage labor.*

The Wheel of Servitude *is of more than historical interest. In one sense, it is a case study of the centrality of economics to the progress of social justice. More importantly, as Novak reminds us, peonage is a current issue. Cases of peonage have been reported in North Carolina and Florida during the summer of 1977 and there is no doubt that even today this form of near-slavery is far more extensive than most Americans would like to believe.*

Both scholars and social activists will be richly rewarded by reading this illuminating study of a critical and little understood period in American history that traces the connections between the Southern legal structures and the new system of labor central that emerged in the aftermath of the Civil War.

EXCERPT REPRINT PERMISSION

EYES ON THE PRIZE READER AND STUDY GUIDE

Author: Bayard Rustin

Work: "From Protest To Politics: The Future Of The Civil Rights Movement"

Publisher: Commentary magazine

Date of Publication: February, 1964

Excerpt: pp. 25-31; as enclosed

The above author/publisher hereby grants permission for inclusion of the above-specified excerpt in a Reader and Study Guide being prepared by Toby Levine Communications for Blackside, Inc. for publication as a print element of "The Eyes on the Prize" telecourse.

A permission fee of $25 per page will be paid for use of the excerpt, based on its actual length in the Reader and Study Guide. This fee shall cover the initial publication and future reprinting or republication.

The author/publisher represents that the author/publisher has the full authority to grant this publication permission, and that inclusion of this excerpt in The Eyes on the Prize Reader and Study Guide will not violate or infringe upon the copyright or other rights of any other individual, firm or organization.

Confirmed:

Bayard Rustin

Author/Publisher

13th July 1986

Date

Toby Levine Communications
for
Blackside Inc.

Date

Please note here the exact rights acknowledgment statement you wish us to use : Copyright
Bayard Rustin, 1964

2042 Pine Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
June 22, 1967

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Rustin:

I have your draft for the preface to my book and think it is just magnificent. I am so flattered and moved by the nice things you say about my work and you do have such perception into the motivation of the artist!

I am going to take you at your word and make one small suggestion for revision. I do feel that the opening sentence seemed somehow a little abrupt and seemed to need something - a phrase or two - to precede it. Do you agree? If not, I will abide by your decision - but just wanted to mention my reaction. I like the second paragraph very much, and of course all the rest from there on.

Again I thank you most warmly for your interest in this project and hope you will be pleased with the final package. As I wrote Miss Horowitz the other day, I will send you your copy by the latter part of August. (Maybe in time to commemorate the March on Washington!)

Also I hope you can take advantage of the invitation to come to the opening of the exhibition of the book at the Philadelphia Print Club on September 22nd. I will advise you more about that. Many, many thanks,

Sincerely,

Edith

EDITH KAPLAN

EK:jb

PREFACE

by

Bayard Rustin

The years between 1954 and 1965 saw, though largely in the South, the highpoints of the Negro's push for full freedom. Historically, at least, it is appropriate that these activities should have taken place mainly in the South, for it was there that the Negro's freedom was first denied, and where, ever since, it has been most denied. And if only for that reason, it is scarcely surprising that those same years -- 1954-1965 -- should also have seen the highpoints of official Southern brutality against black men, women, and children, as well as against their predominantly Northern white allies. The manner in which white Southern power met the just and spontaneous uprising of free spirit has left permanent stains on the record of American freedom.

Yet, as we well know, public memory can be short. Perhaps, so far as millions of Americans are concerned, that great drama -- so stirring and so recent -- has already been banished to a place among old and yellowed newspaper files and discarded television film footage. It is not a pleasant thing to admit, but this is the luxury enjoyed by those who simply look out upon history from their rocking chairs.

But none of us who were actually there, who helped to make that history, can enjoy such reprieve. The brutal hand of Southern power deliciously wielding billy clubs and impatiently fingering the triggers of guns, this image is permanently burned in our minds. Neither can we forget the jails, the paddywaggons, the churches being bombed, and the murders by night. Such knowledge is for us too terrible and, in any case, too intimate to forget.

Unawares, there were others among us -- artists -- who also did not forget. They shared with us our terrible knowledge of human aspiration and the price it often pays in brutality and suffering. Beyond that, they were also doing what we had no time to do, and what, in any case, they are uniquely equipped to do: They were perceiving the essence of our confrontation with cruelty, and linking it with a similar rhythm that runs through all of human experience.

Really, this should not surprise us too much, for artists are not only motivated by an urge to clarify our vision by giving us the benefit of theirs, they also discover some of purest sources of their vision in suffering, especially suffering endured in behalf of freedom. Which reminds us that art shares a kinship with revolution. It is true that they have not always taken the same view of that kinship, but whatever these differences, they share a concern for the same values -- freedom and self-determination and justice. This is neither the time nor the place to look into the ambiguities of that relationship, suffice it to say that the artists who were with us on the roads of the South were also at one with us in our feelings about political liberation and human dignity.

Edith Kaplan, one of these artists, has put together a sensitive portifolio of the highpoints of our struggle. The woodcuts and poetry she has brought together under the title of Voices of the Revolution represent her own distinct voice and sensitivity as well as the voice and sensitivity of her peers, all of whom were seeking, as she puts it, to be a part of the generation in which they were born.

"Because I am an artist," Miss Kaplan also says,"I am inevitably a record keeper of my times." We are fortunate in the record she has provided us in Voices of the Revolution. It reminds us all over again of Hegel's view that history is perhaps really nothing more than a record of the human spirit, and that the essence of that spirit is freedom.

#

COLUMNS, 1967 - 1985

Reverberations • N. Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., Mar. 11, 1967

Coalition Needed For New Phase

By BAYARD RUSTIN
(Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

The Freedom Budget, published in October by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, represents the first detailed and comprehensive program for social and economic change for all Americans to have been worked out and proposed from within the Negro community.

RUSTIN

By balancing economic and social priorities against feasible expenditures and national resources, the Budget calls for the investment of 185 billion dollars over [illegible]t ten years in the task [illegible] the cycle of [illegible]rty t[illegible]es the lives of [illegible]ions of Americans, the most impoverished of whom are Negroes.

It is important for all to understand, however, that this is not only the first such program yet proposed from within the civil rights community, it represents a new and most difficult phase of organization. Now we must work to create new jobs, rebuild slums, redefine work, secure a guaranteed annual income, increase minimum wage, build new schools and hospitals, humanize the urban centers, and deal with the problems of automation.

Supporters

What we have been forced to see, also, as a matter of sound economic sense as well as a matter of practical strategy, is that these conditions, though they afflict Negroes most grievously, are also the real conditions of millions of poor white Americans. Consequently, the Budget reflects the backing and some of the thinking of a coalition of liberals, trade unionists, religionists, intellectuals, and grass roots activists.

The major support, of course, has come from the civil rights groups. The NAACP, the Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, are all distributing the Budget. And Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph and myself recently testified in its behalf before the Ribicoff Committee hearings in Washington.

The trade union movement has been pushing an educational campaign with its membership, black and white. Articles in support of the Budget not only appeared in many national newspapers, but a number of these articles have continued to appear in newspapers supported by the AFL-CIO, the IUD, the American Federation of Teachers, and the Steelworkers Union. The Budget has extensive support in the liberal community as well.

Institute's Role

Supplementing all these efforts has been the educational campaign being organized by the Randolph Institute itself. The West Coast Conference Committee for Action on the Budget, which incorporates many groups, is calling a regional conference on April 11 to draw up a local Freedom Budget, in which they will interpret their regional needs in terms of the national priorities stressed in the Budget.

The Committee for a Philadelphia Freedom Budget, made up of 175 Community leaders, is doing substantially the same thing for that area; and similar projects are now underway in Boston and Pittsburgh.

In addition, the Institute has already distributed 50,000 of the original version of the Budget and 70,000 of the recently published popular version. And in the coming months, the educational campaign will extend to other major cities, all kinds of local organizations, students, and youth groups. This in-depth and intensive grass roots thrust will soon be translated into effective lobbying and political action.

As I think of the massive coalition of forces that joined in the Selma and Birmingham demonstrations, which led to the passage of the 1964 and 1965 civil rights bills, I cannot help believing that the job now is to organize the same kind of process in support of the Freedom Budget; to help grass roots people to understand the political nature of the job to be done, and to assure that they are supported by a coalition of men of good will.

In further columns I will discuss the economic and strategic importance of the Budget, as well as organizational developments.

The Trouble with Adam

March 16, 1967

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN
by
Bayard Rustin

The trouble with Adam -- which is to say, the trouble with aspects of his political and congressional behavior -- is that very often many of us do not find it possible to support him, and on the occasions that we find it possible, he does not make it easy. This is not one of those occasions: Supporting Powell in the upcoming special election is politically and morally necessary. All this has been helped by the behavior of his colleagues in the House. Their decision to bar him from the House, after he had been duly elected, represents such a serious violation of principle that the majority of Negroes will unite in support of him. Moreover, the House could scarcely have allowed itself to trample so violently our basic constitutional guarantees, had it not been carried along on a wave of racial feeling. For this reason, ~~their~~ its act too becomes not only unconstitutional, not only a violation of Adam's rights, but also a violation of the dignity and integrity of the American Negro electorate. Morally and constitutionally, therefore, no vacancy legitimately exists in the 18th Congressional District. And because of this, I would hope that no one who is seriously interested in libertarian principles, and certainly no Negro whose own rights and dignity have been violated, would be tempted to place himself in any position where he would seem to be endorsing this blatant miscarriage of justice. There may be a time in the future to oppose Powell, but this is not the time.

Therefore, I thought it was unfortunate that James Meredith, a man for whom I hold the highest respect, was ~~not~~ able at the beginning ~~able~~ to resist such a temptation, or to refuse the blandishments of those who wanted to exploit his courage, his ambition, and his prestige for expedient political gain. However, Mr. Meredith has now withdrawn, and though I would prefer if his decision to withdraw had been arrived at after private and lonely personal reflection, ~~but~~ nevertheless I welcome his decision.

But complexities are always with us. The insistence of the Republican Party on entering a candidate in the Harlem election, and the acceptance ~~of~~ by yet another Negro of the Republican nomination, points up the fact that there are other fundamental issues involved beyond the question of whether a Negro ought or ought not to accept the nomination to run against Mr. Powell. As a people and a community experienced in the political process, we have to recognize, it seems to me, that any decision to oppose Powell can be justified on the grounds that the two-party system is the basis and identifying feature of the American electoral process. Therefore, despite our understandable resentment towards the Republican Party and/or its Negro nominee for seeking to exploit what is already an immoral situation, we must extend both to the party and to its nominee the ordinary democratic courtesies: Which is to say, we ought to concede the legal right of the Republican Party to contest any election it wants to, and the personal and legal right of any Negro, no matter how much we deplore it, to offer himself or herself for election to public office. In fact, the possibility of a contest between opposing parties offers the Harlem constituency an opportunity it would not have if Mr. Powell were unopposed. This opportunity: Not only to let the country hear as loudly as possible that Mr. Powell is their choice, but also to articulate as sharply as possible their belief in due process.

So if I had a vote in the 18th Congressional District, I would say to all my neighbors: Let us hear what the Republican Party and Mrs. Williams have to say. Let us demonstrate our belief in the democratic process. Let us show our good judgment and political sagacity. And after all that has been done, let us all walk cooly into the polling booth and vote, overwhelmingly for Powell.

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1967

Reverberations

The Premise Of The Stereotype

By BAYARD RUSTIN

The resort to stereotype is the first refuge and chief strategy of the bigot. Though this is a matter that ought to concern everyone, it whould be of particular concern to Negroes whose lives, as far back as we can remember, have been made nightmares by one kind of bigotry or another.

RUSTIN

This urge to stereotype groups and deal with them accordingly is an evil urge: Its birthplace is in that sinister backroom of the mind where plots and schemes are hatched for the persecution and oppression of other human beings.

It comes out of many things, but chiefly out of a failure or refusal to do the kind of tough, patient thinking that is required of difficult problems of relationship. It comes, as well, out of a desire to establish one's own sense of humanity and worth upon the ruins of someone else's. Nobody knows this, or should know it, better than Negroes and Jews.

Bigots have, for almost every day we have spent out of Africa or out of Palestine, invented a whole catalogue of Negro and Jewish characteristics, invested these characteristics with inferior or undesirable values, and, on the basis of these fantasies, have engaged in the most brutal and systematic persecution.

Would Be Tragedy

It seems to me, therefore, that it would be one of the great tragedies of Negro and Jewish experience in a hostile civilization if the time should come when either group begins using against each other the same weapon which the white majorities of the West used for centuries to crush and deny them their sense of humanity.

All of which is to say that we ought all to be disturbed by a climate of mutual hostility that is building up among certain segments of the Negro and Jewish communities in the ghettoes.

Jewish leaders know this and are speaking to the Jewish conscience about it. So far as Negroes are concerned, let me say that one of the more unprofitable strategies we could ever adopt is now to join in history's oldest and most shameful witch hunt, anti-semitism. This attitude, though not typical of most Negro communities, is gaining considerable strength in the ghetto. It sees the Jew as the chief and only exploiter of the ghetto, blames the ghetto on him, and seems to suggest that anything Jews do is inherent in the idea of their Jewishness.

I believe, though, that there are two aspects of this attitude, one entirely innocent of anti-semitic animus. The first aspect, in responding justifiably to bitterness and frustration, blames the plight of the ghetto on any visible reminder or representative of white America. This is not illegitimate.

Since Jews happen to be the most immediate reminders in Harlem of white American oppression, they, naturally, inherit the wrath of black frustration. And I don't believe that the Negroes who attack out of this attitude are interested in the subtleties of ethnic, cultural and religious distinction, or that they would find any such distinction emotionally or intellectually useful.

Outrageous Blame

It is the other aspect of the attitude that is more dangerous, the one that is consciously anti-semitic, the one that mischievously separates Jews from other white Americans, and uses against them the old stereotypes of anti-semitic slander and persecution. It is outrageous to blame Harlem on Jewishness. Harlem is no more the product of Jewishness than was American slavery and the subsequent century of Negro oppression in this country.

Let's face it: Everybody gets a piece of the action in the ghetto: Those who are Jews and those who are Christians; those who are white and those who are black; those who run the numbers and those who operate the churches; those—black and white—who own tenements and those—black and white—who own businesses.

Harlem is exploited by American greed. Even those who are now stirring up militant anti-semitic resentments are exploiting the ghetto — the ghetto's mentality, its frustration, and its need to believe anything that brings it a degree of psychological comfort.

The Jews are no more angels than we are — there are some real grounds for conflict and contention between us as minority groups—but it is nonsense to divert attention from who it is that really oppresses Negroes in the ghetto. Ultimately the real oppressor is white American immorality and indifference, and we will be letting off the real oppressor too easily if we now concentrate our fulminations against a few Jews in the ghetto.

The premise of the stereotype is that everything that a man does defines his particular racial and ethnic morality. The people who say that about Jews are the same people who say it about Negroes. If we are now willing to believe what that doctrine says about Jews, then are we not obligated to endorse what it says about us?

I agree with James Baldwin entirely. I agree with him that we should "do something unprecedented: to create ourselves without finding it necessary to create an enemy . . . the nature of the enemy is history; the nature of the enemy is power; and what every black man, boy, woman, girl, is struggling to achieve is some sense of himself or herself which this history and this power have done everything conceivable to destroy."

To engage in anti-semitism is to engage in self-destruction — man's most tragic state.

Reprinted by the A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027

Dr. King and the Vietnam War; Powell and Keeping the Faith

New America, April 13, 1967

By BAYARD RUSTIN

Bayard Rustin's column will be a regular feature in NEW AMERICA. His column also appears in the AMSTERDAM NEWS. It is directed to a Harlem audience but we are sure NEW AMERICA readers will be greatly interested in Rustin's thoughtful discussions of the problems confronting the Negro community and the civil rights movement.

One of the undertones of the attacks in the white press on Dr. Martin Luther King's recent statements on Vietnam may well reveal that America really does not believe that Negroes, as citizens, have yet come of age: like children, we should be seen but not heard. I say this because the criticism of Dr. King was not limited to an evaluation of his proposals and his strategy for ending the war. It was, by and large, an attack on his right to debate, or even to discuss, Vietnam.

In substance, many editorials seemed to be asking, "What is Dr. King doing discussing Vietnam?" or "Who gave him the right to make proposals about our (meaning white American's) foreign policy?"

In a democracy all citizens have not only a right but also a solemn duty to vote, to advise on domestic affairs, and to address themselves to all aspects of foreign policy. As Americans, Dr. King and all other Negroes have such a duty. First it is their duty as citizens. Second, it is their duty as black citizens, considering that twice as many Negroes proportionately are fighting and dying in Vietnam.

Equally compelling for Dr. King, is the fact that he is a Nobel Peace Prize winner. As such he has a moral obligation to speak out for peace according to his insight as a man of God and in keeping with his conscience as a free man.

On the other hand, however, if Dr. King makes proposals that others disagree with, they have the duty to differ with him, on the merits or demerits

(Continued on Page 3)

Adam Clayton Powell

RUSTIN . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

of his proposals. Dr. King knows this, and he will expect no less. Such honest differences may encourage Dr. King to embark upon a re-examination of his position. Such honest discussion will encourage all of us to keep the vexing problem of Vietnam in constant review. This process might very well turn out to be as illuminating for Dr. King as for the rest of us. But to assume that any individual (particularly any civil rights worker) does not have the right to discuss any problem that affects his nation is to propose that such an individual is still a second class citizen. The Negro community should, and, I hope, will, continue to enter all discussions relative to their experience as Americans. We must, of course, be prepared to accept the political consequences and responsibilities that result from taking such a position.

Perhaps the real question is this: How should Negroes who have a concern for peace, organize to express these sentiments? Should they organize through the existing peace organizations, or should they organize within the civil rights movement? I must say that I would consider the involvement of the civil rights organizations as such in peace activities distinctly unprofitable and perhaps even suicidal.

Yet, there must be an opportunity for Negroes to work for peace. For many Negroes do take a deep and genuine interest in the problems of war and peace, if, for no other reason, because of the disproportionate number of Negroes in Vietnam. I am often asked by young Negroes what they can do for peace. I advise them to become members of peace organizations: The War Resisters League, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the American Friends Service Committee, or the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy. These organizations present viable options to black Americans who want to express their feelings about this or any other war in which their blood and their lives are on the line. Another option open to Negroes concerned with peace is to establish new peace organizations.

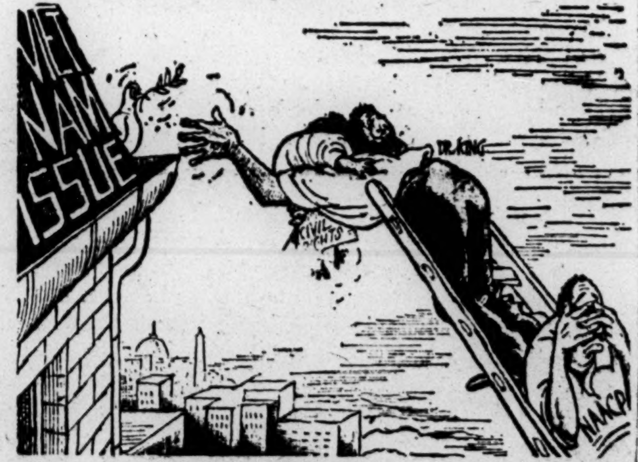
PROBLEMS CONFRONTING MOVEMENT

Which is not to say that there is going to be any tremendous onrush of Negroes into the peace movement. The immediate problems facing Negroes are so vast and crushing that they have little time or energy to focus upon international crises. What is still crucial in the thinking and experience of most Negroes is that they cannot find jobs, or live in a decent neighborhood, or send their children to quality integrated schools. Yet, they are fighting to secure these rights for other people overseas.

Nevertheless, when Dr. King speaks out as he recently did, we are forced to recognize and clarify the problems of strategy, tactics and philosophy that confront the Negro freedom movement in a time of war. Dr. King is, no doubt, more aware today of the subtleties of these conflicts than he was before he made his statement. At this juncture, the movement itself is not in better position to understand the risks of submerging its interests and energies into a pursuit of the problems of foreign policy.

None of this however, should blind our eyes to, or divert our sympathies from, the extremely painful dilemma in which Dr. King finds himself. It is true he is a civil rights leader, but it is also true that he is, primarily, a man of God, with a profound horror of violence, and one of those men of our time who is filled with a hunger for justice and peace. These features of his personality and conscience which we have applauded in the past will inevitably be reflected in the sound of his voice and the tone of his actions.

Perhaps the major lesson that all of us, white and black, will learn from the present debate is that Negroes are in fact like all other people that make up society: We will often differ on problems of strategy and tactics. We will disagree about how a certain civil rights bill ought to be managed. We will argue about the validity of a given demonstration, and even what our response would be to the war in Vietnam.



VERTIGO

(The following is from another column Rustin wrote a few weeks before Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was overwhelmingly re-elected. He garnered over 70 per cent of the vote in what was a light turn-out.)

The trouble with Adam — which is to say, the trouble with aspects of his political and congressional behavior — is that very often many of us do not find it possible to support him, and on the occasions that we find it possible, he does not make it easy. This is not one of those occasions: Supporting Powell in the upcoming special election is politically and morally necessary.

All this has been helped by his colleagues in the House. Their decision to bar him from the House, after he had been duly elected, represents such a serious violation of principle that the majority of Negroes will unite in support of him. Moreover, the House could scarcely have allowed itself to trample so violently our basic constitutional guarantees, had it not been carried along on a wave of racial feeling.

Dr. King faced with difficult decision.

VIOLATION OF NEGRO ELECTORATE

For this reason, their act becomes not only unconstitutional, not only a violation of Adam's rights, but also a violation of the dignity and integrity of the American Negro electorate. Morally and constitutionally, therefore, no vacancy legitimately exists in the 18th Congressional District. And because of this, I would hope that no one who is seriously interested in libertarian principles, and certainly no Negro whose own rights and dignity have been violated, would be tempted to place himself in any position where he would seem to be endorsing this blatant miscarriage of justice. There may be a time in the future to oppose Powell, but this is not the time.

Success of Cosa Nostra

(The N. Y. Times, March 7, 1967, reports the following view of a supervisor of New York detectives that the Cosa Nostra has been so successful because of its use of "big business methods." We can only add "and vice versa.")

"CHICAGO, March 7 — Law agencies have failed utterly to penetrate the ruling councils of organized crime because of the Cosa Nostra's successful adaptation of big business methods to their operations, 750 crime-fighting experts were told here today."

AMSTERDAM NEWS June 3, 1967

IN DEFENSE OF MUHAMMAD ALI

-Bayard Rustin-

Though we may not agree with the politics of the Black Muslims, we cannot contest their right to consider themselves a genuine religious group. In any case, our belief in the principles of individual and religious liberty should be of more importance than any disagreements we might have with the Muslims. This is the basis on which all religious differences ought to be approached, for the more one disagrees with people the more tempting it becomes to violate their privileges. This has not been sufficiently recognized in the case of Muhammad Ali. His efforts to seek deferment from the armed services are being judged less on their legitimate merits than on the basis of personal and religious animosity.

The most fundamental example of this concerns his application to be deferred on the grounds of his Muslim ministry. There are many precedents for this in our society; hundreds of other ministers have sought deferment on the grounds of their ministry and have not been denied it. Because one of our traditions guarantees the separation of church and state, the authorities do not usually seek to determine for themselves the credentials of any Baptist, Presbyterian, or other minister. They recognize not only the definitions supplied by these religions, but also the autonomous privilege of these religions to make their own determinations. In the case of Ali and the Muslims, the authorities seem to be insisting on the right to make their own determination. The constitution clearly warns against any official establishment of religion, but it would seem that by now insisting on the right to determine what is or isn't a legitimate minister, or what is or isn't a legitimate religion, the authorities are taking a clear position concerning the establishment of religion.

Another reason for public hostility towards Muhammed Ali is that he changed his name. The great majority of the press and public have refused to respect his wishes or his right. This is rather strange, considering that no one refers to Cary Grant as "Archibald Alexander Leach who wants to be called Cary Grant", or to Billy Graham as "William Franklin alias Billy Graham". Nor did anyone contest the right of Norma Jean Baker to be known as Marilyn Monroe. The fact that neither the press nor the society shares a belief in Muhammed Ali's way of life is hardly a sufficient excuse for them to violate his personal privilege.

Considering how lucrative it would have been for him to become a "playboy boxer", and the great losses and penalties he now faces by deciding to confront the convictions in himself, his courage is more to be admired than villified -- particularly in a period when there is so little consistency between belief and action.

Finally, because of their contempt for due process, the boxing authorities have further prejudiced the entire proceedings against Ali by depriving him of his heavyweight championship even while his case is still being determined in the courts. All this aside, we must be horrified and, to some extent, amused that the men who control a sport that is not notable for its abundance of ethical scruples should now rush so quickly to cloak it in the mantle of piety and morality.

Reverberations

AMSTERDAM NEWS 5/20/67

Vietnam: Where I Stand

By BAYARD RUSTIN
Director, Ap A. Philip Randolph Institute

In recent weeks and months I have repeatedly been asked where I stand on the war in Vietnam. Sometimes the question is asked with hostility by former civil rights activists who now devote nearly all their energies to opposing the war. They want to know why I don't do likewise.

RUSTIN

The reason is simple. Unlike many of them, I don't believe that the civil rights movement is dead, so I am not ready to help bury it. I will not abandon it now, when our problems are getting tougher and tougher. Getting decent jobs, housing and education is harder than integrating lunch counters. We need to redouble our efforts, not dilute and divert them. Therefore, my primary responsibility must remain to the freedom movement.

This doesn't mean, of course, that I don't have my own opinion of the Vietnam situation. Every citizen must face this issue and form a judgment. And, as a Negro, I cannot ignore the over-representation of black people on the casualty lists of Vietnam in the midst of our continuing under-representation in the decision-making processes at home. Nor can I ignore the fact that the Right-wing throughout the country is using the Vietnam war as an excuse to cut back on the war on poverty and the struggle against racism.

Tragic Conflict

I consider the Vietnam war a tragic conflict. It must be brought to a speedy end. Some would bring the boys home by a rapid escalation aimed at military victory. Although I can appreciate their wanting to bring the boys home, the strategy of rapid escalation underestimates the danger of a major confrontation with China, leading to a wider war which ultimately would commit more of our boys, black and white, to faraway battlefields.

Nor can I go along with those who favor immediate U.S. withdrawal, or who absolve Hanoi and the Vietcong from all guilt. A military takeover by these forces would impose a totalitarian regime on South Victnam; and there is no doubt in my mind that this regime would wipe out independent democratic elements in the country. Of these there may not be many, but they deserve our support.

I cannot understand how anyone who has fought for the rights of Negroes to vote and to protest in the U.S. — and who has opposed the Ky government's suppression of these same rights for Bhuddists, liberals and trade unionists — can fail to react with horror to the prospect of their total destruction under a communist regime.

Future Conflict

A military victory for either side would only sow the seeds of future conflict in Asia. I therefore favor a political settlement arrived at through negotiations by the major belligerent forces, including of course, the National Liberation Front (Vietcong). I am in general agreement with proposals by U Thant and others who have called for a cessation of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and for Hanoi to join in a cease fire. In other words, both sides — not just the U.S.—must take peace initiatives.

This may not be as simple as crying for "victory" or withdrawal, but it strikes me as the only honorable path to ending this bloody war. And it is the only course which can appeal to the mass of the American people. Therefore, it is the only real political answer.

From time to time, I may further amplify my views on Vietnam in this column. But to those who have urged me to switch from civil rights to peace, let me say: Someday, God help us, this war will be over, and my job is to help see to it that when the black soldiers come home, they will have something decent to come home to.

AMSTERDAM NEWS SATURDAY, MAY, 6TH

Reverberations

How To Avoid Summer and Smoke

By BAYARD RUSTIN

Because the conflicts that take place in our streets are too deeply rooted in the social and economic inequalities in our society, I do not believe in the effectiveness of the temporary programs that are set up to reduce the threat of rioting during the summer.

Nevertheless, I am concerned that something should be done for high school youngsters out on vacation. Not only is it necessary to keep them usefully employed, but we ought to make it possible for them to earn enough money in order that they can return to high school or go on to college in the fall.

RUSTIN

For this reason, I would like to propose to the City of New York, as well as to Mayors of other large cities across the nation, the following:

PLAN TO EMPLOY 20,000 YOUTHS AND ADULTS IN NEW YORK CITY.

1) **Parks:** 1000 youths can be employed to deal with erosion, planting, cleaning, repairing benches, etc., in Central Park and other parks throughout the city.

2) **Playstreets:** Up to 250 new play streets can be opened in congested ghetto areas for safety and recreation. Using one skilled adult and 5 youths for each street, we could employ some 1250 people.

3) **Junior Recreation Activity:** Some 1500 additional young people could be employed to work under the direction of the Youth Board, the Board of Education, and the Park Department, and assigned to schools, churches, and parks to help direct recreational activities.

4) **Day Care Centers:** We badly need an additional 150 Day Care centers for the children of working parents. If three youths and two adults were employed in these center, we could provide some 750 people with immediate employment. Such centers could be established in schools, churches, and settlement houses.

5) **Hospital Work:** Conditions are so critical in our hospitals that we could easily use at least 3,000 unskilled workers, many of them youths, to help meet the urgent need for the proper care of the sick.

6) **Nurses Aides:** We could train 1000 girls, with pay, and place them in hospitals as semi-skilled workers working at semi-skilled rates of pay.

7) **Teachers' Aides:** Up to 5000 additional women can be used in the summer school program and Headstart this summer to assist teachers and care for students.

8) **Anti-Dropouts Incentive:** As a bold experiment, 5,000 school dropouts could be paid $50.00 a week as part of a work-study program to encourage them to go back to school in the fall.

9) **Tenements:** 500 young men could be given training with pay in rat-and-roach extermination in ghetto tenements.

10) **Music and Art:** About 500 of the many unemployed artists in minority communities can be hired to teach dancing, writing, singing, instrumental music, and painting to the ghetto poor.

11) **Educational Tour Guides:** Another 500 people (50 adults and 450 youths) could be employed in 50 teams (ten per team) to help local community institutions take children on educational tours of historic sites around New York City.

I believe that by instituting a program of this nature, New York City will be demonstrating that it has a deep and continuing interest in the problems and needs of high school youths in the Negro and other low-income communities, and that it is not simply a summer soldier in the once-a-year war to keep the ghetto cool.

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
Published Weekly
by Powell-Savory Corp.
Main Office:
2340 Eighth Ave.
New York, N. Y. 10027
Tel. 212-AC 2-7800
Branch Office:
1251 Bedford Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11233
Tel. 212-UL 7-2500
John L. Procope, Jr., Advertising Manager
Jean Wade, Classified Adv. Manager
Daphne Sheppard, Brooklyn Manager
Edward Burnbaum, Circulation Manager

Reverberations

Why I Support The UFT

By BAYARD RUSTIN
Director A. Philip Randolph Institue

In 1964 Negro and Puerto Rican parents in New York City demanded quality integrated education for their children. The parents said that they would accept nothing less than the best education this city could provide.

RUSTIN

The dramatic expression of that demand came with the New York City school boycott of 1964 which Rev. Milton Galamison and I organized, and in which ½ million students stayed home and succeeded in closing down the New York City school system.

A few months later, the Rev. Galamison led a second boycott in which 40 per cent of the students stayed out of school. And subsequently, the NAACP, CORE, and other civil rights groups sponsored a march on City Hall in which, once again, the demand was for quality integrated education.

All that was achieved as a result of these and many subsequent efforts was a series of meaningless plans and statements meant to catch public attention: Open Enrollment; busing; pairing; 4-4-4 etc. The school system was not fundamentally challenged, classes were still overcrowded; the curriculum was still inadequate and inappropriate for thousands of children in the Negro and Puerto Rican community. And the teachers still worked under conditions which made it impossible for them to teach. So after all those demands, the boycotts, marches and other demonstrations, we were no closer to quality education than when the protests began.

The center of resistance was, and continues to be, the Board of Education. The Board does not understand, and will not concede, that quality education in the school system goes beyond the production of reports, studies, and watered down programs.

The lessons of 1964 are clear: public protest alone will not wring meaningful innovations from the Board, whose educational philosophy remains as hardbound and reactionary as its bureaucracy is unimaginative. Consequently, a year ago, when I addressed the annual convention of the American Federation Of Teachers. I brought this problem to their attention. I told them that the civil rights and community forces alone could not win programs for improved education and urged them to make quality education one of their major isues during contract negotiations.

I was very glad, therefore, when the UFT, the largest affiliate of the AFT, did just that in its negotiations with the New York City Board of Education. In addition to higher salaries to attract and keep qualified teachers, the UFT is demanding such other improvements as an extension of the More Effective Schools Program for all ghetto schools, elimination of clerical work so that teachers will have time to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, and so that more jobs will be provided for non-professional and community people.

The UFT is fighting so that parents will have the determining voice in what happens to the so-called disruptive children. All of these improvements are in the ultimate interest of teachers and students alike and are indispensable to an improved school system.

I have no doubt that the teachers are learning a lot as they walk the picket lines — they're talking to parents, they are learning how hard it is to change public policy, and they are discovering a kinship with the community. And when the UFT wins the fight, it will have won the battle for the children of New York and saved the school system from going further to ruin.

AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., Oct. 14, 1967 • 15

The Militants And The Middle Class

The following column was published last week and attributed to columnist Roy Wilkins. It actually is the Reverberations column of Bayard Rustin and is being published again this week to give due credit where it is due.

By BAYARD ROSTIN
Executive Director
A. Philip
Randolph Institute

One of the ironies in some of our black communities today is that while many people are demanding an end to poverty, they are at the same time rejecting the services of some of those who are most qualified to help.

RUSTIN

Of course, I do not care to defend those elements in the Negro middle class who avoid identification with the problems of the ghetto. But there are others who have spent many years of their lives working in behalf of programs to improve the lot of the black poor, and it is unfortunate that a number of these people are now being rejected.

Their skills and talents in organization and administration are not wanted. They are dismissed as either "uncle toms", "bootlickers," "house niggers," or "patsies for the power structure." I do not believe they are necessarily any of these things, but if some of them are, and if they use their advanced economic status to exploit, then they should be condemned.

On the whole, however, the qualified and concerned members of the black middle class are not being rejected because they cooperated with the white power structure in keeping Negroes exploited, but mainly because they themselves have managed to overcome poverty, which is precisely what all poor Negroes seek to do.

Which leads me to ask: If a man automatically becomes a "tom," simply because he has managed to excape poverty, then who among his accusers will themselves want to get out of poverty? That is to say, the "supermilitants" in their automatic resentment of anyone who has made it, may end up making a romantic virtue of deprivation — ultimately to the detriment of the poor.

While at one time there was tension among southern and northern Italians, shanty and lace curtain Irish, German and Eastern European Jews, we are in a position where we cannot afford to follow their example.

The logic of the supermilitant contempt for all members of the Negro middle class — whether they are genuinely concerned with the problems of the poor or not — can only dupe the poor into believing that it is possible for them to organize themselves out of poverty. No doubt, a good deal of this attitude resulted from a misunderstanding of the slogan, "maximum feasible participation." My own view is that the problems of the poor must be solved through political actions involving a majority of people in the American society. The highest form of maximum feasible participation lies in intelligent use of the vote to achieve those basic economic ends.

In seeking democratic change, it would be disasterous and ironic if this supermilitant anti-middle class, anti-professional attitude gained wider acceptance, because it plays into the hands of a national congress and its reactionary supporters who would prefer to leave the poor in their poverty. And it supports the old idea, still prevalent among many affluent Americans, that the poor themselves should pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN

Stokes and Hatcher - - A New Era

by

Bayard Rustin

The past two years have not been cheerful ones for those involved in the civil rights struggle. The period begun by the Montgomery bus boycott and1955 and which encompassed the sit-in movement and the March on Washington came to an abrupt end in 1965. Discussions about the Negro family and Negro image replaced cries for massive social and economic programs to deal with poverty and despair. Tahks instead of jobs were sent into the ghettoes. "Black Power" replaced "Freedom and Jobs." The mass media clelbrated the movement for separatism and violence and almost totally ignored that segment of the movement still engaged in unspectacular but constructive groupd work among the Negro grass roots. Finally, Congressional backlash threatened to wipe out the negligible economic programs that had been won.

In the face of this unhappy recent history, election day, November 7, 1967 became a great day for our cause. The elections in Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Indiana may well mark the end of a long series of reverses. It may well have formally and symbolically ushered in the new period of Negro politics of which I wrote two years ago in an article in Commentary magazine called "From Protest to Politics." The victories of Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher demonstrate what Negro politics and Negro politicians can achieve by making necessary and intelligent political alliances will constructive elements of the liberal political community. The Montgomery bus boycott was the catalyst for the period of mass protest in the streets. If the victories of Stokes and Hatcher has a similar effect in the new political period, then we can look forward, in the immediate future, to their victories being duplicated in such cities as Philadelphia, Richmond, and Newark. Not only will victories such as these prove that Negroes can be elected to top political offices, but they will also prove that Negro political power is a force to be negotiated with, and that Negro economic demands can be backed with political muscles.

We should be careful, however, not to see these victories merely as racial victories. The victory of both Stokes and Hatcher is a victory for the Negro in American politics and a triumph of, and tribute to, the personal qualities of these men. Uet it ought to be clear that in spite of the attractiveness of their campaigns, and the support of the Negro population, neither of them could have won withoug the support of a significant segment of the white population.

Beyond this, it ought to be noted that in their campaigns both candidates made it clear that the social and economic reforms for which they would be fighting throughout the life of their administrations would be for the benefit, not just of a special segment, but to the entire community.

In taking such a stand, both candidates were also affirming the principle that ought to underlie the new period of the Negro political and economic struggle, and which indeed forms the basis for the development of such economic documents as the Freedom Budget. This document addresses itself not only to the needs of Negroes - who are most grievously victimized by poverty - buyt also to the needs of all economically depressed Americans.

The victories of Stokes and Hatcher and the principle in which the Freedom Budget is grounded point to one clear moral and strategic imperative: that we cannot concentrate exclusively on organizing Negro power, but must organize that power in a manner, and around such programs and issues, as can attract the support of many segments of the American society.

########

Amsterdam News Column - Bayard Rustin

MINORITIES: THE WAR AMIDST POVERTY

December 21, 1967

The dissension and hostility among some of the Negro and Spanish speaking poverty groups in New York City underscores once again both the problems and the necessity of building and maintaining alliances. If, as I believe, combined political action is the key to the solution of the economic and social problems that plague racial minorities, then we will not be able to engage in this kind of action without alliances between our own groups and other forces in the society that are committed to social change. But, most certainly, the first need is for the racial minority groups to establish alliances among themselves.

I have said in the past that we need to establish alliances with progressive trade union groups, progressive religious groups, and progressive liberal and political groups. And to those who resist this kind of alliance on the basis that they can find no love in their hearts for these groups, my reply is that political alliances are not built on love but on mutual interests and common goals.

Now, concerning the need for alliances among the minority groups themselves. In this society, as it presently exists, all economically oppressed minority groups have a common cause, though some of the details of their common problems may differ. And if we create a situation where Negroes are working for themselves, we will be destroying that potential common front that is necessary to bring about massive federal programs. Anything short of this will be crumbs of programs thrown here and there and the minority groups will end up scrambling indecently among themselves for them.

While I am well aware of the long and historic grievances that exist in the Negro community, I can still understand the problems of the Spanish Americans. In addition to being victimized by some of the same problems from which we suffer, they have the further problems of language and cultural differences. But we cannot expect a people to submerge their cultural individuality simply because they are engaged in a common struggle for social justice.

Therefore, in attempting to unify around common objectives neither we nor they should allow cultural differences to stand in the way. There are deep and beautiful cultural forms that the Spanish-speaking Americans hold dear, just as there are deep and beautiful cultural forms that we hold dear. Our racial differences are within the framework of American culture whereas theirs are not. But there is one important contribution which their differences can make. They bring from their own historical backgrounds a tradition of revolutionary action against injustice which we can share.

It is very easy for us to get bogged down in separate struggle. The relevant question is not whether an oppressed ethnic group is Negro or Spanish, but what problems it confronts, or what problems they must confront toghther. We cannot afford to give priority to these differences at a time when our urgent needs are social and economic justice. We have a much bigger job to do. We need to be calling for public works, job training, national economic planning, quality education, and attractive public housing. We must clearly see our inclusion in the full benefits of American life, delayed for so long, cannot come about in an atmosphere of competitive bitterness. Negroes and Puerto Ricans must work together.

Reverberations

Amsterdam News
12/23/67

The ~~New Strategy In The Struggle~~

Politics
+ Sp[illegible]

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute)

A plan has been put forward to decentralize the New York School system into 30-60 districts, placing the control and administration of schools into the hands of local community boards.

RUSTIN

Given the problems that exist under the system by which the schools are presently administered, no one could in good conscience be opposed to changes. Yet we have an obligation to be reasonably sure that the changes are in fact better and do not merely appear so on paper.

Therefore, though I am not opposed to decentralization in principle, I would look very carefully at the plan that has been presented to us. Unquestionably, it is a plan that reflects deep concern with the present state of education in our city. And, unquestionably, it promises improvements in some very important areas.

It will bring parents more closely in touch with the education of their children, particularly parents in the black communities; it will enable them to affect educational program and policy; and it could compel teachers to be more responsive to parents' concern for the education of their children. All these objectives are good.

Real Dangers

But there are real dangers. First, though the above problems are serious enough, the real problem in the schools today is the need to find a way of making children learn to read and write. This is what parents are basically concerned about. I am not sure that the decentralization plan as it is presently proposed gives us an answer to that problem.

And if the plan is pushed, even while it does not propose that answer, then, presently, it may be more useful as a remedy to the political climate of education than to the quality of education.

Second, the communities are told they are going to be given control. But political control without a corresponding control over the financial resources that are going to be required to institute and upgrade facilities is something less than real control. It could turn out to be nothing more than a mirage, ultimately increasing community frustrations.

Third, there is a danger of school boards being taken over by radical groups — on the right and on the left — who are less interested in improving education than in establishing a platform foh community politics. The education of children should not be recruited to the service of these ends.

Against Yesterday

Fourth, in welcoming community involvement in the education of their children, let us not forget that we are in danger of sanctioning and institutionalizing the same segregated education which only yesterday the majority of black parents in this society were fighting against. If it was good to fight it then, it ought to be good now.

It was good for the de facto segregationists to defend segregation then and they are welcoming their victory even more sweetly now. I agree that it has not been easy to achieve quality integrated education, but the fact that an objective is difficult to attain does not make it any less desirable.

I do not happen to think a school is necessarily inferior simply because the students are black. Nor do I think a school is necessarily superior because the students are white. What determines the quality of that school is the ability of the teachers and the quality of the facilities. But I think we know enough about the way this society operates to realize that it will find every way possible to put superior facilities in white schools and inferior or inadequate facilities in black ones.

Other Dangers

Educationists, of course, will cite other dangers. I will say only this: Let us welcome the principle of decentralization that the present plan affirms. While the proposals contained in the Bundy Plan must be debated and amended, I support it.

The Bundy Report must be the rallying point around which ways to seek an improvement concerning the issues I have raised must be explored.

And while exploring, let us not forget that though we need to improve the climate in which the educational process takes place, our first and fundamental concern must be to find ways of teaching kids to develop skills in reading and writing, and arithmetic.

(F) [illegible]
Amsten news

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
America's Largest Weekly Newspaper

Reverberations

'I Read The News Today, Oh Boy'

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute)

The past couple of weeks have, once again, been open season on Rustin. In fact, in a number of respects, it has been an open year. I have not pleased those blacks who believe that this is no time for anyone to concern himself with the problems of jobs, housing, and education for Negroes. And I have not pleased those whites of whom I have asked that the peace movement develop politically feasible strategies for uniting American opinion against the war in Vietnam rather than simply indulging in therapeutic protest.

RUSTIN

I have even, I understand, been listed by one prominent writer as one of those Americans who should not be spoken to in 1968. To say this is neither to boast nor to ocmplain: I am much too old to engage in either enterprise.

But back to the past couple of weeks. My mail has not been favorable, and the voices on the phone have not been happy. All of this has been in response to a UPI dispatch carried in national papers of December 23 to the effect that at a conference in the South I called for the renomination and re-election of President Johnson.

Not True

This is not true.

Item: At no time did that conference go into the matter of presidential endorsements, and at no time did I offer any such endorsement, either of President Johnson or any other candidate.

Item: The southern reporters who heard my speech on December 14 promptly reported it in their morning papers of December 15, and none of them mentioned any electioneering in behalf of President Johnson. The **Clarion-Ledger** of Jackson, Mississippi, gave front page prominence to the speech under the heading, "Negro Office Holders Attend Sessions Here." The story, written by reporter Lincoln Warren, made no reference to Presidential endorsements.

Item: The same morning's edition of the **Commercial Appeal** of Memphis, Tennessee, also published a by-lined report of the conference on their front page under the heading, "Negro Officials Given Warning." The only reference to me in that story reads: "Thursday night the group heard an address by Bayard Rustin, executive director of the Randolph Institute."

(Question: Are southern reporters less capable than northern ones of recognizing an important news lead when they hear one? Even at this time of the year, are southern reporters less interested in announcements of presidential endorsements than northern ones?)

Item: Whereas my speech on the night of December 14 was reported in the southern papers on the morning of the 15th, the UPI reporter, assuming he was present, waited until December 22 before filing his report with one of the major national news services.

OH BOY

Was He There

(Question: Was he actually there? Did he actually hear what I said? Or did he piece his report together on the basis of hurried post-conference foraging among people who felt no obligation to report what I had said either responsibly or accurately?)

Item: Contrary to the UPI report that I was rebuffed by Dr. King for the remarks I am purported to have made, I have been told personally by Dr. King that he spoke to no reporter in that connection and that he took no position whatever concerning what went on at the conference.

Let me repeat: To date the only opinion I have expressed toward the elections is reflected in a speech delivered to the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (and reprinted in New South, the magazine published by the Southern Regional Council), in which I said, in part, that the Negro and labor movements "cannot afford a return to conservative rule, even in its cleaned-up, well-dressed, broad-grinned Madison Avenue varieties."

I further expressed concern that the election of a Republican dove could result in "a more conservative congress, with the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition even more firmly in control."

That reflects the current state of my opinion. As for endorsing particular candidates, that is an activity in which the press' interest is and always has been far greater than mine.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

March 14, 1968

For Release: Upon receipt

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WELL, NOW THEY KNOW

by Bayard Rustin

The President's Riot Commissioners say that their report is not for black Americans who know how it is already; rather, that it is for white Americans who don't know. That is true. Nevertheless, since there is a good deal in their findings that not all Negores know, some of the facts brought out in the Report cannot help but give thousands of Negroes a clearer understanding of their national situation. For instance:

1. Using Detroit and Newark as samples, we find that there are now roughly 46% of America's urban Negro population who have so completely lost faith in the country that they would not care under any circumstance to take up arms in its defense. Here, it is not the news that is startling -- since many of us knew it before -- but the figures. A society is in deep trouble when so many of its citizens would not defend it. The reasons are many, but one of the most telling was given by a woman who said, "my husband came back from Vietnam and nothing had changed."

2. In almost every city and state in the nation, the practice is to pay Negroes less for the same jobs they perform with whites, even where they have similar qualifications and equal education. Also, at any income level, Negroes pay 10% more for rent than whites.

3. There are four times as many black mothers who die in childbirth than whites. The infant mortality rate among Negroes is three times higher among Negroes than among whites. There are almost 2 1/2 million Negro children below the age of 15 who are living in poverty. About 37% of all adult Negroes in the society are functionally illiterate. The American suburbs are 96% white.

The twelve largest central cities now contain more than two-thirds of the Negro population outside the South, and one-third of the total Negro population in the country. Every white person in the society has a life expectancy of 71 years, while every Negro's life expectancy is only 64.1 years. In the meantime, the Negro population is growing at a faster rate than any other American group; so that in the next four years one out of every eight Americans will be black.

4. Negroes see the police as their natural enemies not only because of the high incidence of police brutality against them, but also because in some of our large urban centers there is a mere handful of Negroes among the police. For instance, in the Michigan State police force of 1502 men there is only one Negro. In Phoenix, Arizona, there are only 7 Negroes in a police force of 707 men; and in Boston there are only 49 Negroes in a force of 2504 men.

6. While it is generally known that the majority of those killed in the riots are Negroes, it is, once again, the actual figures that are startling. Of the 83 people killed during the riots, 74 were Negroes. And of the 1897 injured, 1185 of them were Negroes.

All of this bears out the conclusions and justifies the recommendations of the Riot Commission. I would state only one minor disagreement with the conclusions of the Commission. It states that it is racism that causes riots, not poverty or frustration. I would put it somewhat differently. It is poverty and frustration that cause riots, but it is racism that causes poverty and frustration.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

March 28, 1968

Upon receipt Rustin Column

THE STRUGGLE IN MEMPHIS

by Bayard Rustin

One of the great exhibitions of Negro unity, political courage and economic power is now taking place in Memphis, Tennessee. It is a struggle that should inspire every black person in the United States and one that all of us should support, because it is at once a struggle for dignity, for bread and butter, and for the right of Negro institutions in our society to organize and be recognized.

I was there two weeks ago, and found it a memorable and moving experience. Along with Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and several other national civil rights and labor leaders, I addressed a rally of more 9,000 Negro citizens, one of the largest indoor meetings I have ever spoken before.

All the memories of the great protest movement floated back; I was reminded of Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma, scenes of some of the most creative moments of the civil rights crusade of the early 1960's. The Memphis AME Temple resounded with the familiar strains of We Shall Overcome. Young people and college students of all social and economic levels filled the balconies. The leadership of the great civil rights coalition of the early 60's were present: civil rights groups, liberals, labor unions,students, and clergymen.

What was it that stirred black Memphis into such unified action? It all started on February 12, when 1300 garbage collectors and sanitation workers -- almost all of them Negroes -- went out on strike, and when the Mayor of Memphis refused to recognize either their demands or their union. In fact, the Mayor has refused to recognize the Union -- Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees -- for the entire 2 1/2 years since it was chartered. In the meantime, he has recognized and bargained with all other unions with a majority of white workers.

Though the white-owned newspapers have distorted the Negro sanitation men's demands and have inflamed white opinion against them, these demands are fair and simple. They are: 1) Recognition of Local 1733 as bargaining representative of the Negro sanitation men. 2) Establishment of meaningful grievance procedures. 3) Payroll deduction of union dues. 4) Fair provisions for promotions. 5) Health, hospital and life insurance. 6) A uniform pension program. 7) Sick leave, vacation, and overtime pay. 8) Meaningful negotiations to improve the extremely low wages of laborers and drivers.

Not only do these demands seem fair, they represent the minimum rights and privileges enjoyed by millions of other unionized white sanitation workers across the nation. Yet the response of Mayor Henry Loeb has been nothing short of repressive and racist. He has refused to recognize the existence of the Union. He has turned a deaf ear to the demands of the workers. And he has stood by while union leaders were arrested and thrown in jail, and while the police attacked Negro strikers with billy clubs and mace.

In the face of such brutal resistance the will of many other groups would have been quickly broken; but in one of the inspiring shows of unity and courage , the whole Negro community of Memphis has rallied behind the embattled strikers. Daily rallies and marches are held. Food and money are donated to help the workers take care of their families. And a boycott of downtown merchants and newspapers has resulted in a 40% decline in business.

This is an illustration of the real power of black people, and an indication that one of the most effective ways of affirming their dignity and identity is by unifying behind and struggling in behalf of the issues that affect them. But the strikers will require more massive assistance if their struggle is to continue, for at the moment they receive no more than $20 a week to pay their rents and take care of thier families. I therefore urgently appeal to anyone who reads this column to send financial contributions now to COME (Committee On The Move for Equality), care of Clayborn Temple 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee.

There is no doubt that this is one of the key politic struggles of 1968, one in which the entire Negro population i the South has a stake. As the Rev. James Lawson of SCLC has said,"This is a significant turn in the civil rights movement and a new chapter in labor history. Never before has a union been backed by a whole community." Therefore, as the Montgomery bus boycott was the beginning of a ten-year campaign across the South in demand of the franchise and public accommodations, so the Memphis struggle may be the real beginning of the campaign for Negro economic democracy in the South an other large cities in the nation.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

April 25, 1968

For Release:
Upon Receipt

For further information, contact:
Rustin
Column

Precedents and Priorities

by Bayard Rustin

Economists constantly remind us that the United States is now passing through its seventh consecutive year of "unprecedented prosperity." Yet, 1968 is still a year in which nearly 3.5 million people are unemployed; in which 30 million people are poverty-stricken; in which 14% of young people between the ages of 16 and 21 cannot find work; and in which our slums and inner cities are constantly getting worse.

It is also the year in which Dr. Martin Luther King was planning his massive poor people's demonstrations in Washington; the year in which he paid the supreme sacrifice for continuing the struggle to win economic dignity for millions of black Americans.

Nothing has so dramatized the unprecedented indifference of our society, or the unprecedented plight of the poor people in our society, as the tragic death of Dr. King. And his murder now poses the nation with the great question of whether or not it is going to act on a massive employment program as the first and highest priority for the next American decade.

Dr. King's death, as we have seen, has polarized the society in a way it has never been before. Those who previously believed in violence are even more violent now. And those who were committed to democratic political strategies to bring about social change are even stronger in their commitment now.

The question is which of these two tendencies will prevail. We cannot, by any means, be certain. But the issue may well be determined by the readiness and willingness of the Federal Government to enact the kind of massive economic legislation which will stand as a vindication to those Negro leaders and organizations who remain committed to democratic and nonviolent social change.

Only the Federal Government can make the crucial difference, for no city or state in the nation has enough financial and other resources to provide needed jobs and social services for the hard-core poor.

Ultimately, it is not the Negro leaders, the city and state governments, or the police who will determine whether we shall have civil order in our society or whether it shall be torn apart. That power and that responsibility lie with the Federal government.

That is why I would urge upon the Congress the vital necessity of passing the O'Hara Bill now pending before it. It is a Bill that calls for the creation of millions of new jobs now, the updating and creating of new services now, and making the poor and unemployed productive and dignified members of our society. For the Congress to pass such a Bill would be an act reflecting unprecedented awareness of our national crisis. And right now that is the kind of precedent that would please not just a part but the whole of our society.

Such a step would not take us the entire journey to social and economic justice and civil peace, but it is an indispensable first step.

And all citizens who mean what they preach about economic justice as one of the highest priorities in our country have no other duty but to urge their congressmen to vote for the passage of the unprecedented O'Hara Bill.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Poor People's March

April 27, 1968
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Excerpt from speech by Bayard Rustin
at Luncheon of the League for Industrial
Democracy Annual Conference, April 27, 1968
Commodore Hotel, New York City

Comments on the Poor People's Campaign

The Reverend Ralph Abernathy has announced that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry on the Poor People's Campaign to Washington, a campaign which was called by the late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. It will begin on Monday, April 29, 1968.

I am hopeful that the Poor People's Campaign will provide an effective opportunity for thousands of Americans of good will, black and white, to mobilize a massive and undeniable pressure on the Congress to get off dead center and begin to deal with the twin cancers of racism and poverty.

I am also hopeful that a mass nonviolent and disciplined movement will pinpoint and dramatize the steps that Congress and the Executive Branch must now take to redeem America's pledge to abolish both racism and poverty.

The 90th Congress has shown no inclination to redeem this pledge. Dominated by a reactionary coalition of Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans it has, time and again, failed to enact the kinds of programs required to eliminate poverty and racism in a reasonable period of time.

The passage of the recent Civil Rights Act, though an important breakthrough, is not enough. It does not go to the root of the basic economic problem. Not until the Federal Government is prepared to allocate billions of dollars for jobs, decent housing, education, and the rebuilding of our cities -- along the lines proposed in the Freedom Budget for All Americans -- will hope and confidence replace despair and frustration in the streets of our ghettos and barrios.

Yet this Congress has to date made it clear, on one vote after another, that the plight of our cities has a low priority. Not even the martyrdom of Dr. King has shaken this callous indifference.

Finally, I am hopeful that the Campaign will vindicate Dr. King's deep faith, both in the ability of our society to solve its problems democratically and in the power of nonviolent action to confer dignity upon those who believe and participate in it.

At the request of the Reverend Abernathy and the Reverend Andrew Young, with both of whom I have worked for many years, I will be available for consultation on those organizational matters that may be helpful in keeping the Campaign truly effective -- that is, truly nonviolent.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has made it clear that the leadership of the Campaign, its tactics, its strategies and immediate objectives rest properly and solely with its executive board and staff.

Meanwhile, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which I am privileged to serve as chairman of the executive committee, will continue, without a moment's delay, its battle for the legislation, appropriations and executive actions needed to eliminate racism, poverty and ghettos. We are dedicated to the rebuilding of America's cities.

I earnestly plead with the Congress to get on with the task. The problems of joblessness, hunger, illiteracy, homelessness, frustration and despair are too well documented to need further study.

Congress can, should, and must act without a moment's delay.

* * * *

Sat., May 18, 1968

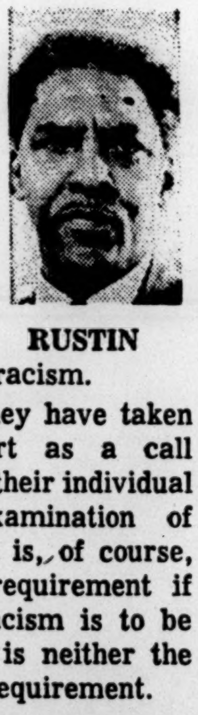
New York Amsterdam News

Reverberations

Soul Searching Vs. Social Change

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)



RUSTIN

The traditional reluctance in this country to confront the real nature of racism is once again illustrated by the manner in which the majority of American whites and the mass interpreted what the Kerner Commission had to say about white racism.

It seems that they have taken the Kerner Report as a call merely to examine their individual attitudes. The examination of individual attitudes is, of course, an indispensable requirement if the influence of racism is to be neutralized, but it is neither the only nor the basic requirement.

The Kerner Report took great pains to make a distinction between racist attitudes and racist behavior. In doing so, it was trying to point out that the fundamental problem lies in the racist behavior of American institutions towards Negroes, and that the behavior of these institutions is influenced more by overt racist actions of people than by their private attitudes. If so, then the basic requirement is for white Americans, while not ignoring the necessity for a revision of their private beliefs, to concentrate on actions that can lead to the ultimate democratization of American insitutions.

Token Gestures

By focusing upon private attitudes alone, white Americans may come to rely on token individual gestures as a way of absolving themselves personally of racism, while ignoring the work that needs to be done within the public institutions to eradicate social and economic problems and redistribute wealth and opportunity.

I mean by this that there are many whites sitting around in drawing rooms and board rooms discussing their consciences and even donating a few dollars to honor the memory of Dr. King. But they are not prepared to fight politically for the kind of liberal Congress the country needs to eradicate some of the evils of racism; or for the massive programs needed for the social and economic reconstruction of the black and white poor; or for a revision of the tax structure whereby the real burden will be lifted from the shoulders of those who don't have it and placed on the shoulders of those who can afford it.

Our time offers enough evidence to show that racism and intolerance are not unique American phenomena. The relationship between the upper and lower classes in India is in some ways more brutal than the operation of racism in America. And in Nigeria black tribes have recently been killing other black tribes in behalf of social and political privilege.

But it is the nature of the society which determines whether such conflicts will last, whether racism and intolerance will remain as proper issues to be socially and politically organized. If the society is a just society, if it is one which places a premium on social justice and human rights, then racism and intolerance cannot survive; will, at least, be reduced to an irreducible minimum.

Raping White Girls

While working with the NAACP some years ago to integrate the University of Texas, I was assailed with a battery of arguments as to why Negroes should not be let in: They would be raping white girls as soon as they came in; they were dirty and did not wash; they were dumb and could not learn; they were uncouth and ate with their fingers.

These attitudes were not destroyed because the NAACP psychoanalyzed white students or held seminars to teach them about black people. They were destroyed because Thurgood Marshall got the Supreme Court to rule against and destroy the institution of segregated education. At that point, the private views of white students became irrelevant.

So while there can be no argument that progress depends both on the revision of private attitudes and a change in institutions, the onus must be placed on institutional change.

If the institutions of this society are altered to work for black people, to respond to their needs and legitimate aspirations, then it will ultimately be a matter of supreme indifference to them whether white people like them, or what white people whisper about them in the privacy of their drawing rooms.

Reverberations

May 23, 1968

The Nineteenth Of June Mobilization

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

The poor people's campaign presently being conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has touched the conscience of all those who believe in social justice and has aroused in hundreds of thousands of such people, most of whom are not poor, a desire to demonstrate their solidarity with the demands and objectives of the campaign.

RUSTIN

All such Americans will have an opportunity on June 19, by joining the national Mobilization in support of the poor people's campaign which will march on the nation's capital on that day.

At the request of Dr. Ralph Abernathy and the SCLC staff, I have assumed the task of directing and coordinating the June 19 Mobilization. I do so not only out of my deep commitment to the principles of the SCLC and the objectives of the poor people's campaign, but also because I believe that all Americans who believe in nonviolence, democracy, and integration should be given an opportunity of affirming, before the eyes of the national Executive and before the eyes of the national Congress, their vigorous support of the cause of the poor and the cause of simple human decency in American society.

Re-defined Goals

The June 19 Mobilization will re-emphasize and re-define these goals: **That every able-bodied citizen has the right to a decently paid job which provides the opportunity for individual growth and advancement. And that all those who cannot work — because of age, ill health, or other reasons — have the right to a just and liveable income.**

But the Mobilization will not confine itself to defining such goals. It will make specific demands which can, and must be, immediately translated into law by Congressional action and Executive Order.

We will insist that new initiatives be taken, here and now, to redeeem the pledge which this nation solemnly adopted in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: "It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. . ."

And in pursuance of this, we will invite the Congress of the United States to come and hear the poor and their allies describe how it can live up to the promise which it made four years ago.

An Early Question

One of the first questions that will be raised concerning this Mobilization is whether it might not touch off civil disorders in Washington on June 19. While recent events have shown that no one can guarantee that a riot will not take place, my experience in helping to organize the demonstration in Memphis, on the day before Dr. King's funeral, convinces me that a carefully planned, well-organized demonstration can be a major alternative to violence.

In the long run, however, there is only one way for this society to prevent violence. That is the removal of the conditions which drive people into a despairing rage against the symbols of authority, and into a desperate attempt to share in that affluence which mocks their poverty in every medium of mass communications.

Perhaps this Mobilization is the last chance America will have to make an effective choice for nonviolence, for democracy and for the integration of our national institutions.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

May 23, 1968

For Release: Upon Receipt

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE NINETEENTH OF JUNE MOBILIZATION

By Bayard Rustin

The poor people's campaign presently being conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has touched the conscience of all those who believe in social justice and has aroused in hundreds of thousands of such people, most of whom are not poor, a desire to demonstrate their solidarity with the demands and objectives of the campaign. All such Americans will have an opportunity on June 19, by joining the national Mobilization in support of the poor people's campaign which will march on the nation's capital on that day.

At the request of Dr. Ralph Abernathy and the SCLC staff, I have assumed the task of directing and coordinating the June 19 Mobilization. I do so not only out of my deep committment to the principles of the SCLC and the objectives of the poor people's campaign, but also because I believe that all Americans who believe in nonviolence, democracy, and integration should be given an opportunity of affirming, before the eyes of the national Executive and before the eyes of the national Congress, their vigorous support of the cause of the poor and the cause of simple human decency in American society.

The June 19 Mobilization will re-emphasize and re-define these goals: That every able-bodied citizen has the right to a decently paid job which provides the opportunity for individual growth and advancement. And that all those who cannot work -- because of age, ill health, or other reasons -- have the right to a just and liveable income.

But the Mobilization will not confine itself to defining such goals. It will make specific demands which can, and must be, immediately translated into law by Congressional action and Executive Order. We will insist that new iniatives be taken, here and now, to redeem the pledge which this nation solemnly adopted in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: "It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty..." And in pursuance of this, we will invite the Congress of the United States to come and hear the poor and their allies describe how it can live up to the promise which it made four years ago.

One of the first questions that will be raised concerning this Mobilization is whether it might not touch off civil disorders in Washington on June 19th. While recent events have shown that no one can guarantee that a riot will not take place, my experience in helping to organize the demonstration in Memphis, on the day before Dr. King's funeral, convinces me that a carefully planned, well-organized demonstration can be a major alternative to violence.

In the long run, however, there is only one way for this society to prevent violence. That is the removal of the conditions which drive people into a despairing rage against the symbols of authority, and into a desperate attempt to share in that affluence which mocks their poverty in every medium of mass communications.

Perhaps this Mobilization is the last chance America will have to make an effective choice for nonviolence, for democracy and for the integration of our national institutions.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 WEST 125 STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

Statement by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, May 24, 1968

I wish to announce that as of this week I have assumed the task of national coordinator for the forthcoming Washington Mobilization in support of SCLC's Poor People's Campaign.

In order to allow for the most efficient preparation and planning, this Mobilization has been postponed from May 30th to June 19th.

The national headquarters of this effort which, I must reemphasize, is confined to the June 19th demonstration in Washington, will be at 217 West 125 Street. The organization of the Poor People's Campaign itself will continue to be carried on by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

This Mobilization in support of the Poor People's Campaign is being undertaken at the request of, and in cooperation with, Dr. Ralph Abernathy and the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It will be supported by a broad spectrum of Negro, religious, trade union and social action leaders and it will invite the participation of all those who believe in non-violence, democracy and integration. Thus the Rev. Abernathy and I call upon all Americans, rich and poor, black and white, from cities and from rural areas, to demonstrate in Washington, D. C. on June 19, 1968 in solidarity with the Poor People's Campaign.

The Mobilization will back the fundamental, long-range demand of the poor: that every able-bodied citizen has the right to a decently paid job which provides the opportunity for individual growth and advancement; that all those who, because of age, health or other reasons beyond their control, cannot work have the right to a just, liveable income.

But the Mobilization will not content itself with defining general social goals. It will make specific demands which can, and must be, immediately translated into law by Congressional Action and Executive Order. We will insist that new initiatives be taken, here and now, to redeem the pledge which this nation solemnly adopted in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: "It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty..."

We will invite the Congress of the United States to hear the poor and their allies describe how it can live up to the promise which it made four years ago. A special seating section will be set aside at the Mobilization and there will be a chair for every member of Congress labeled with his name. In this way, the lawmakers will have the opportunity to show up and hear exactly what we propose and, in this election year of 1968, publicly demonstrate their concern - or lack of it - for the millions of Americans who live under conditions of intolerable misery.

The Mobilization will last one day, June 19, 1968. I have already conferred with the appropriate public officials in Washington and we have agreed upon the routes of the march.

Negro policemen and firemen from Eastern cities will act as marshalls as they did in the March on Washington of 1963. We are proceeding with plans to provide food for all who come, medical care for those who need it, and toilet facilities; and we are confident that such logistical matters can be taken care of even though we have only one third the preparatory time that we had in 1963.

Finally, let me anticipate an obvious question: Is there a danger that the Mobilization will touch off civil disorders?

Although recent events have made it clear that no one can guarantee that a riot will not take place, my experience in helping to organize the demonstration in Memphis on the day before Dr. King's funeral convinces me that a carefully planned, well-organized demonstration can be a major alternative to violence. Memphis was the scene of a bitter struggle between the sanitation workers and the municipal government; it was, of course, the place where Martin Luther King, Jr., was brutally murdered; and the city was under a curfew. Yet the march went off without incident and the very fact of such a disciplined and nonviolent demonstration was, I am convinced, one of the reasons why Memphis was spared the violence which erupted in other areas.

But in the long run there is only one real solution to violence. That is the removal of the conditions which drive people into a despairing rage against the symbols of authority, and into a desperate attempt to share in that affluence which mocks their poverty in every mdeium of mass communications.

Perhaps this Mobilization is the last chance America will have to make an effective choice for nonviolence, for democracy and for the integration of our national institutions.

Mobilization In Support of the Poor People's Campaign

National Office: 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York 10027
General Phone: (212) 666-9904
Transportation Phone: (212) 666-9930
Press Relations: (212) 666-9436

Chairman:
Rev. Ralph David Abernathy
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
National Coordinator:
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute
Deputy Coordinator:
Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Minister Canaan Baptist Church of Christ
Treasurer:
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL:
Tom Kahn - 666-9904

Bayard Rustin, National Coordinator of the June 19th Mobilization to Support the Poor People's Campaign, today released the following statement concerning recent comments attributed to Rev. Hosea Williams:

I have read with surprise newspaper reports attributing to Rev. Hosea Williams, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, statements describing as "unauthorized" the official announcement of the June 19th Mobilization in Support of the Poor People's Campaign. Rev. Williams is also alleged to have stated that I do not have full authority, as national coordinator, for the Mobilization but am instead its "public relations man."

At a meeting in Washington, D.C. on Sunday, May 19, attended by Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Chairman of the Poor People's Campaign, me, and several other persons, there was unanimous agreement on a 14-point program for the June 19th Mobilization. It was on the basis of these 14 points that I gladly acceded to

JUNE 19

Rev. Abernathy's request that I assume the post of national coordinator of the Mobilization.

Among these points were the following:

1) "Bayard Rustin will be National Coordinator for the one-day Mobilization with full authority over it. He and Rev. Abernathy will have sole responsibility for relations with the press.....

2) "In addition to stating the broad objectives of the Poor People's Campaign for guaranteed jobs and income, the one-day Mobilization will project specific, concrete demands. It will be made clear that these demands do not represent the full program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference...."

The official "Call" to the Mobilization, which contained a list of specific, concrete demands, was fully authorized by SCLC in telephone conversations I had both with Rev. Abernathy and with Rev. Andrew Young, Executive Vice-President of the SCLC.

In light of these facts, I fail to understand the comments that Rev. Williams is alleged to have made.

My participation in the Mobilization was -- and continues to be -- based on the 14-point agreement approved by Rev. Abernathy. This agreement, whose contents Rev. Abernathy will surely confirm, was designed to ensure broad, massive participation in an effective, nonviolent march.

To avoid further misunderstandings, and the confusion they create, I list here the 14 points of agreement:

1) There will be no disruption of governmental functions on the day of the Mobilization.

2) Bayard Rustin will be National Coordinator for the one-day Mobilization with full authority for it. He and Rev. Abernathy will have sole responsibility for relations with the press.

3) The date of the Mobilization will be postponed to mid-June.

4) Bayard Rustin will have complete authority over staff selection and management for the Mobilization.

5) Rev. Abernathy and Mr. Rustin will agree on a joint steering committee for the Mobilization.

6) Rev. Abernathy and Mr. Rustin will agree on a financial representative from the SCLC to the Mobilization.

7) Mr. Rustin will have complete authority to select and train marshalls for the Mobilization.

8) Participation in the Mobilization will be based on adherence to democracy, integration, and nonviolent methods of social change.

9) The main program at the Washington Mobilization will be jointly cleared by Rev. Abernathy and Mr. Rustin.

10) The secondary program of entertainment in Washington will also be cleared by Rev. Abernathy and Mr. Rustin.

11) In addition to stating the broad objectives of the Poor People's Campaign for guaranteed jobs and income, the one-day Mobilization will project specific, concrete demands. It will be made clear that these demands do not represent the full program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

12) Bayard Rustin and his associate, Norman Hill, will receive no salary from the SCLC, which will be responsible only for their expenses.

13) Bayard Rustin will have authority to set up local Mobilization committees throughtout the country.

14) The national headquarters of the Mobilization will be at 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

Mobilization In Support of the Poor People's Campaign

National Office: 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York 10027
General Phone: (212) 666-9904
Transportation Phone: (212) 666-9930
Press Relations: (212) 666-9436

Chairman:
Rev. Ralph David Abernathy
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
National Coordinator:
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute
Deputy Coordinator:
Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Minister Canaan Baptist Church of Christ
Treasurer:
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 6, 1968

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
Call: Tom Kahn, 666-9904

STATEMENT BY RUSTIN ON JUNE 19th MOBILIZATION

Bayard Rustin made the following statement at a press conference in his office this morning:

Thank you for coming.

I cannot begin this press conference without first expressing my deepest sympathies to the members of Senator Kennedy's family, to whom I have sent the following wire:

> I extend my deep and heartfelt condolences to you and your children over the tragic death of a dear husband and father. You have lost a fine husband and the country has lost one of its clearest and most exemplary moral voices. Your husband was not only one of the strongest supporters of the Negro struggle over the years, but also one of the most compassionate spokesmen for the cause of the poor and downtrodden. We can ill afford to lose such a man at any time, but least of all today. The cause of a new and morally regenerated America has been dealt a foul and severe blow. I am with you and your family in this very dark and anguished hour for all of us.

I shall have more to say on this matter in a few minutes.

Meanwhile, I have released to the press the statement which you have before you. It enumerates the 14 points on which Reverend Ralph Abernathy and I agreed, at the Washington meeting on Sunday, May 19th. These 14 points were designed to ensure broad, massive participation in an orderly, effective and nonviolent march.

It was on the basis of this agreement--and only on this basis that I gladly acceeded to Reverend Abernathy's request that I assume the authority and responsibilities of national coordinator for the June 19th Mobilization.

It was on the basis of this agreement that I proceeded to ask for the support and participation of a wide range of civil rights, church, labor, civic, and student organizations.

I did not seek this responsibility nor do I have any intention of imposing myself on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or its poor people's campaign.

If the Southern Christian Leadership Conference finds it impossible or undesirable to maintain our 14 point agreement then I will not insist on continuing in the position assigned to me in that agreement. I do not wish to create any difficulties for Reverend Abernathy and the SCLC.

Therefore, I am awaiting a communication from Reverend Abernathy and the SCLC informing me whether they desire my continuation in the post of national coordinator. Until this matter is cleared up, I am obviously unable to proceed further with arrangements for the June 19th Mobilization.

I will be happy to resume my efforts, should Reverend Abernathy and the SCLC wish me to, on the basis of a clear and meaningful agreement embodying the 14 points.

The appalling tragedy in Los Angeles strengthens my conviction that the first victims of violence will be the causes of civil rights and social justice.

Demogoguery and fanaticism and violent rhetoric are our deadly enemies. If they continue unabated, they will ultimately deprive us of our civil liberties and elementary human rights.

I have no doubt that there are forces in this country--perhaps in Washington, too--who would welcome a violent confrontation.

I continue to believe, as I have for 30 years, in mass non-violent action as an effective instrument of social change. It is most effective when its objectives and tactics are clearly pinpointed and specified.

I hope that such an action can take place on June 19th and that it will uphold the spirit of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy.

* * *

The fourteen point agreement referred to above is as follows:

1. There will be no disruption of governmental functions on the day of the Mobilization.

✓ 2. Bayard Rustin will be National Coordinator for the one-day Mobilization with full authority for it. He and Reverend Abernathy will have sole responsibility for relations with the press.

3. The date of the Mobilization will be postponed to mid-June.

4. Bayard Rustin will have complete authority over staff selection and management for the Mobilization.

5. Reverend Abernathy and Mr. Rustin will agree on a joint steering committee for the Mobilization.

6. Reverend Abernathy and Mr. Rustin will agree on a financial representative from the SCLC to the Mobilization.

7. Mr. Rustin will have complete authority to select and train marshalls for the Mobilization.

? 8. Participation in the Mobilization will be based on adherence to democracy, integration, and nonviolent methods of social change.

9. The main program at the Washington Mobilization will be jointly cleared by Reverend Abernathy and Mr. Rustin.

10. The secondary program of entertainment in Washington will also be

cleared by Reverend Abernathy and Mr. Rustin.

11. In addition to stating the broad objectives of the Poor People's Campaign for guaranteed jobs and income, the one-day Mobilization will project specific, concrete demands. It will be made clear that these demands do not represent the full program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

12. Bayard Rustin and his associate, Norman Hill, will receive no salary from the SCLC, which will be responsible only for their expenses.

13. Bayard Rustin will have authority to set up local Mobilization committees throughout the country.

14. The national headquarters of the Mobilization will be at 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

***

Mobilization In Support of the Poor People's Campaign

National Office: **217 West 125th Street, New York, New York 10027**
General Phone: (212) 666-9904
Transportation Phone: (212) 666-9930
Press Relations: (212) 666-9436

NEWS RELEASE

Chairman:
Rev. Ralph David Abernathy
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
National Coordinator:
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute
Deputy Coordinator:
Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Minister Canaan Baptist Church of Christ
Treasurer:
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan

For Immediate Release
Monday, June 3, 1968

For Further information
Call: Tom Kahn
666-9904

The Mobilization in Support of the Poor People's Campaign will come to Washington on June 19th with a list of specific and attainable economic demands, it was announced today by Bayard Rustin, national coordinator of the Mobilization.

The demands, spelled out in an official "Call to All Americans of Good Will," issued by the Mobilization headquarters today, are for steps toward an "Economic Bill of Rights" that would guarantee full employment, decent wages, and an adequate income for the unemployable.

Among the demands are that Congress: legislate the creation of 1,000,000 public service jobs; adopt the pending Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968; repeal the punitive welfare restrictions imposed by the 90th Congress; give all farm workers the right to organize and bargain collectively; and restore budget cuts for Head Start, summer jobs, bilingual education, OEO programs, and elementary and secondary education.

The President is called upon to use his statutory authority to expand food distribution to the poor; help

JUNE 19

poor farmers set up cooperatives; end discrimination in the Agriculture Department's food offices; give the poor priority in existing health programs and create health services in isolated rural areas; and include the poor in the planning and administration of federal programs at local levels.

"Our ultimate goal," Mr. Rustin made clear, "is the total abolition of poverty through an Economic Bill of Rights--the right of every employable citizen to a meaningful job at decent wages and the right of every unemployable citizen to an adequate income. We recognize that this Economic Bill of Rights cannot be adopted overnight. But this nation can take specific, tangible steps in this direction. And we must do so to redeem the American promise. That is the purpose of our immediate demands.

"No one can say we are asking for the moon,"Mr. Rustin continued." We are demanding what the Federal Government has the power and the means to give. For precisely this reason, we can accept no excuses. Masses of poor people--black and white, red and brown--now look to the Government for a sign that it cares and will act vigorously."

Mr. Rustin also announced that the Mobilization would call upon the President and all Presidential candidates to endorse the basic principles of an Economic Bill of Rights.

Two hundred thousand copies of the "Call" are being sent to groups around the country, Mr. Rustin said. "Only people who believe in integration, democracy and nonviolent struggle for social change are welcome," he added Partisan political organizations as such are not being asked to participate.

The "Call" reads, in part:

"We march to redeem the American promise. Almost two hundred years ago, the Declaration of Independence proclaimed every man's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"But is there a meaningful right to life when the Department of Agriculture tells us that nearly 20 million Americans are deprived of neccessary nutrition because they are poor?

"Is there genuine liberty when economic misery turns millions into outcasts who are so despairing that they do not even register to vote?

"Is it possible to pursue happiness in the 'other America' of the poor when according to the Council of Economic Advisors, the number of 'occupied dilapidated units' in the big city slums has increased in the last four years?

"We do not march for charity. We march for justice."

###

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

July 18, 1968

For Release: Upon Receipt

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

IS THE NEGRO VOTE IRRELEVANT?

BY Bayard Rustin

The right to vote and the exercise of that right have always been two of the major concerns of the Negro struggle: One has been demanded as an indispensable of full and equal citizenship and the other has been urged as one of the chief instruments of Negro political power and influence within the American power complex. Assuming the existence of the right to vote, it is the exercise of the right which is more important for without it Negroes cannot hope to make the American system respond positively to their presence let alone to their needs.

In any case, all of this has been why the drive to win voting rights for Negroes in the South and to overcome historic patterns of Negro voting apathy in the North engaged so much of the energies of the civil rights coalition between 1955 and 1965.

The widening of the franchise in the South, as a direct result of the civil rights crusade, has already resulted in the dramatic increase of Negro officeholders in local and State governments in that area -- the largest number of Negroes to participate in Southern legislative activity since the Reconstruction. Voting apathy at the local level in the North has not yet been entirely overcome, as evidenced by the fact that in a city like Newark where Negroes are in the majority they play little or no part in the administration of the city's affairs. The picture in some areas, however, is more encouraging: The recent election of Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher in Cleveland and in Gary indicate the latent power of the Negro electorate when they register, when they are motivated, and when they actually vote.

With all the historic limitations, however, it is at the national level at which the Negro vote has distinguished itself with a maturity and intelligence of judgment and a determination to make itself felt. The black vote played a crucial part in the election of John Kennedy in 1960 and led the landslide in favor of Lyndon Johnson in 1964. It is true that neither of these candidates did all they should have done to achieve equal rights, but it is also true that their administrations led a more vigorous and conscientious attack upon the obstacles in the way of Negro freedom than all previous adminiatrations since the Reconstruction.

Equally important, the election of Kennedy and Johnson meant the repudiation of candidates who were by and large unfriendly, even hostile, to the conduct and objectives of the Negro struggle -- candidates who, had they been elected, may very well have repressed the spirit of that struggle,stifled its just demands for change, and encouraged the growth of a climate which would have annulled any further liberal concern with the problems and aspirations of Negroes.

While every bit of militance is to be encouraged in the Negro movement, particularly when that militance addresses itself to the kind of political action which would make the American process responsive to the needs of black people, ther have been instances in the past when "militants" have, by their advice, led Negro voters to act contrary to that spirit. The most prominent of these instances was the California gubernatorial election of 1966 when black voters were told to vote neither for Brown nor for Reagan since both of them were white and equally no good. While it is true that neither candidate was as fully committed to Negro demands as they ought to have been, there was no doubt that Pat Brown was in favor of liberal programs and policies from which a large number of Negroes stood to benefit. As it turned out, a substantially low turnout of Negro voters led to the election of Ronald Reagan who immediately proceeded to cut back on social, educational, and economic programs and services on which the aged, the poor, and the majority of Negroes had depended.

There could have been no clearer lesson of what the dire consequences are for Negroes when they do not exercise their franchise, no clearer indication that their future in the society will be determined in large part by their voting and keeping out of office those candidates who are hostile to Negro objectives and who are committed to reversing the progress Negroes have already made.

It is a lesson that is particularly useful as we approach the 1968 elections, the most crucial for Negroes since the Reconstruction, one which may well determine the moral and political direction of this society for the next eight years, and perhaps beyond. And yet there is still evidence that this lesson is being ignored, that Negroes will be told again that their vote will be of no consequence in determining what kind of President, what kind of Congress, and what kind of programs we shall have for the next decade.

That is the only conclusion one can come to after reading in a recent issue of the New York Times that leaders of one of our more militant civil rights organizations had called upon Negroes to bypass the November Presidential elections rather than vote for any of the contenders.

This would be a most ill-advised course and could even turn out to be disastrous. Not only is it the solemn duty of all citizens to vote, but Negroes can scarcely afford to stand by while others select a national government which could have a crucial effect on what the fate of black Americans will be in the immediate future. Is it of no importance to Negroes whether someone like George Wallace is elected President, or whether he does well enough to influence the selection of a President by a Congress dominated by Dixiecrat, racist, and reactionary sentiments?

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

August 1, 1968

For Release: Upon Receipt

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

AS GOES MISSISSIPPI------

by Bayard Rustin

One of the urgent democratic causes in America at the present time is the Mississippi Challenge in which, for the first time, black and white Southerners -- the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi -- have joined to challenge racist political power in their State. Specifically, they have come together to challenge the credentials of,and seek to replace, the regular Mississippi delegation to the Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago.

This regular delegation of 66 have not only been handpicked by the white racist power structure in the Mississippi Democratic Party, but include only two black representatives. Nothing could be more blatantly racist, especially when one considers that Negroes constitute 40% of the Mississippi population and of these almost 250,000 are registered voters. Thus, the Loyal Democrats are justified not only in challenging the credentials of the regular Mississippi delegation but demanding that they be unseated.

The Loyal Democrats consist of an unprecedented coalition made up of the State branch of the NAACP, the Freedom Democratic Party, the Young Democrats of Mississippi, and the Mississippi State AFL-CIO. The Chairman of the group is Dr. Aaron Henry (head of the State NAACP); the Vice Chairman is Hodding Carter III, publisher, and Chairman of the Young Democrats of Mississippi; and the chief coordinator is Charles Evers, field secretary of the NAACP.

"We intend," says Dr. Henry, "to choose a delegation representative of all the people of Mississippi, and, if we can find funds, to transport this delegation to Chicago to challenge the delegation handpicked by the white power structure of the State. We shall convince the Democratic Party and the convention's credentials committee that they should recognize our delegation as the only one in Chicago representative of the registered Democrats in Mississippi."

This challenge would have been unnecessary had not the regular Democrats of Mississippi flouted the mandate issued by the 1964 Democratic Convention in Atlantic City. That mandate called strongly and clearly for fair representation of the races, and required state units to take affirmative action to bring Negroes into the State parties.

The Mississippi regulars have refused to honor the wishes of the national party. According to the Loyal Democrats, officials of the regular party organization have barred Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries; they have stood at the doors of meeting places to bar Negroes from entering and participating in the selection of delegates; they have gerrymandered districts to prevent fair and equitable black representation. On the basis of such practices, there can be no doubt that the regular Mississippi delegation is not qualified to be seated at the national convention.

As part of the nationwide sympathy which the cause of the Loyal Democrats has aroused, Mr. A. Philip Randolph has become Chairman of a national Committee to support the challenge of the Loyal Democrats. This committee consists of some of the most prominent figures in American life: civil rights, civic and liberal leaders; Protestants, Catholics and Jews; supporters of Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and the late Senator Robert Kennedy; as well as such prominent trade union leaders as George Meany and Walter Reuther.

The committee, in addition to its other activities, is also engaged in a massive fund raising drive. The Loyal Democrats do not have access to party funds. They need money for precinct, district and state conventions; and they need funds to transport the challenge delegation to and from Chicago and to defray their expenses at the convention. (Contributions should be sent to Mississippi Challenge, Room 315, 217 West 125th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.)

With the support the Loyal Democrats are receiving from the major factions within the Democratic Party, the Mississippi challenge has emerged as the most dramatic and the only one in the national spotlight. Nevertheless, similar, if less spectacular, challenges are being made in Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina. These may not be as successful as the one in Mississippi, but if the Loyal Democrats win in Mississippi, then their victory will lay the groundwork for the eventual democratization of the Party across the South.

In the meantime, no effort should be spared nationally to support the challenge of the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, because the practices of the regular Democratic organization in that State are not only blatantly racist but also ultimately degrading to the entire system of electoral democracy in the United States.

The seating by the Chicago Convention of the Loyal Democratic challenge delegation from Mississippi is the first and indispensable step in involving poor whites, white moderates, and almost a quarter of a million registered black voters in changing their lives and in democratizing politics in the State of Mississippi.

Bayard Rustin

In 1964, Barry Goldwater forced a temporary realignment from the Right, and following the Johnson landslide, Congress passed more social legislation than at any time since the New Deal. But the defeat of many liberal freshmen in 1966 changed all that. The ruling alliance of the conservative congressional Democrats and Republicans was reconstituted, albeit circumspectly. It is a fairly good bet that the practical reactionaries will not again follow a Goldwater tactic in this generation. That could mean a new "deadlock of democracy," to use Professor Burns's phrase. Negroes would suffer, of course, since they are the first and worst victims of every social problem in this country. But so would whites. There would be no political dynamic capable of responding to the challenge of the city, of transportation, of air pollution, and so on.

The segregationists have taught us a bitter lesson in the importance of the way laws are applied. For several years now, Negroes have been winning legislative victories, while racists have been subverting these victories by their relentless pressure on the bureaucracy in Washington.

If, however, Southern Negroes were to register, organize themselves, and enter into alliance with the white liberal and labor movements of the region, there could be a realignment from the democratic Left rather than from the Goldwater Right. The effect of such a strategy would be the creation of a two-party South and a consequent erosion of one of the main sources of conservative strength in the United States. Viewed in this perspective, a dynamic Negro political movement in the old Confederacy would make an enormous contribution to solving the problems of the black ghettos of the North and, indeed, of the entire society.

This leads directly to my third point: the importance of an economic program. As long as white workers think that the Negro demand for employment is an attempt to steal their jobs, or that the Negro insistence upon decent housing is a conspiracy to destroy the property values so laboriously accumulated by the white lower-middle class, just so long will there be no progress in these areas. In each case, the posing of the issue inevitably divides people who could, under other circumstances, act as allies. Put more generally, there can be no such thing as an exclusively Negro economic program, for that would counterpose the interests of a little more than 10 per cent of the society to those of the overwhelming majority. The action urged by the civil-rights movement will either be integrated or else it will be a failure. Black people must indeed organize black people, and assert their rightful poser. But this power will avail them little in the absence of a political strategy and a viable social and economic program.

I do not see the civil-rights movement in the period immediately ahead scoring dramatic victories, such as those scored in the struggled to end segregation in public accommodations and to get Negroes into the voting booths. Rather, I see a process of reorganization and regrouping which may well appear tedious and gradualist but which is even more revolutionary in its implications than the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, the sit-ins of 1960, or the March on Washington of 1963.

In the meantime, no effort should be spared nationally to support the challenge of the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, because the practices of the regular Democratic organization in that State are not only blatantly racist but also ultimately degrading to the entire system of electoral democracy in the United States.

The seating by the Chicago Convention of the Loyal Democratic challenge delegation from Mississippi is the first and indispensable step in involving poor white, white moderates, and almost a quarter of a million registered black voters in changing their lives and in democratizing politics in the State of Mississippi.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

August 15, 1968

For Release: Upon Receipt

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

A NIXON IS AN AGNEW IS A WALLACE

by Bayard Rustin

At a time when America's outstanding problems are poverty, urban decay and racism at home and a tragic and brutal war abroad, the most resounding pledge the Republican Party made to the American people at Miami Beach was to preserve "law and order" -- which, as everyone knows, is a pledge to keep the Negro in his place.

Of course, there were other pledges made as well. But Nixon and Agnew hinted strongly to the American people -- particularly to the Southern racists and Northern backlashers -- that none of these other promises could come true unless they got the votes necessary to move against the Negro in the streets. If this is not naked blackmail, it is one of the most vulgar political pacts ever made in a national election campaign.

It is not the Negro who is the most urgent domestic problem, it is his needs. It is not the Negro who is the greatest threat to the police, it is he who is already the greatest victim of police brutality and repression. It is not the Negro who is most violent towards American society, it is the society which is most violent towards him. In his heart, Nixon knows he's/ wrong. Agnew knows this. And the man -- Wallace -- whose votes they are competing for, even he knows this. Therefore, in failing to address themselves to the real needs of the black people and the poor people, in proposing guns and billy clubs and mace to contain the legitimate demands of those people for justice, Nixon and Agnew are not only exhibiting a callous cynicism, but are entering into a pact with the evil genius of American politics -- George Wallace.

While Nixon's acceptance speech ignored the spreading social and economic evils taking place in America, particularly in the cities, his only crumb to the black community was to promise them some form of black capitalism. First of all, that is really what it is, a crumb. And even if it were more than a crumb, it would still be a fraud, because people are going to solve the problems of the ghettos only when they are torn down and rebuilt into decent communities, only when the government, as the employer of the first and last resort, provides jobs and social services for the hard core poor. And what about housing, and schools, and medical care, and mass transportation to where the jobs are? Are all these going to be provided by black capitalism?

For Nixon to suggest anything else is to indicate clearly that under his Presidency the Federal Government would abandon its legitimate responsibility to be the chief and central agent of the social and economic transformation so urgently demanded now by Americ'a millions of poor people and black people.

Thus Nixon and Agnew and their cohort George Wallace have by design and purpose written off any concern for the blacks and the poor. And in doing so they have made it clear that they have neither interest in nor respect for the Negro vote. The clear design is to sacrifice both the Negro and the national commitment to social justice on the altar of Southern racism and the white backlash.

In view of this unholy romance among Nixon, Agnew and Wallace, I commend Jackie Robinson for his courageous decision to leave the Republican Party this year and throw his support elsewhere. His is the kind of political courage essential for our time, and it gives fair warning to all black Americans that a vote for Nixon is no different from a vote for Wallace, which, in turn, is no different from a vote for racism.

It becomes clearer, then, that the coming elections may well be the most crucial since the Reconstruction when the Federal Government sold out to the racists and segregationists and ran out on the Negro people. And considering the balance of power which the Negro vote holds in any national election, it behooves every black American to register now and to vote in November. Only thus can they frustrate the machinations of the Nixon-Agnew-Wallace axis. Only thus can they hope to block the way of those who hope to sneak into power by turning the clock back and once again abandoning the Negro to the mercy of racism and Jim Crow.

Miami Times 9/6/68

Bayard Rustin Speaks

The Blacks At Chicago

If the treatment which black Americans received from the Republican Party at Miami Beach is any reflection of their standing in the society, then blacks can have no status and are of no consequence in the American political process. Happily, however, for the past half centruy it is not the Republicans who have reflected the true status and the real hopes of black Americans but the Democrats.

This was revealed once more by the Democratic Party convention just ended in Chicago. Not only did that party set many precedents of which it can be proud and which stand as a challenge to the other major party, but it also gave a strong endorsement to the Negro's aspiration to political power and influence in America.

To begin with, the Chicago convention saw the largest participation of Negro delegates in the history of these events.

For the first time in a major convention, the name of a black man, the Rev. Channing Philips of the District of Columbia, was put into nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

For the first time, black and white Americans joined together in proposing a black Southerner, Julian Bond, as a candidate for the Vice Presidential nomination.

The racist power of the Mississippi Democratic Party was broken when an integrated delegation from that State challenged and unseated the regular segregationists.

Under the leadership of Julian Bond, an integrated group of loyal Democratic dissidents challenged Lester Maddox and managed to win half the seats of the regular Georgia delegation.

And three of the finest seconding speeches -- for Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and Senator McGovern -- were delivered by Mayor Carl Stokes, Julian Bond, and Mayor Richard Hatcher.

It is true that this was symbolic but it is nevertheless an encouraging harbinger of the future.

What happened in Chicago comes at the end of what has been a very significant two years in black American political activity. There was the election of Mayor Carl Stokes in Cleveland and of Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana. There is the growing registration and participation of black voters in Southern politics. There is the increasing number of Negroes being elected to state and local offices in the South and other urban centers in the North. And when all of this is taken together it describes the great strides that black Americans are making towards greater and greater political power in the United States.

Further, it demonstrates how important it is for Negroes to continue to work within, rather than out of, the national political process; for it is only by playing their full part in American politics that they can make their presence felt, their power real, and their needs met.

The Republicans have not in recent times offered Negroes any of these opportunities or hopes. Once again, their expression of concern for the Negro in the coming elections came in the form of a call for law and order and a silence on the question of justice for the oppressed. Black Americans would therefore seem to have no choice but to vote in November for the party which demonstrates a concern for their just social and economic aspirations, and which gives them an increasing opportunity to engage in political activity, wield political influence, and achieve legitimate political power.

Reverberations

N.Y. Amsterdam News 9/7/68

The Blacks At Chicago

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

RUSTIN

If the treatment which black Americans received from the Republican Party at Miami Beach is any reflection of their standing in the society, then blacks can have no status and are of no consequence in the American political process. Happily, however, for the past half century it is not the Republicans who have reflected the true status and the real hopes of black Americans but the Democrats.

This was revealed once more by the Democratic Party convention just ended in Chicago. Not only did that party set many precedents of which it can be proud and which stand as a challenge to the other major party, but it also gave a strong endorsement to the Negro's aspiration to political power and influence in America.

Largest Group

To begin with, the Chicago convention saw the largest participation of Negro delegates in the history of these events.

For the first time in a major convention, the name of a black man, the Rev. Channing Philips of the District of Columbia, was put into nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

For the first time, black and white Americans joined together in proposing a black Southerner, Julian Bond, as a candidate for the Vice Presidential nomination.

The racist power of the Mississippi Democratic Party was broken when an integrated delegation from that State challenged and unseated the regular segregationists.

Under the leadership of Julian Bond, an integrated group of loyal Democratic dissidents challenged Lester Maddox and managed to win half the seats of the regular Georgia delegation.

Seconding Speeches

And three of the finest seconding speeches — for Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and Senator McGovern — were delivered by Mayor Carl Stokes, Julian Bond, and Mayor Richard Hatcher.

It is true that this was symbolic but it is nevertheless an encouraging harbinger of the future.

What happened in Chicago comes at the end of what has been a very significant two years in black American political activity. There was the election of Mayor Carl Stokes in Cleveland and of Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana. There is the growing registration and participation of black voters in Southern politics. There is the increasing number of Negroes being elected to state and local offices in the South and other urban centers in the North. And when all of this is taken together it describes the great strides that black Americans are greater political power in the United States.

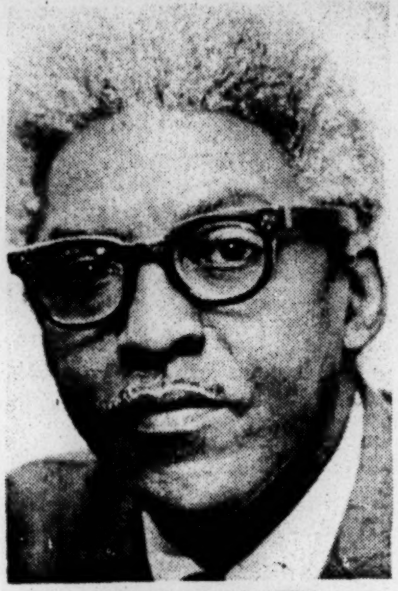
Work Within

Further, it demonstrates how important it is for Negroes to continue to work within, rather than opt out of, the national political process; for it is only by playing their full part in American politics that they can make their presence felt, their power real and their needs met.

The Republicans have not in recent years offered Negroes any of these opportunities or hopes. Once again, their expression of concern for the Negro in the coming elections came in the form of a call for law and order and a silence on the question of justice for the oppressed.

Black Americans would therefore seem to have no choice but to vote in November for the party which demonstrates a concern for their just social and economic aspirations, and which gives them an increasing opportunity to engage in political activity, wield political influence, and achieve legitimate political power.

Bayard Rustin Tells It Like It Is —


BAYARD RUSTIN

When I was young my grandmother used to ask me: ''If you're so smart, why aren't you rich?'' I'd like to ask a similar question of those who are now saying to the black community: ''Don't bother to vote. It makes no difference who wins.'' If this advice made sense, then after all the years we didn't (couldn't) vote, we should be fully free.

Who are the non-voters? By and large, they are poor and low-income people including Negroes. They are the people who get the worse deal in this society. On the other hand, those who vote generally have higher incomes and better educations. They get the best deal -- which is why they vote. They have their stake and they mean to keep it.

That's why there's nothing radical (or very smart) about the so-called radicals who are telling us to ''go fishing'' on election day. Their line sounds real tough and cynical, but it's just a hot - air prescription for another expensive round of white power by default. Maybe some of the soapboxers can afford a four - year dose of conservative rule, but the man in the street cannot.

The circumstances surrounding Richard Nixon's nomination prove that the Republican Party is firmly in the hands of its right-wing -- a coalition of conservative business interests and Southern reactionaries a la Strom Thurmond. Nixon confided to his Southern supporters that he opposes open housing legislation. He has also said that we can forget about spending any more money on city problems if he's elected.

Despite the clashes between brutal police and provocative demonstrators in Chicago -- and I witnesses some of those horrifying confrontations -- the Negro-labor-liberal forces are clearly on top in the Democratic Party. The victory of the integrated Mississippi delegation, the seating of Julian Bond, the routing of the regular Alabamians -- all indicate that the days of the Dixiecrats in the majority party are numbered. They are fleeing to Wallace and Nixon. With their departure, there is a vacuum which the black community can help to fill, thus radically changing the structure of the Party.

Without minimizing the conflicts that raged among the McCarthy, McGovern and Humphrey backers, it is interesting to note that all of these men are more liberal on the basic issues than any candidates ever nominated by a major party.

The Democrats' final choice, Hubert Humphrey, has a civil rights record unmatched by any national political figure. His championship of the workingman -- and black Americans are mainly workers -- has earned him the enthusiastic support of the labor movement. His efforts on behalf of disarmament are acknowledged even by critics of the Vietnam War.

It would be a national tragedy if these assets were lost to us because of the divisions among the progressive forces over Vietnam -- especially when the alternative is a Repbulican ''solution'' in Southeast Asia. The war in Vietnam will end before long, but our problems at home will haunt us for generations if we do not act now.

Not since 1876 have the stakes been so high for the black community. With the polls predicting a close race, our vote can elect the next President. So there's nothing Wallace and his ilk would like better than for us to ''go fishing'' on election day.

The choice is clear and simple. A Nixon victory will be a victory for the white backlash and the forces of represssion. A Humphrey victory will be a victory for the Negro and a defeat for the racists of this country.

I therefore have no hesitation in endorsing Hubert Humphrey for the Presidency.

ThE. ST. LOUIS AMERICAN
9/9/68

Bayard Rustin

If the treatment which black Americans received from the Republican Party at Miami Beach is any reflection of their standing in the society, then blacks can have no status and of no consequence in the American political process. Happily, however, for the past half century it is not the Republicans who have reflected the true status and the real hopes of black Americans but the Democrats.

This was revealed once more by the Democratic Party convention just ended in Chicago. Not only did that party set many precedents of which it can be proud and which stand as a challenge to the other major party, but it also gave a strong endorsement to the Negro's aspiration to political power and influence in America.

To begin with, the Chicago convention saw the largest participation of Negro delegates in the history of these events.

For the first time in a major convention, the name of a black man, the Rev. Channing Philips of the District of Columbia, was put into nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

For the first time, black and white Americans joined together in proposing a black Southerner, Julian Bond, as a candidate for the Vice Presidential nomination.

The racist power of the Mississippi Democratic Party was broken when an integrated delegation from that State challenged and unseated the regular segregationists.

Under the leadership of Julian Bond, an integrated group of loyal Democratic dissidents challenged Lester Maddox and managed to win half the seats of the regular Georgia delegation.

And three of the finest seconding speeches -- for Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene Mc Carthy, and Senator McGovern -- were delivered by Mayor Carl Stokes, Julian Bond, and Mayor Richard Hatcher.

It is true that this was symbolic but it is nevertheless an encouraging harbinger of the future.

THE BLACK YEARS

What happened in Chicago comes at the end of what has been a very significant two years in black American political activity. There was the election of Mayor Carl Stokes is Cleveland and of Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana. There is the growing registration and participation of black voters in Southern politics. There is the increasing number of Negroes being elected to state and local offices in the South and other urban centers in the North. And when all of this is taken together it describes the great strides that black Americans are making towards greater and greater political power in the United States.

Further, it demonstrates how important it is for Negroes to continue to work within, rather than opt out of, the national political process; for it is only by playing their full part in American politics that they can make their presence felt, their power real, and their needs met.

The Republicans have not in recent times offered Negroes any of these opportunities or hopes. Oce again, their expression of concern for the Negro in the coming elections came in the form of a call for law and order and a silence on the question of justice for the oppressed. Black Americans would therefore seem to have no choice but to vote in November for the party which demonstrates a concern for their just social and economic aspirations, and which gives them an increasing opportunity to engage in political activity, wield political influence, and achieve legitimate political power.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

September 26, 1968

For Release: Upon recepit

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

LIGHT NOT HEAT

by Bayard Rustin

Some days ago A. Philip Randolph and I supported the United Federation of Teachers' demand that no teacher should be transferred or fired without being presented with written charges of wrongdoing, without an opportunity to defend himself, and without being judged by an impartial arbitrator. In no way did we attempt to defend all policies of the UFT, for we believe the UFT has made mistakes. From the insulting telephone calls, vulgar letters, and general denunciation in the press we received from a number of black people, one might well believe we had committed a heinous crime.

Surely black men should be intelligent and secure enough to debate questions of strategy, tactics and social philosophy without rancor or animus. To do otherwise is, at best, to damn the movement to sterility and, at worst, to impose the thinking and will of one segment of the black people upon all black people. Beyond this, such behavior creates an emotional atmosphere that is not conducive to clear thinking. This, in turn, will lead ultimately to giving a small but militant minority veto power over the majority, precisely because those in the center or those who have not given any real thought to a problem will become fearful of raising pertinent questions, or of speaking the truth as they come to see it.

No real understanding of how black men can progress -- in the face of an ever-increasing white backlash -- can be achieved if honest debate is stifled. Nor can denouncing those with whom we disagree as Uncle Toms be substituted for clear argument and intelligent debate. To attempt such is not radical, it is rather a reflection of uncertainty or fear or ignorance. A person who rants and raves feels insecure in his position. One who feels secure can afford to debate with quiet dignity, for his real objective is to convince others to his point of view, not to denounce or humiliate them. For we can ill afford unnecessary dissension.

At a time of intense feeling and anger over the school strike, and at a time when trade union issues were for many people indistinguishable from racial attitudes, Mr. Randolph and I anticipated that our position would draw some very real disagreement. Nevertheless, we were compelled to try to untangle these two issues and raise clearly the issue of due proces for the following reasons:

1) It is precisely because black people have been most brutalized by the absence of due process that we must stand firm on this issue. To be firm in this matter is ultimately to defend a principle that black people sorely need to have established throughout our society.

   Some people argue that blacks have not had due process so why be so queamish about whites. One can only ask if the notion that two wrongs make a right is really a viable strategy for social change. I don't believe so.

2) If in any area of the black community due process is ignored then we have no weapon to use when it is denied us. What recourse will we have when prejudiced whites attempt to eliminate black teachers, supervisors and principals from their neighborhood schools? The only weapon we will have is to demand due process.

3) Some people will argue that there has never been due process in transferring teachers. They say that the white powers-that-be have always trans-

ferred at their own will and whim. So why can't black supervisors do the same? There indeed may be considerable truth in that observation. But an observation is not necessarily a sound argument. We ought not to do the same - because we should treat people as persons, not objects to be shunted about. But, more importantly, this argument leaves me cold because I don't want to ape the white man, especially not his cold indifference and injustice to people.

4) Mr. Randolph and I are convinced that Negro children will be brutalized until there is a high degree of decentralization in the school system. We believe that the proper decentralization of schools is both good necessary. But we are also convinced that unless common-cause is made between the teachers' union and the parents, decentralization will be delayed.

For these reasons, Mr. Randolph and I raised the issue of due process. We are human, and if wrong, we stand ready to be convinced -- but convinced by intelligent arguments. We hope for and expected debate.

NEW YORK Amsterdam News

Reverberations

Light, Not Heat, Needed In Dispute

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

Some days ago A. Philip Randolph and I supported the United Federation of Teachers' demand that no teacher should be transferred or fired without being presented with written charges of wrongdoing, without an opportunity to defend himself, and without being judged by an impartial arbitrator.

RUSTIN

In no way did we attempt to defend all policies of the UFT, for we believe the UFT has made mistakes. From the insulting telephone calls, vulgar letters, and general denunciation in the press we received from a number of black people, one might well believe we had committed a heinous crime.

Surely black men should be intelligent and secure enough to debate questions of strategy, tactics and social philosophy without rancor or animus. To do otherwise is, at best, to damn the movement to sterility and, at worst, to impose the thinking and will of one segment of the black people upon all black people.

Beyond this, such behavior creates an emotional atmosphere that is not conducive to clear thinking.

This, in turn, will lead ultimately to giving a small but militant minority veto power over the majority, precisely because those in the center or those who have not given any real thought to a problem will become fearful of raising pertinent questions, or of speaking the truth as they come to see it.

Reflection of Ignorance

No real understanding of how black men can progress — in the face of an ever-increasing white backlash — can be achieved if honest debate is stifled. Nor can denouncing those with whom we disagree as Uncle Toms be substituted for clear argument and intelligent debate. To attempt such is not radical, it is rather a reflection of uncertainty or fear or ignorance.

A person who rants and raves feels insecure in his position. One who feels secure can afford to debate with quiet dignity, for his real objective is to convince others to his point of view, not to denounce or humiliate them. For we can ill afford unnecessary dissension.

At a time of intense feeling nd anger over the school strike,

At a time of intense feeling and anger over the school strike, and at a time when trade union issues were for many people indistinguishable from racial attitudes, Mr. Randolph and I anticipated that our position would draw some very real disagreement.

Nevertheless, we were compelled to try to untangle these two issues and raise clearly the issue of due process for the following reasons:

1) It is precisely because black people have been most brutalized by the absence of due process that we must stand firm on this issue. To be firm in this matter is ultimately to defend a principle that black people sorely need to have established throughout our society.

Some people argue that blacks have not had due process so why be so squeamish about whites. One can only ask if the notion that two wrongs make a right is really a viable strategy for social change. I don't believe so.

2) If in any area of the black community due process is ignored than we have no weapon to use when it is denied us. What recourse will we have when prejudiced whites attempt to eliminate black teachers, supervisors and principals from their neighborhood schools? The only weapon we will have is to demand due process.

3) Some people will argue that there has never been due process in transferring teachers. They say that the white powers-that-be have always transferred at their own will and whim. So why can't black supervisors do the same?

There indeed may be considerable truth in that observation. But an observation is not necessarily a sound argument. We ought not to do the same — because we should treat people as persons, not objects to be shunted about.

But, more importantly, this argument leaves me cold because I don't want to ape the white man, especially not his cold indifference and injustice to people.

4) Mr. Randolph and I are convinced that Negro children will be brutalized until there is a high degreee of decentralization in the school system. We believe that the proper decentralization of schools is both good and necessary.

But we are also convinced that unless common-cause is made between the teachers' union and the parents, decentralization will be delayed.

For these reasons, Mr. Randolph and I raised the issue of due process. We are human, and if wrong, we stand ready to be convinced — but convinced by intelligent arguments. We hope for and expected debate.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

OCTOBER 10, 1968

For Release: Upon Receipt   For further information, contact: Rustin Column

DOES WALLACE TELL IT LIKE IT IS?

Recently a prominent black leader referred to George Wallace as a man with "guts." Then another of our "spokesman" said, "At least, Wallace tells it like it is." Guts in politics is a value only when the politician is working for the benefit of people. Otherwise one could end up applauding Stalin and Hitler for having "guts." And surely Hitler told it like it was from his ugly point of view. He said in Mein Kampf that he would eradicate the Jews, and that's what he almost did.

There are also some black people who argue that Wallace is for separation. Since they are for separation also, they conclude that Wallace is working in their interest. At any rate, they say, he is honest and the other candidates are hypocrites.

Well, let us see how honest Wallace is: The former Governor of Alabama says he is against crime in the streets, which is his shorthand for "keep the black man in his place." This is nothing but dangerous double talk when you consider what Wallace has done about crime in his state.

If you live in Alabama, your chances of being murdered are nearly double the national average. In fact, Alabama's murder rate is the highest of any state in the union.

Wallace makes a great point of claiming that the streets of Washington, D.C. (a city with a high black population) are not safe at night. But FBI figures show that the murder rate in the nation's capital is far below that of George Wallace's Birmingham. (7.7 per 100,000 people in D.C.; 12.2 per 100,000 in Birmingham)

Alabama's rate of aggravated assault is the 4th highest of all states -- 40% higher than the national average.

Don't take my word for it. Here's what a white Alabamian, William Bradford Huie, said about his governor: "He has the terrorist on his side. Motorcades of KKK men roam Alabama Highways, escorted by state troopers. Alabama does not have a secret ballot. In our lonely rural areas, an hour after the polls close, the sheriff knows how everyone voted."

Wallace says he has the "guts" to be for the "little man." Let's see what happened to the "little man" in Alabama under Wallace's leadership. In Alabama wages are low, taxes are high, jobs are scarce and poverty widespread. And the black man is on the bottom of the following miserable statistics:

(1) Nearly 40% of Alabama's people live in poverty. In some counties 2 out of 3 people are poor. Thousands go hungry and suffer from malnutrition;

(2) Personal income runs $17.30 a week lower than the national average;

(3) Alabamians pay the highest sales tax (6%) in the nation -- and it applies to everything, food, clothes, etc:

(4) Alabama's unemployment rate is the highest in the nation (for white and black people);

(5) 110,000 older people are excluded from the social security rolls.

(6) Alabama spends less money per pupil in education than any state except South Carolina and Mississippi.

I could go on and on, but I think my point is clear. Anybody with talent can tell it like it is. Politicians have to do more than talk. It's their record that counts, their performance that matters, their program that must be judged.

Surely, black people aren't going to vote for George Corley Wallace.

Bayard Rustin

The murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has thrust a lance into the soul of America. The pain is most shattering to the Negro people. We have lost a valiant son, a symbol of hope and an eloquent spirt that inspired masses of people. Such a man does not appear often in the history of social struggle. When his presence signified that greatness can inhabit a black skin, those who must deny this possibility stop at nothing to remove it. Dr. King now joins a long list of victims of desperate hate in the service of insupporting lies, myths and stereotypes.

For me, the death of Dr. King brings deep personal grief. I had known and worked with him since the early days of the Montgomery bus protest in 1955, through the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Prayer Pilgrimage in 1957, the youth marches for ingrated schools in 1958 and 1959 and the Massive March on Washington in 1963.

Bayard Rustin

Through his senior by 20 years, I came to admire the depth of his faith in non-violence, in the ultimate vindication of the democratic process and in the redeeming efficacy of social commitment and action. And underlying this faith was a quiet courage grounded in the belief that the triumph of justice, however long delayed, was inevitable. Like so many others, I watched his spirit take hold in the country, arousing long-slumbering consciences and giving shape to a new social movement. With that movement came new hopes, aspirations and expectations. The stakes grew higher.

At such a time, so great a loss can barely be sustained by the Negro people. But the tragedy and shame of April 4th darken the entire nation as it teeters on the brink of crisis. And let no one mistake the signs: our country is in deadly serious trouble. This needs to be said because one of the ironies of life in an advanced industrialized society is that many people can go about their daily business without being directly affected by the ominous rumblings at the bottom of the system.

Yet we are at one of the great crossroads in our history and the alternatives before us grow more stark with every summer's violence. In moments like these there is a strong temptation to succumb to utter despair and helpless cynicism. It is indeed hard to maintain a clear perspective, a reliable sense of where events are heading. But this is exactly what we are called upon to do. Momentous decisions are about to be made—consciously or by default—and the consequences will leave not one corner of this land, nor any race or class, untouched.

Where, the, do we go from here?

We are a house divided. Of this Dr. King's murder is a stunning reminder. Every analysis, strategy and proposal for a way out of the American dilemma must begin with the recognition that a perilous polarization is taking place in our society. Part of the often remarked generation gap. But generations come and go and so do foreign policies. The issue of race, however, has been with us since our earliest beginnings as a nation. I believe it is even deeper and sharper than the other points of contention. It has bred fears, myths and violence over centuries. It is the source of dark and dangerous irrationality, a current of social pathology running through our history and dimming our brighter achievements.

Most of the time the reservoir of racism remains stagnant. But—and this has been true historically for most societies—when major economic, social or political crises arise, the backwaters are stirred and latent racial hostility comes to the surface. Scapegoats must be found, simple targets substituted for complex problems. The frustration and insecurity generated by these problems find an outlet in notions of racial superiority and inferiority. Very often we find that the most virulent hostility to Negroes exists among ethnic groups that only recently "made it" themselves or that are still near the bottom of the ladder. They need to feel that somebody in beneath the. (This is a problem which the labor movement has had to face more acutely perhaps than any comparable institution in American life. And it's a problem which some of labor's middle-class critics have not had to cope with al all.)

Negroes are reacting to this hostility with a counter-hostility. Some say the white man has no "Soul"; others say he is bararic, uncivilized; others proclaim him racially inferior. As is so often the case, such a reaction is the exaggerated obverse of the original action.

And in fact it incorporates elements of white stereotypes of Negroes. ("Soul," for example, so far as it is definable, seems to consist in part of rhythm, spontaneity, pre-industrial sentimentality, a footloose anti-regimentation, etc—qualities attributed to Negroes by many whites, though in different words.)

This reaction among Negroes is not so new as many white people think. What is new is the intensity whith which it is felt among some Negroes and the violent way it has been expressed in recent years. For this, the conservatives and reactionaries would blame the civil rights movement and the federal government. And in the very specific sense, we must conclude that they are right.

One effect of the civil rights struggle in the past 10 years has been to convince a generation of young Negroes that their place in society is no longer predetermined at birth. We demonstrated that segregationist barriers could be toppled, that social relations were not fixed for all time, that change was on the agenda. The federal government reinforced this new consciousness with its many pronouncements that racial integration and equality were the official goals of American society.

The reactionaries would tell us that these hopes and promises were unreasonable to begin with and should never have been advanced. They equate stability with the preservation of the established hierarchy of social relations, and chaos with the reform of that unjust arrangement. The fact is that the promises were reasonable, justified and long overdue. Our task is not to recind them—how do you rescind the promist of equality?—but to implement them fully and vigorously.

This task is enormously complicated by the polarization now taking place on the race issue. We are caught in a vicious cycle: inaction on the poverty and civil rights fronts foments rioting in the ghettos; the rioting encourages vindictive inaction. Militancy, extremism and violence grow in the black community; racism, raction and conservatism gain ground in the white community.

MIAMI TIMES

11/1/68

Bayard Rustin Speaks

Black Americas Appeal

DO NOT TURN YOUR BACK SENATOR McCARTHY

A group of prominent black Americans have appealed to Senator McCarthy to endorse Vice President Hubert Humphrey for the Presidency of the United States, it was announced today, by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The statement signed by 30 Negro civil rights and political leaders which appeared as a full page advertisement in the October 25th edition of the New York Times, asserts that, "The next President will have the power to turn back the clock. He may chose as many as five Supreme Court Justices, and thus determine the character of the Court and its decisions for the remainder of this century. He will name an Attorney General and head of the Civil Rights Commission, and will determine the policies they follow for at least four years. He will staff, direct and determine the policies and budget of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Health Education and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and scores of other federal regulatory agencies."

Calling this the most crucial election since 1876, the signers of the statement include leading figures in Negro life. Among them Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., (father of the slain civil rights leader), the Rev. Channing E. Phillips who sought the presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention, Charles Evers and Aaron Henry who led the successful attempt to unseat the regular Mississippi Delegation at the Democratic Convention. Negro educators are represented by Kenneth B. Clark and Benjamin E. Mays President Emeritus, of Morehouse College, and Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College in Atlanta, Georgia. The publishers of the largest Negro newspapers, John H. Murphy, III of the Afro-American chain and John Sengstacke of the Chicago Daily Defender signed the statement, along with the presiding bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, George Baber and William J. Walls. Gardner Taylor, president of the largest and most liberal Baptist organization and Edler Hawkins the first Negro moderator of the Presbyterian church also signed the statement.

The highest ranking black trade union official are listed as well: A. Philip Randolph, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, Walter Davis, Director of the Department of Education of the AFL-CIO and Frederick O'Neal, President of Actors Equity. Entertainers are represented by Aretha Franklin and Sammy Davis, Jr. The list includes newly elected officials and men seeking public office. Clarence Mitchell, II, Director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, and that organization's leading lobbyist, joined in pointing out that the next President will greatly influence the policies of the 91st and 92nd Congress.

They all called the 1968 election a moral test for American Democracy and said, "Upon the outcome depends the destiny of millions of black American and the future shape of American Society." Imploring Senator McCarthy to bring his prestige to bear on this election and to motivate his followers to join the black struggle, the statement concludes, "Our whole world does depend on it."

Bayard Rustin

We find ourselves in perilous and rapidly changing times, which demand that we re-examine and even give up some of our old, obsolete rigidities. But far more important, these are times that test the seriousness of our attachment to those values which are indispensable to the survival of a civilized and democratic tradition.

Bayard Rustin

We are neither the first people nor the first generation to be so confronted - although it is the habit of most generations to see themselves in crisis, to imagine that their experience is without precedent in history. I am reminded, for example, of mid-19th century Europe its traditional certainties shattering in the face of revolutionary discoveries and idelogies in science, industry, religion, and politics. In England Matthew Arnold, like John Dewey an educational theorist and man of letters, viewed the crisis of his old order as "a darling plain, swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight, where ignorant armies clash by night."

Today we can afford to hold Arnold's poetry in higher regard than his "aristocratic" premonitions of doom. For though he was considered a humanist and liberal thinker of his time, by the standards of our time he was a conservative. He would certainly have collapsed at the thought of a trade union movement existing in England. His sympathies remained closer to the genteel agonies of the classes than to the dreadful problems of the masses. Like some of the strange liberals of our own day, too, he could attack with equal passion both the excesses of his country's colonial administrators in the West Indies and the passage of the 1867 Reform Bill at home.

Nor can we share the distress Arnold felt at the advance of new styles of thought and belief upon his tradition-bound society. For many of those ideological innovations have since nourished the growth of a radical humanism and made possible a greater measure of social justice and progress in our own time.

But if we cannot sympathize with the politics of Arnold's judgment, neither can we ignore the quality of his anguish. The connection he felt to values of his time was perhaps as close as the connection we feel to some of ours. The visions he entertained of "ignorant armies clashing by night," are precisely the fears that are racking our society today. I think, however, that our fears are more real and more justified-because the values for whose survival we are now concerned spring from a more democratic tradition; a tradition which, though imperfect, we cannot afford to scrap; a tradition much closer to the egalitarian sentiments of John Dewey than to the qualified and genteel liberalism of Matthew Arnold.

Leaving aside those differences, one thing both Arnold and Dewey would agree upon is the importance of the role teachers play in insuring the survival of the more attractive traditions of their society. And I cannot overestimate the seriousness of the challenge now faced by our schools not only to preserve democratic education, but also to fertilize the growth of democratic citizenship among all Americans. It is a challenge that arises out of racial, political, technological, economic, and social demands more serious than any Dewey was ever asked to contemplate. Yet we can seek and perhaps find guidance in his example; for he was a tireless experimenter, a man who was neither rigid in his determinations nor determined to be rigid.

The chief task now, it seems to me, is for teachers and educationists to insure quality education, to foster the ideal of communication and compassion among all the young people of our society, and to view the teaching process as an integral part of the effort to bring about social change and social justice. This can be done only when the educational community is prepared, like Dewey, to innovate, to be flexible, to be imaginative in the application of educational philosophy.

More concretely, I would like to touch upon a few realities and strategies that must be of serious concern to teachers and teachers unions if they are to help keep Arnold's "ignorant armies" apart, and if they are to be more responsive and relevant to the complex demands of our society at the present time.

1. The teachers union is more than simply an instrument for seeking and obtaining redress of professional grievances. It happens also be belong to the American labor movement, and therefore it becomes a part of that tradition in America which has historically been committed to the cause of social justice and equal economic opportunity.

I would be the first to admit that, as in every American institution, discrimination continues to exist in the trade union movement. Nevertheless, it has made outstanding contributions to the economic advancement of millions of blacks and whites in this country. The trade union movement was an indispensable part of the coalition that helped shape and achieve the New Deal-transforming this nation at an earlier period, and assuring the continued right of both blue and white collar workers to organize. In spite of vestiges of injustice, the trade union movement is more integrated than our schools, our churches, and American industry. It was one of the vital elements of the civil rights coalition of the early 1960s, the most vigorous lobbyist in behalf of civil rights and voting rights legislation. And even now it is the only mass institution in our society that is making the social and economic demands which, if enacted, will eradicate poverty.

Thus no arm of the trade union movement, whether it be teachers or office workers, can disassociate itself from that tradition of social concern or from the activities being carried out to win new objectives. What are some of these new objectives? We need a $2 minimum wage, a guaranteed income, public works for socially urgent institutions, free medical care, destruction of slums, creation of new towns, increased Federal aid, and reorganization of the school system. These are basic demands of the trade union movement, and no religious group, no business group-in fact, no other group in the society-is as dedicated to this program.

THE LOUISVILLE DEFENDER, THURSDAY, DEC. 5, 1968 A 7

Bayard Rustin

Efforts of Negro and other minority office holders to recruit able young aides from their own ethnic groups -- thereby following a traditional pattern in American politics for developing future leaders -- will be aided by a $500,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

The grant, to the Urban Affairs Foundation, Inc. of Los Angeles, will support fellowships and internships for service with practicing politicians in California and neighboring states by black and other minority college graduates.

The Foundation has announced:

-- Grants totaling $140,000 for a major inquiry and other activities related to important trends in legal education.

-- Details on travel and study awards totaling $131,069 for eight members of the staff of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

"Negroes are being elected to public office in increasing numbers right now, and being appointed to important posts in state and local government even more often," said Mitchell Sviridoff, a Foundation vice president. "In turn they are looking for able young people, often of their own race, as aides and as talent to fill additional openings in the governmental structure in the future. Such opportunities would complement the growing number of openings available through sympathetic white officeholders. In several regions other minorities -- Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, for instance -- are doing the same. In this they are following a traditional pattern in our country for groups to assert their claims and needs.

"Today's grant aims to assist this process by attracting more black and other minority college graduates to careers in government and politics. It is very much in line with other Foundation efforts to improve access to, and stimulate interest in, various professions and occupations where minorities are underrepresented."

Under the Foundation's program, each year for the next three years twelve recent graduates selected by a bipartisan committee of educators and officeholders will spend a summer working with white and black elected officials, and eight will spend a full year in practical service combined with halftime graduate study at a cooperating university. The program also includes research on urban problems identified by cooperating officeholders and agencies, and monthly seminars among the participants.

Although the program will initially operate in California, the group contemplates extending it as soon as possible to neighboring states, and to the Oriental community within the state. Experience gained in the process will be available to groups in other states and regions interested in setting up similar programs.

California has some 200 Negro officeholders, about half elected and half appointed. But there are more than 16,000 elective posts in the state contemporary scene. Young law teachers in particular believe that changes in the nation's law schools have been concerned with higher standards of admission and with methodology rather than with the content of the curriculum, especially as it deals with public policies and social problems. The A.A.L.S study will deal with the allocation of curriculum time to the new subject matter, research requirements, training of paraprofessionals, programmed instruction, and teacher training.

In working with agencies outside the university, the A.S.L.S. will commission and publish studies on the needs of legal education reform.

The grant to the Stanford law school is for research by Professor Thomas Ehrlich on internships or clinical experience for law students, such alternative programs of legal study as research on the legal process, legal education for non-law candidates, the role of law schools in such agencies as the schools, the courts, and legislatures, and joint regional efforts by law schools.

The grant to Yale is for work by Professor Robert B. Stevens, a law professor and historian, on such matters as the evolution of legal education, an inventory of the Yale law school's program and relations with the rest of the university, and foreseeable new demands on law schools for change in the next twenty-five years.

The Foundation said that the recipients' talents in the past contributed significantly to the life of the country through service to an important public figure and noted that its experience is that timely awards to individuals of promise who are working on vital matters is one of the most constructive means of carrying forward its chartered purpose of advancing the public welfare.

The subjects into which the recipients are inquiring include Negro business opportunities, including access to capital; domestic and foreign community development, with special emphasis on individual citizen participation in planning and policy-making; decentralization of governmental processes; the costs, techniques, and staffing of political campaigns; and new practices and test materials in legal education. These subjects are related to various areas of current Foundation interest.

The Rustin Column

By Bayard Rustin

Charlottesville-Albemarle tribune 11/21/68

A Check List for The 91st Congress

President-elect Nixon is committed to bringing us together. I've said in other columns that rhetoric and slogans won't do the trick, so here is a list of some of the measures the 91st Congress should enact if we are to be brought together.

Civil Rights

The civil rights laws of the past decade have gone far toward assuring political and legal equality for all citizens. But there are gaps in the existing laws that must be filled. At the very least Congress should:

1) eliminate the literacy test and other tests or devices as requirements for registration for voting where educational practices have placed prospective voters at a disadvantage in meeting these requirements:

2) include public employees under the coverage and protection of the Equal Employment Opportunity section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

3) extend to the selection of state court juries the same safeguards against racial and economic discrimination it has already approved for Federal jury trials:

4) give agencies responsible for enforcing the fair employment and fair housing laws the cease-and desist authority and the powers of action available to other administrative agencies.

Employment

Only the government can provide employment and training for all who want to work and may not have the skills or education to get a job. Congress must enact a massive employment program that will create socially useful jobs in both the public and private sectors of the economy.

Farm Workers

Farm workers should be protected and given the same rights other workers have. The 91st Congress should include them within the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, which would give them the right to organize and to bargain collectively to improve their working conditions.

Minimum Wage

$1.60 an hour is too low a minimum wage. Someone who works 40 hours a week can earn only $3,328.00 a year at that rate. Congress must pass the $2.00 minimum wage.

Health and Welfare

Social security benefits need to be broadened and increased and the present medicare program should be expanded into a program of national health insurance. We need a uniform national standard for welfare and benefit payments, sufficient to lift recipients out of poverty.

Hunger

10 million Americans are going hungry. Congress must eradicate this disgrace through broadening the food stamp program, facilitating the distribution of surplus food, or giving people money enough to buy what they need to have a balanced diet.

This is only the bare minimum of what must be done. There are no short-cuts, no cut-rate bargains. This program and much more must be passed by the 91st Congress.

16 • N. Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., March 8, 1969

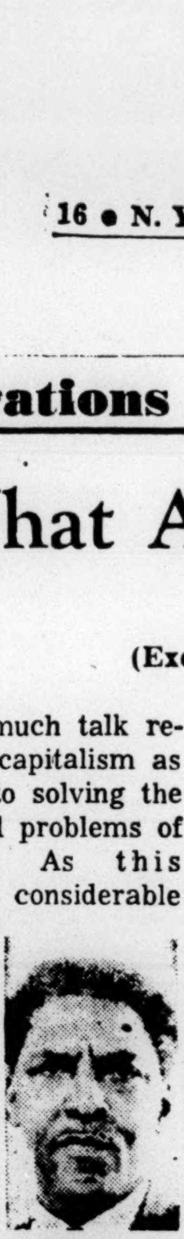
Reverberations

What About Black Capitalism?

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

There has been much talk recently about black capitalism as the new approach to solving the economic and social problems of Negro Americans. As this approach is gaining considerable support within the Nixon Administration and in certain segments of the black community, I think that we must closely analyze whether or not it can make a contribution to the Negro struggle for equality.



RUSTIN

I favor the notion of black people owning and operating businesses, and I should add in this regard that I find particularly creative the efforts that some Negroes have made to form cooperatives. Yet I think that these enterprises have had more of a psychological than an economic effect on black Americans.

They have helped destroy the brutal stereotype that black people are not capable of engaging in entrepreneurial activity. But the enonomic impact of black capitalism has been — and can only be — marginal at best, and if we are not careful, this approach may actually compound the injustices from which Negroes suffer.

We must not forget that businesses are "in business" not to attack social injustice but to make a profit, and that the ghetto represents a poor market to invest in because of its poverty and deprivation. Businesses must, therefore, be attracted into the ghetto through tax incentives which guarantee them a high profit and which also insure that they themselves, and not the poor, will be the prime benefactors of their investments.

Of course some of these benefactors will be black capitalists, but these individuals are a very small and affluent section of the Negro community. It is the black working poor and the unemployed who constitute the mass of Negroes in need of economic uplift, and I think it is both foolish and misleading to speak to these people about becoming capitalists. Rather, our central objective must be to enable them to join their two million brothers and sisters who are part of the American trade union movement which is the institution most responsible for the integration of the black poor into the economic life of our society.

Nationalist Rhetoric

I am also distressed by the separatist framework within which black capitalism is so often discussed. Many of its advocates employ black nationalist rhetoric in proposing the economic development of the ghetto, assuming, therefore, that the ghetto is a separate entity in American life that must be nurtured and made viable.

I understand that the ghetto will not disappear tomorrow, but we must not fall into the dangerous and divisive trap of abandoning the goals of integration and the elimination of a separatist social structure which has imposed such degradation and hardship upon black people and which today threatens to divide our nation.

And finally, I am most deeply concerned that black capitalism is projected by some of its proponents not as a marginal and supplementary program, but as an alternative to massive public expenditures for full employment and the reconstruction of our cities.

I can think of nothing more potentially harmful to black people than the substitution of the delusion of black capitalism for the absolute necessity for Federal programs to provide all Negroes with dignified employment, decent housing, and superior schools. Black people cannot ignore these objectives without forsaking the ultimate goal of economic liberation.

On Blacks and Jews

By Bayard Rustin

Two years ago, in response to a growing trend of hostility between Negroes and Jews, I wrote that "it would be one of the great tragedies of Negro and Jewish experiences in a hostile civilization if the time should come when either group begins using against each other the same weapon (of prejudice) which the white majorities of the West have used for centuries to crush and deny both of them their sense of humanity."

Events have made these words even more relevant today." Jewish leaders have spoken to the Jewish conscience about these developments, and it is with a sense of urgency that Negro leaders must now address their own communities.

I am sure I need not explain to Negroes why anti-Semitism, as a form of prejudice, is morally wrong. Certainly Negroes have seen as clearly as any people in history how prejudice can brutalize and oppress.

They have seen how bigots can stereotype a race and deny the dignity of a people because they have neither the courage to recognize that dignity nor the wisdom to understand it. And certainly Negroes must know that if an atmosphere of vilification and condemnation is permitted to develop, that they themselves will be its chief victims. It is in this sense that the anti-Semitism of some Negroes is not only morally wrong but strategically suicidal.

I have written before that anti-Semitism is an outgrowth of frustration, that because Negroes have been obstructed in their fight for full equality, there have been some who in their despair have attacked those very people who have been the closest allies of the Negro struggle — namely, the Jews.

To understand this, however, is not to condone it. Nor is it to ignore the politically disastrous effect that anti-Semitism will have on Negroes, for if it is permitted to gain a foothold, it will be the first step in the disintegration of the liberal Catholic-Jewish-Protestant coalition on which Negroes have had to depend for the passage of civil rights legislation and other measures for social and economic justice.

Up to now the distinguishing — and most distinguished — feature of the Negro struggle for social equally has been its moral authority. On the basis of this authority we have been able to appeal in our struggle to the great American documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as the moral and legal foundation of our demands.

The emergence of anti-Semitism not only undermines the basis of this appeal, but it makes a travesty of a movement that has been the conscience of this nation.

I appeal to the Jewish community not to permit the anti-Semitism of a small, unrepresentative minority in the black community to drive them out of the struggle for social justice and democracy. And I emphasize that this is in their interest, for if the overall struggle for democracy breaks down, then Jews — a minority themselves, like Negroes — will inevitably suffer. The central problem, as some Jewish leaders have pointed out, is that racism is unavoidable when there is no democratically viable alternative for dealing with social and economic injustice.

And I appeal to the Negro community, that just as we call on Jews to continue their dedication to democracy and social equity, that we pledge not to ignore or excuse any manifestation of anti-Semitism in the black community and to combat it vigorously wherever it appears. I urge this not for the sake of Jews or Negroes, but for the sake of the preservation of the democratic values which Jews and Negroes must share — values we must all share in the ultimate hope of a liberated mankind.

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1969

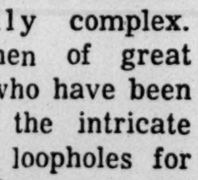
Reverberations

Robin Hood Of The Ruling Class

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

The Nixon Administration's decision to call for a delay on school integration in Mississippi clearly indicated that the President is responding to pressures from Southern segregationists. And now the tax bill which he has submitted to Congress suggests that he is giving in to pressure from another quarter — from the corporations and from the very wealthiest individuals in America. The only people, it seems, upon whom Nixon has turned his back are Negroes of all classes and salaried workers of every race.



RUSTIN

The American system of taxation is extraordinarily complex. Corporations and men of great wealth hire lawyers who have been specially trained in the intricate ways of finding tax loopholes for their clients. Needless to say, salaried people can't afford to hire such lawyers, and even if they could, they would be unable to take advantage of the loopholes that are designed to benefit only the rich. Yet all the while these people, who earn more than the poverty level of $3500 a year but less than the $9500 it costs to maintain a moderate standard of living, are forced to bear the heaviest burden of taxation.

The tax reform bill passed by the House of Representatives in August was an attempt to remedy some of these inequities. But now President Nixon has presented his own bill to Congress which seeks to undo most of the positive aspects of the House proposals.

Poor Poor

Nixon's bill is a classic example of taking from the poor to give to the rich. He is the Robin Hood of the ruling class. The major benefit Nixon is offering the rich is a 2 per cent reduction in the corporate tax rate. This would save the corporations $1.7 billion a year. He is also proposing to make the top tax rate on earned income 50 per cent, something which would benefit only the moneyed individuals in the highest tax brackets. In addition, he is asking the Senate to leave almost intact two other sources of bounty for the rich which were attacked by the House bill — capital gains loopholes and interest earned from the purchase of state and local bonds.

Nixon hopes to compensate for the revenue lost through such tax relief for the rich by reducing the tax relief for the poor. He has asked the Senate to add $2.5 billion to the House-proposed tax burden for individuals and families in the low and middle income brackets. Taxpayers earning less than $11,000 but more than the poverty standard, for example, would be deprived of benefits from the "low-income allowance." The Administration also proposed a smaller increase in the standard deduction, a step which would save the government over $600 million. In addition, the tax relief for single persons would be reduced by about one-third.

Tax Revolt

The significance of Nixon's tax bill at a time when the nation is experiencing a tax revolt by low and middle income groups should not be missed. Nixon's proposals, if accepted, would increase the economic frustrations of working class America which feed backlash sentiment.

The problem is that much of the hostility resulting from these frustrations will not be directed at the wealthy, but remote, interests which put the pressure on Nixon, but at Federal programs for the poor, and by extension, at the poor themselves.

The fact that many of these poor happen also to be black can only feed the flames of racial hostility. Racial polarization helped Nixon become President, and on its persistence his power depends. And while the poor and the almost poor take out their frustrations against each other, Nixon and his allies can rest in comfort, for the grievous social ills of this nation do not reach as far as Wall Street, nor has the cry of the ghetto been heard in the inner chambers of the White House.

THE POST - STANDARD

Victor Riesel

Aug. 6 Ev
8/6/69

Blacks and Ballot Box

It's tough to be black and moderately militant. Or militantly moderate. . .It's like being stood up against a cellophane wall so both sides can snipe at you at the same time.

It's been rough going for Negro leader Bayard Rustin. He's tough and he knows what he wants. And he knows that violence will beget only bloody streets and tragically dead youth. So while he urges swift emergency of the black communities into the nation's mainstream, he urges his brethren to use the ballot box, not the explosive powder box. For this he is called an "Uncle Tom" by the extremists.

I asked him how it feels to be the man in the middle and to spell out his philosophy. Here is his reply:

By BAYARD RUSTIN

RUSTIN

NEW YORK — In the long history of the black man in America, no decade has been filled with more significant events than the one which will terminate at the close of this year. In the 1960s we have witnessed great social and political triumphs, and also saddening defeats. We have seen men of great stature emerge and suddenly disappear. There has been an unprecedented rise in the hopes and aspirations of black people, and we have seen the frustration of these hopes lead to despair, violence, and withdrawal. We would have to go back a century to the time of the Civil War and Emancipation, to find a decade that approaches in significance the one we are now living through.

The sweep and complexity of events demand that we resist the temptation of an emotional and simplistic response and instead try to analyze the present situation with the utmost precision. What is demanded of blacks, therefore, is not undirected rage, however compelling this emotion may be, but a clear definition of political and economic objectives, as well as a strategy for achieving them.

In the absence of such a program for social struggle, rage can only feed upon itself and lead to comforting but self-defeating forms of withdrawal, or to violence which would be destructive to all concerned. It will also induce in the white community the uncreative emotions of fear or guilt. This emotional dynamic of rage, fear and guilt is occurring with unusual force today, and its social consequences can only be reactionary.

THE PREVALENCE OF confusing emotions has led many people to identify white racism as the most pressing and immediate problem that must be solved. I reject this analysis, not because I think that white Americans are innocent of racism—many, I'm sure, are guilty of prejudice, as are some people of all races—but because it cannot lead to a constudes of white people, it follows that the solution must be mass psychoanalysis, something I find neither practical nor appealing.

More importantly, white breast-beating will hardly help the black youth who is unemployed or the black child who is being miseducated. But what it will do will be to compel the guilty individuals, by a soothing process of rationalization and self-delusion, to justify their position. Thus, unintentionally, and perhaps even unconsciously, they may eventually give their tacit approval to the growing white reaction against the movement for equality.

We have, therefore, to focus our attention on the social and economic conditions which have produced poverty, segregation, deteriorated housing, inferior schools, and poor health.

OUR TASK, THEN, must be to develop a political strategy and an economic program which attack injustice at its source. I am not concerned here with programs that might elect a local official or employ a few individuals, but with building a movement that can alter the fundamental social and economic relations in the society. What is essential, therefore, is to identify those institutions which can provide black people with the maximum power and leverage in their efforts to achieve equality. The institutions I am referring to are the Democratic Party and the trade union movement, and the instruments that black people must use to make them more viable and progressive are the ballot box and the union card.

The dominant forces within the party are now precisely those groups — Negroes, liberals, and the labor movement — who form the basis of a majority coalition of the democratic left, and who thus can move the Federal government to act upon the problems which so afflict our nation. It is toward such a coalition that we must build, and we can only do so through the active and effective use of the ballot box.

AND THE TRADE UNION movement is essential to the black struggle because it is the only institution in the society capable of economically uplifting the masses of impoverished and exploited Negroes. Its legislative program for job creation, urban reconstruction, education, health, and tax reform is designed specifically to help the lower and lower-middle classes in which blacks are so disproportionately represented.

And by its efforts to organize the unorganized — whether they be farm workers in California, sanitation workers in Memphis, or hospital workers in New York and Charleston — it is enabling hundreds of thousands of poor Americans to escape the lumpenproletariat and to achieve a measure of dignity [illegible] nomic security. [illegible] the union [illegible] lot box, that [illegible] damism of the bl[illegible]

JUSTICE - 11/15/69

Collision Course: Black Rage-White Fear

By BAYARD RUSTIN

Excerpts from address to the AFL CIO convention on October 3 by the executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

I CAME HERE TO TALK TO YOU about what I consider to be two of the most serious problems this nation faces. One of them is black rage and the other one is white fear. We hear all about black rage and riots, but the newspapers are not telling us about the fantastic fear of many white people, a justified fear in many respects. These two things feed on each other and they set this nation on a collision course.

This need not happen. We can get off this collision course, and to do that we must understand what makes for black fear and rage and what makes for white fear.

There are those who say black people have made no progress, we have won no gains in the last decade. But they don't know what they are talking about. Of course we have made much progress. Our long struggle has not been for nothing. The problem that we face is that progress is relative, as every trade unionist knows.

DESPITE THIS PROGRESS THAT black people have made, there are also many parts of our ghettos in which unemployment is double, and there are more rats and roaches in the slums than ever before, in which, 15 years after the Supreme Court decision, there are more Negro children in segregated schools than there were before that decision.

There is another misery. It has nothing to do with black people but with white people. And that is that they are up to here in mortgages. They appear to own homes which are not paid for; they do not have enough money to feed their families; therefore these white people have as much fear because they are afraid of losing what they have, as black people have rage because they do not have what they feel they should have.

For millions of these white people their jobs and their homes are all they have got. Because their position is so dangerous they feel threatened by the demands of black people for justice because, they argue: "This nation says we will not have enough houses. Therefore, I fearfully cling to mine lest my black brother get it. This nation says there will not be enough jobs. Therefore, I nervously cling to my job lest my black brother get it."

Now, the only answer to that is adequate housing, adequate jobs, adequate education for all. Then white fear and black rage can be contained. We have to build and rebuild.

●

BUT THE MINUTE I USE THE WORD "build," I get right into the middle of a problem which is on all of our minds and which none of us can sweep under a rug. To use the word "build" brings a subject to the foreground which has caused much controversy and intensely strong feelings. I refer, of course, to the events that have recently occurred in Pittsburgh, Chicago, and other cities.

The problem raised by these events, the problem of minority participation in the building trades is difficult and dangerous, but let those of you who are in the trade union movement not mistake the problem. It is not the problem of the building trades. It is the problem of all organized labor that to this date, while we have done much, none of us has done enough to completely solve the problem, and we cannot make a scapegoat of any segment of the trade union movement, of any segment of the civil rights movement. This is a fight where we are all in together and nothing can be done without the cooperation and affection of all.

I know that you have already made progress, in cooperation with the apprenticeship Outreach programs of the Urban League, the Workers' Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund, and of other groups. These programs are now operating in 52 cities, and since their inception in 1967, they have brought in 3,862 apprentices. The fact that over 1,500 were recruited in the first six monhs of this year alone indicates that the pace of these programs is accelerating. I was most impressed to learn that of all the apprentices enrolled in the first half of 1968, over 9 percent came from minority groups. This is nearly four times the percentage of 1960. This is progress. This is moving in the right direction. As my grandmother used to say to me, "Son, it is not so important how far you get, the real question is, are you headed in the right direction?"

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS - January 17, 1970

Jul 17 HK
From BC

Reverberations

Black Panthers And Their Policy

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

If the Black Panthers do not get together on their public statements of policy, many forces, in and out of the black minority, will be in a state of confusion. The unquestioning supporters of the Panthers, of course, will not be confused. They will follow any line laid down by their heroes.

RUSTIN

The trouble is that many persons who do not believe each and every word and each and every proposition that comes from the Panthers nevertheless have deep sympathy for them. They want to help.

But when these non-Panthers try to aid in any particular outrage, the Panthers themselves make outrageous statements. These are completely logical according to their logic, but completely confusing in the light of the realities of the world outside of Pantherdom.

The New York **Times** did David Hilliard, Panther official, an injustice when it ascribed to him a declaration that the Panthers had no faith in any investigation of the Chicago killings except that conducted by the black Congressmen. The official CBS transcript does not contain any such statement.

Cleaver Speaks Out

Hardly had Hilliard's words died away before Eldridge Cleaver spoke up from Algeria calling both Congressmen Charles Diggs and John Conyers of Detroit "Uncle Toms." For this columnist Cleaver had a special classification — a "discredited" Uncle Tom.

Is the black Congressmen's probe O.K. (Hilliard) or are Diggs and Conyers Uncle Toms (Cleaver) and thus not to be trusted? Is Goldberg a "fox among the chickens" (Hilliard) or a Zionist (Cleaver) and, too, like Wilkins and Diggs and Conyers, not to be trusted? Two Panthers walked out on the official city hearing in Chicago. So much for cooperation.

With Arthur Goldberg a Zionist in the words of that great Arab, Eldridge Cleaver, and with Wilkins a discredited Uncle Tom in the eyes of the same analyst, can the Panthers cooperate in any investigation conducted by a citizens' commission of which these two men are co-chairmen?

Are the Panthers pro-Arab? If so, do they not owe their members and their friends an explanation of why they oppose Israel and support Nasser & Co.? Since Nasser is armed by Russia, are the Panthers allies of the Soviets? If they are, does that mean they approve what was done by Russia in Czechoslovakia?

The Panthers should spell out where they stand. They should not content themselves with the Panther-police war. That struggle can be understood because physical abuse and killings have aroused black people for generations. What is the line — the full line, not just the anti-police line? What about the Arabs, the Soviets, the Czechs, the Jews and the so-called Third World Front?

Is anyone who can't buy that Cleaver idiocy about shooting a way into the U.S. Senate and shooting a way out, after killing a Senator or two, really untrustworthy from the Panther point of view?

Americans, white and black, who want to halt the persecution of the Panthers are working for every dissenter. They will continue even if the Panthers put the bad mouth on them because the principle of freedom is precious.

Can one fight against police excesses in Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami or Boston or must one also swear to an attitude on the problems, people and politics of the universe?

Long Island Press

SUNDAY, MARCH 15, 1970

Benign Neglect: Rustin Replies to Moynihan

By **BAYARD RUSTIN**
Executive Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute

With the publication of his memo to the President urging "benign neglect" of the issue of race, Daniel P. Moynihan once again finds himself involved in a bitter controversy.

We seem to be in the midst of a replay of what took place almost five years ago when his report on the Negro family was published. An internal government memo written by Moynihan and relating to Negroes is released to the public, the general reaction in the black community is outrage, recrimination and explanations follow, and Moynihan emerges a hero to some, a villain to many others.

Such at least are the similarities, but there are significant differences which must be seen if we are to understand the full meaning of Moynihan's recent message to the President.

Beyond the fact that he is likely to lose more friends this time around than the last, Moynihan is not in the same position today that he was in five years ago. At that time he was a member of a liberal administration.

His report, whatever else might be said for or against it, was an attempt to draw attention to a social problem, to identify the social and economic causes of that problem, and to outline what he called "the case for national action."

While there is reason to doubt the wisdom of some of Moynihan's formulations, at least he sensed the urgency of America's racial crisis.

Today just the opposite is true. Moynihan is a member of a conservative administration, his memo is designed to draw attention away from a social problem, he places the blame for our racial crisis almost exclusively on the Negro, he offers no proposals for government action beyond some studies and conferences, and his tone is infused with complacency and self-congratulation.

THE CHANGE cannot be explained away by observing that this is one liberal's way to adapt to the conservative period that we are in. Mr. Moynihan, for all intents and purposes, has become a conservative himself.

Let us first look at his "general assessment of the position of Negroes" at the end of Mr. Nixon's first year in office. As a sociologist Moynihan is aware that statistics can be both used and misused with great effectiveness. I think it is fair to say that in his memo to the President, Moynihan is guilty of misusing statistics.

His figures are correct, as far as I can judge, but he has been highly selective in choosing only those which give the impression that "the American Negro is making extraordinary progress." Important progress was made during the last decade. Everybody knows that.

But as Andrew Brimmer and others have pointed out, the benefits of progress accrued largely to middle and working class blacks, while the social and economic condition of impoverished Negroes did not improve and, in fact, worsened. We are beginning to see that Negroes in one area can bring problems in another.

The improvement in the income and living standards of many black families enabled them to move out of the hard-core poverty areas of the cities. But they left behind them black communities that were worse off than before the onset of "progress," more homogeneously poor, with fewer stable middle class elements, with schools, housing, and health care facilities rapidly deteriorating, and with the population density as high as ever since the departing middle class was replaced by impoverished immigrants from the South.

During the last decade Negroes trapped in the inner-city ghettoes became more desperate, more despairing, more subject to the vicious conditions of poverty and segregation.

MY INTENTION is not to demean the importance of the progress that was made during the last decade. But nor will I use superlatives, as does Moynihan, in describing what amounted to a first step in attacking the overwhelming and complex social problems of this nation.

It is one thing to point out improvements where they have been made, but not to couple this with an urgent call for more action is to provide an excuse for complacency and criminal inaction.

I also take issue with the interpretation, which is implicit in Moynihan's argument, of the origins of progress and poverty in the black community. His statistics on black progress all relate to "husband-wife Negro families," while according to Moynihan, "Increasingly, the problem of Negro poverty is the problem of the female-headed family."

Here we have it again, the same old argument about the Negro family, only unlike before, Moynihan does not offer joblessness as a major cause, but rather as a major effect, of family instability. He has reversed the tables and in the process has placed the onus of blame for poverty on the black community, a characteristically conservative argument.

He also has neglected to mention the real source of progress for blacks in the sixties, namely, the dramatic expansion of our economy with the accompanying reduction in unemployment and poverty. It is true that many hard-core unemployed, because they lack the proper training, were not prepared to benefit from the economic boom.

But the very fact that there was a tight labor market motivated government and industry to initiate training programs to employ these individuals. Today, however, as a direct result of Nixon's regressive economic policies, we are moving into a recession.

Unemployment is increasing as more and more workers are being laid off, and training programs are closing down. Only last week the Department of Labor terminated a large contract to hire thousands of hard-core unemployed for production jobs in Chrysler plants.

* * *

THE PROGRESS some Negroes experienced during the last decade is thus being undermined, and whatever opportunity there was for the hard-core unemployed to escape from poverty has been crushed, at least for the present.

Moynihan has written a memo to the President on the condition of Negroes without mentioning the disastrous effect the administration's economic policies are having upon blacks. One can only conclude that either Moynihan is a partisan of those policies, or that he just does not want to make waves within the administration. If the latter is true, he is guilty of gross irresponsibility.

One can expect nothing less than outrage in the black community at Moynihan's statement that "Apart from white racial attitudes . . . the biggest problem black Americans face" is the "anti-social behavior among black males."

Moynihan totally neglects social and economic injustice as he narrows the problems of the ghetto down to the simple and cruelly misleading remark, "Black Americans injure one another." Once again he is attempting to pin the blame for the racial crisis upon the Negro.

Take Moynihan's long digression on the fire problem in the ghetto which amounts to over one-eighth of his memo. He admits that some fires result from population density but the real cause, he says, is "social pathology." Slum residents "deliberately set" a large part of the fires in their communities.

This is as far from the truth as it is contemptuous of the Negro community. There is no mention of the drastic housing shortage which has severely affected the whole society, and most of all the ghetto.

The problem is not simply that the population density in the ghetto has become unbearable, which it has. What is worse is that in the absence of decent housing blacks are crowded into old, dilapidated dwellings which have unvented heaters and faulty wiring, and which, Mr. Moynihan, are nothing more than fire-traps. Not only is President Nixon doing nothing to alleviate this problem.

* * *

HE HAS ACTUALLY aggravated it by cutting back on funds for Model Cities and urban renewal and, most importantly, by raising interest rates to the point where home-building has declined to its lowest level in more than twenty years.

There is an element of social pathology here, but it is not in the back community as much as it is in a society which permits a situation like this to continue.

All of this is by way of introduction to the really controversial aspect of Moynihan's memo, his suggestion that "The time may have come when the issue of race could benefit from a period of 'benign neglect.'"

Let us look closely at what this means since we would not want to be accused of misunderstanding the President's counselor. Moynihan is saying that we should not neglect the problems of blacks so much as the issue of race. He wants to see tempers cooled and extremists of either race isolated.

Now all this is fine enough, but in the context of Moynihan's entire memo, not to speak of the political context in which the memo was written, these words take on a different meaning.

Many civil rights leaders and spokesmen, myself included, have firmly opposed extremism of both races, black as well as white. But we have done so not simply to cool tempers but to build movements.

We have seen that racial extremism is self-defeating, that it divides blacks from natural allies in the white community, that it undermines the central objective of building a coalition of progressive forces which can become the political majority in America.

We have seen that until such a coalition exists, our nation will not undertake a comprehensive program to wipe out poverty among blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and whites.

* * *

BUT MOYNIHAN has no such objective in mind when he urges "benign neglect" of racial issues. Indeed, he is an important member of an administration which is the major opposition to the coalition I just described. "Benign neglect," as Moynihan has used it, is consistent with the rest of his memo and, therefore, does not mean neglect of the issue of race but government neglect of the Negro.

It is significant that Moynihan borrowed the phrase "benign neglect" from a colonialist context. It was originally used in a report written in 1839 by the British Earl of Durham.

According to Moynihan, the Earl recommended self-government for the British colony of Canada which had grown self-reliant "through many years of benign neglect" by Britain.

From our discussion of the other sections of Moynihan's memo, it should be clear that this phrase was carefully chosen to support the rest of his contentions. Whether he was discussing unemployment or social pathology, Moynihan took care to locate the source of the difficulty in Negroes themselves, in what he claims are our "female headed families," our "anti-social behavior," our penchant for arson, and our "social alienation."

Like Canada in the early nineteenth century, Moynihan feels that today America would benefit from a period of "benign neglect" during which it could put its own house in order, tidy up its family life, and get its arsonists under control.

His argument is fundamentally for a kind of black self-help and against a government role in solving the problems of the black poor. Moynihan's memo must have found a receptive audience in a conservative President who has done everything possible, in keeping with his philosophy of "The New Federalism," to reduce the role of the federal government.

* * *

MOYNIHAN'S suggestions to the President on what he should do in relation to the black community make an excellent case for government inaction. Aside from urging "benign neglect," he suggests that administration officials get together to "talk out the subject a bit" in order to develop "a more coherent administration approach," and that the administration do more research on crime.

It is indeed remarkable that after noting that the unemployment rate among black teen-agers is 24.4%, Moynihan can only suggest that we need more studies on crime, as if, to borrow a sociological phrase, we did not already know that there is a high correlation between poverty and crime, that unemployment is a "leading indicator" of criminal behavior. And the Nixon administration is hardly doing anything to reduce unemployment.

Finally, there is Moynihan's suggestion to give more recognition to the "silent black majority," the black working class. Nixon will have to give this group far more than recognition if he is to befriend it, for it has already been deeply offended by his economic policies and Southern strategy.

This is the group that is being laid off from jobs, that can't find decent housing, and that is being [illegible] interest rates and the funding cuts for education and health care. This group could hardly be expected to appreciate the nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court, the re-
uctance the administration has shown to
ress for school integration in the South,
the efforts it has made to water down
e 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Moynihan urges a cooling of racial
otions, but the policies of the Nixon
ministration are making extremists
t of moderates. The Black Panthers
ll not disappear if they are ignored, as
oynihan suggests. They will not disap-
ar because the conditions which pro-
ced them continue to exist.

And as long as this society fails to
rry out a social and economic program
hich can attack those conditions at
ir roots, there will be extremists in
black community.

* * *

BAYARD RUSTIN
A Reply to Moynihan

MOYNIHAN NEVER once refers to the necessity for such a program but talks only about the necessity to lower our voices. Mr. Nixon also talks about "bringing us together," but he has done nothing to further that goal.

On the contrary, his policies have deepened divisions and broadened the base for extremism. But of this Mr. Moynihan has nothing to say.

Several years ago, at a National Board meeting of the Americans for Democratic Action that was held soon after the violence in Newark and Detroit, Moynihan urged that liberals form a coalition with conservatives in the interests of social order.

Moynihan, who has the courage of his convictions, has entered into such a coalition with the result that he has in effect become an important ally of the conservative cause.

Writing in Commentary some months back, Andrew Hacker pointed out that . r Nixon to build a Republican majority out of what is essentially a right-center coalition, he would have to undertake simultaneously two approaches — a reactionary strategy led by such men as John Mitchell and Spiro Agnew which would appeal to the right, and a more progressive strategy directed by such house liberals as Robert Finch and Moynihan which would appeal to the center.

From this point of view Moynihan's role in the Nixon administration becomes tragically clear. As the liberal cover for a conservative administration, he is not advancing liberalism so much as helping to entrench conservatism.

If President Nixon is successful in building his majority, Moynihan's memo will take on a significance that was perhaps not intended by its author.

Historical periods are often defined by ingle phrases which seem to capture he mood or the political climate of a ation at a particular point in time. In merica today we are dangerously on the erge of entering a period when social roblems are ignored and allowed to ester until they emerge at some future e in such a diseased condition that social order is threatened with a eral breakdown.

* * *

E HAVE been through a period of ficult change, and people are tired. ey do not want to be reminded that re are still problems, most grievously t problem which Gunnar Myrdal called American dilemma."

Vhites are retreating, becoming hos- and fearful, blacks are becoming en- ed, and liberals are confused and dis- ented. And the federal government, the ncipal agency through which we can d a way out of our racial agony, is in hands of men who lack progressive on. "Benign neglect," a phrase bor- ed from the past, seems to define the sent.

eglect of problems that are difficult to solve, avoidance of realities that are unpleasant to confront; Mr. Moynihan's phrase speaks to our society's weaknesses, its capacity for self-delusion and apathy.

We have not entirely reached this point yet. There is still time to reverse our direction, to move forward. To fail to seize this opportunity today may make it impossible for us to do so in the future.

Perhaps the lack of vision evinced by Mr. Moynihan can shock us into a recognition of how far we must still go to achieve the evasive yet splendid goal of racial justice.

August 31, 1970

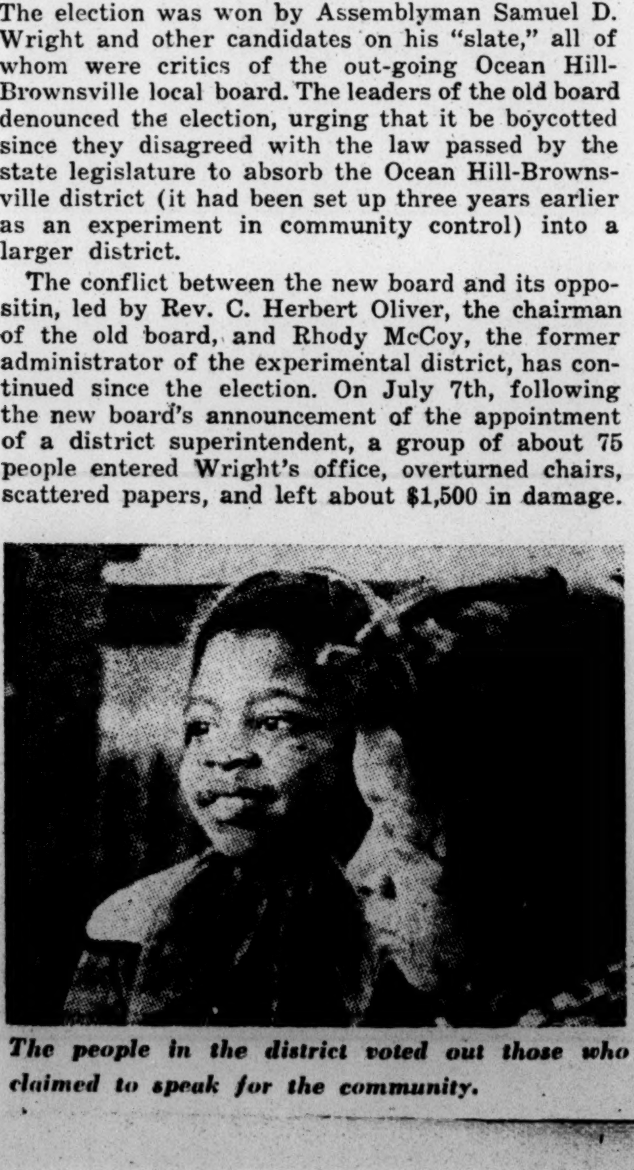
Let the People Decide

BAYARD RUSTIN

Recent events in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the focal point of the school strikes of 1968, raised fundamental questions about the democratic process which are of vital interest of all Americans. Black Americans should be particularly concerned with the conflicts taking place in Ocean Hill since the potential exists for similar conflicts in other black communities.

Last March elections were held in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to elect a new community school board. The election was won by Assemblyman Samuel D. Wright and other candidates on his "slate," all of whom were critics of the out-going Ocean Hill-Brownsville local board. The leaders of the old board denounced the election, urging that it be boycotted since they disagreed with the law passed by the state legislature to absorb the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district (it had been set up three years earlier as an experiment in community control) into a larger district.

The conflict between the new board and its opposition, led by Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, the chairman of the old board, and Rhody McCoy, the former administrator of the experimental district, has continued since the election. On July 7th, following the new board's announcement of the appointment of a district superintendent, a group of about 75 people entered Wright's office, overturned chairs, scattered papers, and left about $1,500 in damage. Following this incident, opponents of Wright sent a letter to Mayor Lindsay and other city officials which read in part: "The sentiments of the people is as follows: Get Sam out of Ocean Hill-Brownsville by August 1, 1970, or we'll burn down Ocean Hill-Brownsville and make it a Burnsville — we'd rather see Ocean Hill-Brownsville leveled than to have Sam and his stugges (stooges) destroy and degrade this community further." The letter was signed "Community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville."



The people in the district voted out those who claimed to speak for the community.

"THE COMMUNITY"

I think that the most misused words in our vocabulary are "the community" and "the people." Who is the community in Ocean Hill-Brownsville? Those people who signed the letter certainly do not represent the entire community since I strongly doubt that Wright and his supporters would agree with the sentiments expressed in it. Are we to define community as "only those who agree with me?" I doubt it, since that would hardly be fair to those who do not agree with me.

A community consists of many different groups holding different opinions on any number of issues. Finding a way for these groups to live in peace with one another is the ultimate goal of a democratic system which is based upon two principles — majority rule and minority rights. Majority rule is determined through open and free elections. Wright won the election in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and this gave him the right to make decisions relating to community educational issues.

If the Oliver-McCoy group really represents the community, as it is claimed, then they should have participated in the elections, especially since they were conducted under a system of proportional representation guaranteeing the Oliver-McCoy group places on the board based on the number of votes they had received. The fact that they avoided this test of strength makes one doubt whether they, in fact, do speak for the community.

The point is that Wright should be permitted to serve in the capacity to which he was elected. Confrontations which threaten him and try to force him to resign are fundamentally in violation of democratic principles. They are also a threat to everybody in the community since they establish the precedent that any minority can forcefully impose its will on the majority. This is not democratic community control but dictatorial control of the community by a minority. I would think that the black community has enough problems without having to be burdened with this new injustice.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1977

Letters

On 'Amin's Reign of Terror'

To the Editor:

We in the black community have long opposed the brutality, the oppression and the injustices of the white minority governments of South Africa and Rhodesia. We are equally outraged by the violations of human rights and the murders committed by President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda. Neither the character nor the quality of oppression is altered when it is a black tyrant who is killing other blacks.

The record of Amin's six-year rule is a series of savage incidents demonstrating a total contempt for human life. Amin expelled 40,000 Asians of British citizenship from Uganda. He has systematically persecuted Christians, who make up 80 percent of Uganda's population. The country's chief justice, a former Prime Minister, was dragged from his courtroom by Amin's gunmen and has not been seen since. All barriers that once protected Ugandans from the abuses and crimes of Amin have been removed.

It is estimated that from 50,000 to 300,000 Ugandans have been killed by Amin's murder squads. A French documentary film includes an estimate that 90,000 Ugandans were killed in the first three years of his rule. Thousands of Ugandans are in prisons and tens of thousands have fled to other African nations, Europe and the U.S.

No one should believe that in criticizing Amin he is criticizing black Africa. The leading statesmen of Africa have denounced his atrocities. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has called him "a murderer," while President Kenneth Kaunda has termed him "a racialist."

All Americans, black and white, who are dedicated to human rights and freedom, should join in vigorously condemning Amin's reign of terror and should do whatever is possible to defend his victims—hundreds of whom are exiles living in the United States.

Dorothy Height
Pres., Natl. Council of Negro Women
Vernon Jordan
Exec. Dir., National Urban League
Eleanor Holmes Norton
N.Y.C. Commissioner of Human Rights
Frederick O'Neal
Pres., Associated Actors and Artistes
William Pollard
Dir., A.F.L.-C.I.O. Civil Rights Dept.
A. Philip Randolph
Pres. Emer., Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Bayard Rustin
Pres., A. Phillip Randolph Institute
Roy Wilkins
Exec. Dir., N.A.A.C.P.
New York, Feb. 18, 1977

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediate
January 16, 1969

Rustin Column

THE NIXON PROBLEM

by Bayard Rustin

A great number of people have been debating what direction the Nixon Administration is going to take on the crucial issues affecting black Americans. It is impossible at this time to know precisely what he will do, but if one were to judge by his past record and his statements during the campaign, one could only come to a dismal conclusion.

However, this is by no means a sure-fire way to make judgments. Harry Truman's record on civil rights in the Senate was abysmal, yet he developed as President and with the urging of A. Philip Randolph, he became the first President to outlaw discrimination in the armed forces. LBJ also had a poor Senate record, yet as President he pressed for many measures, such as Medicare and the War on Poverty, which had a very real effect on bringing greater democracy and equality to black people.

What we must now watch most closely are the revisions that President Nixon will make in the budget which LBJ will have laid before Congress. These revisions will reveal his priorities, and will, in fact, determine the direction he intends to take. If, for example, he cuts the War on Poverty or goes through with his campaign pledge to increase unemployment as a means of reducing inflation, then we should be pessimistic about his intentions and future actions. If, on the other hand, he increases funds for the War on Poverty and presses for public works programs that will reduce unemployment, then we shall know that it is his intention to move in a creative direction.

If one takes as a barometer his current appointments, there is much reason to be disheartened about what the future holds in store for black people. He put no Negroes in his Cabinet, and those Cabinet members he did appoint are, to say the least, undistinguished. This is equally true of some of the assistants and Under Secretaries he has appointed.

One example is J. Phil Campbell Jr., the 50-year-old Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture whom Mr. Nixon has chosen to be Under Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. Campbell is not only a colorless, but a very dangerous, choice. He will be in charge of the food stamp program, home loans,loa to farmers, and in particular, programs to aid the hungry. These are measures of tremendous importance to Negroes for whom Mr. Campbell has shown little concern in the past. He is a Maddox man who walked out of the Democratic National Convention when it was decided that the delegation led by Julian Boand would have half of the Georgia votes. On September 18th, 1968 he resigned from the Democratic Party which had become too liberal and pro-Negro to suit his tastes. And his appointment was urged on Nixon by Republican Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina who resigned from the Democratic Party for similar reasons. To put a man like Campbell in charge of programs which so grievously affect black Americans is a very bad sign which bodes ill for the future.

---Finally, Nixon's proposals embody a persistent call for self-reliance and a scathing critic of welfarism, apathy, and dependence. Obviously self-reliance is a virtue and apathy a vice,but these terms have also become conservative rallying cries for anti-Negro feeling. And when Nixon warns of "our dangerous decline into welfarism," let it not be mistaken that he is proposing to mobilize conservative opposition to government programs that are vitally needed by the poor of our nation.

At the same time that Nixon was making these "progressive" proposals, he strongly rebuked the House of Representatives for appropriating $1.1 billion beyond his budget request for education. He noted the need to halt inflation, but his real impulse was to halt government spending. He is still the conservative he always was, and his primary concern is to appeal to the rising conservative sentiment in America in the hope of building a long-term Republican majority. If he succeeds, it will be the black and the poor who will suffer.

Bayard Rustin

(Editor's note: The column this week, not written by Rustin, is a portion of an article on Eldridge Cleaver that was distributed by the A. Philip Randolph Foundation which Rustin heads.)

Until two or three years ago, not many people knew who Eldridge Cleaver was. Almost the only people who had heard of him were those who read Ramparts, where some of his writings had been published, or those in touch with the radical literati, black and white, who had known for some time about this uncut literary diamond, this "talented black nationalist cat writing some really beautiful stuff out of a jail in California." Time and tide and politics and the mass media have all taken care of that. Today Cleaver is nationally known as the author of "Soul on Ice," a widely read book of essays, as Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party in Oakland, as a defendant in an upcoming trial for parole violation (which may make him, like his colleague, Huey Newton, a cause celebre among black nationalists and New Left radicals), as candidate for President on the Peace and Freedom party ticket, and as a literary idol of the black nationalists. His face shows up frequently on national television, his statements are widely reported in the press, he is important enough to have inspired the distaste and opposition of Governor Ronald Reagan, and Maxwell Geismar has called him "one of the new distinctive literary voices."

All of this, for Cleaver and the rest of us, is a long way from 1954-when James Baldwin was still serving a hard apprenticeship in Paris, when mainstream American politics had nothing more radical to fear than perhaps the liberal Democrats (the Old Left having ceased to constitute a serious threat), when Presidential candidates were, by and large, as American as cherry pie, and when the civil-rights movement was still considered the last best hope of black Americans. As Cleaver reports in the opening paragraph of his book, 1954 was also where everything began for him: "Nineteen fifty-four, when I was eighteen years old, is held to be a crucial turning point in the history of the Afro-American-for the USA as a whole-the year segregation was outlawed by the US Supreme Court. It was also a crucial year for me because on June 18, 1954, I began serving a sentence in state prison for possession of marijuana." In saying that, it may not be Cleaver's intention to point to any irony between the course of the Afro-American struggle since the school desegregation decision and the course of his own life since he entered prison. Yet given what became of both in the twelve years between 1954 and 1966, we are entitled to see a kind of irony here.

But before moving on to that, let's hear his second paragraph: "The Supreme Court decision was only one month old when I entered prison, and I do not believe that I had even the vaguest idea of its importance or historical significance. But later, the acrimonious controversy ignited by the end of the separate-but-equal doctrine was to have a profound effect on me. This controversy awakened me to my position in America and I began to form a concept of what it meant to be black in white America."

This awakening turned him away from America with "horror, disgust, and outrage." His politics began when he joined a group of black prisoners who were in such total rebellion that they cursed everything American, including baseball and hot dogs. He read Tom Paine and he became an atheist. He read economics and then Rousseau and Voltaire "to add a little polish" to his growning iconoclasm. From Marx, he learned of the injustices of capitalism. Lenin, he says, led him toward socialism, and he took Bakunin and Nechayev's Catechism of the Revolutionist for a bible, incorporating its principles into his everyday life, and employing "tactics of ruthlessness in my dealings with everyone with whom I came into contact." He had in the meantime discovered within himself a powerful love-hate obsession with white women, and when he was released on parole he began "consciously, deliberately, willfully, methodically" to rape them. "Rape," he says, "was an insurrectionary act. It delighted me that I was defying and trampling upon the white man's law, upon his system of values, and that I was defiling his women."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For Immediate Release
February 13, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

SEPARATE IS NOT EQUAL

by Bayard Rustin

There is a great irony in the demands now being made by black college students for separate black studies departments, for in essence these students are seeking to impose upon themselves the very conditions of separatism and inequality against which black Americans have struggled since the era of Reconstruction.

The argument can of course be made that separate need not be unequal. But black people have heard this argument before--from Southern racists justifying Jim Crow and from Northern bigots rationalizing de facto segregation. They have heard it long enough to know that "separate but equal" shall always be a form of exploitation and degradation. And it shall continue to be such, whether it is demanded by whites out of malicious intent, or by blacks out of the poignant need, born of fear and insecurity, to withdraw from competition with the larger society.

For if we are to face the truth, however painful this may be,we must recognize that black people have been brutalized in the past by inferior segregated education and economic deprivation to the point where they have been put at a disadvantage with whites. Consequently, when they are placed in a difficult competitive situation, such as obtains at predominantly white universitites, their immediate impulse is to retreat into themselves and establish a black curriculum with separate--and lower--standards by which their performance shall be judged.

There are 3 great dangers here.

— First, if history and present circumstances are any indicators, as I think they are, separate black programs will be poorly financed, under-staffed and generally neglected.

Second, rather than demanding a separate (and inferior) program of study, black students should be insisting on the best education that is possible to compensate for their brutalization in the past. They should be demanding access to the best professors, smaller classes, extra work during summer sessions, and more scholarships for other black students. And third, they must have these things because after graduation they will have to engage in free and open competition for jobs in a market place where standards are universal, and black people must get the best jobs available if they are to substantially increase their economic and social power.

In this regard, I reserve my most severe criticism for those white students and faculty members who are aiding and abetting the separatist demands of black students, and for those frightened administrators who do not have the courage to reject these demands. They are not only telling young Negroes what is not true in real life--that a minority can influence social change through violent confrontationism--but they are urging these blacks to do something which they themselves, discontented though they may be, don't have the courage to do--which is to make a head-on attack on our social institutions. And while these whites enjoy their revolution by proxy, they are studying for the degrees that will give them soft jobs in universities and beautiful homes in the suburbs. It is only the blacks who will suffer.

So that I will not be misunderstood, I want to emphasize that I am wholeheartedly in support of black studies. The history of the Negro in America is an extraordinarily significant area of study for all Americans which has been mostly neglected or distorted in the past. It is a history that is both magnificent and tragic, and one can only become wiser from studying it. In this regard, I fully commend the proposal of the Harvard faculty committee to offer a degree in Afro-American Studies that will be open to all students.

What I fear is that black studies shall be made a pretext for separatism, in which case it will become a means of escaping from reality, not of discovering it. And if this comes to pass, I think that a great injustice will have been committed against black Americans.

# # # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
March 13, 1969

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

LEST WE FORGET...

by Bayard Rustin

April 4, 1969 will mark the first anniversary of the slaying of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I can think of no better way to observe that Good Friday than to reflect on the meaning of Dr. King's life and his death, and to rededicate ourselves to the continuation of his work.

Dr. King's philosphy and life's work were guided by his adherence to the three great principles of non-violence, democracy, and integration. These principles gave him spiritual courage as well as political direction in the battles of Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma and throughout the struggle to integrate public accomodations and abolish Jim Crow. And they also led him to the great insight which was symbolized by the new direction he was moving in at the time of his death. For we must never forget that Dr. King died in a labor struggle. He died in the midst of an effort to organize the Memphis sanitation workers and to win for them union regognition and collective bargaining rights.

Dr. King's essential insight was that the civil rights struggle had moved beyond the need to desegregate public accomodations and into a period in which the requirements for racial equality were fundamentally economic. He understood that mere access to hotels and lunch counters was not sufficient if black people did not have the money to spend there. And he saw that Negroes would not be free as long as they were brutalized by poverty. He therefore turned his attention to the necessity for getting billions of dollars from Congress for employment programs, decent housing, and better schools. And he also joined the struggle to organize the unorganized so that the working poor of Memphis and elsewhere might look forward to a life of dignity and opportunity.

Today the sanitation workers union that Dr. King died trying to build has 5,000 members. These workers have developed a sense of dignity out of their struggle to organize and out of their strength as a union. They have achieved higher salaries, job security, and more humane working conditions, and these advantages cannot now be taken away from them.

On April 4th, these sanitation workers and ministers from Memphis will be holding a great march in that city to honor the memory of Dr. King and to rededicate themselves to the ideals for which he lived and died. They are inviting people of good will from all over the country to join them in Memphis for the occasion. The marchers will assemble in the center of the ghetto and they will file silently past the Lorraine Motel where they will observe a wreath being placed on the balcony where Dr. King was killed. They will then march to the Memphis City Hall for a mass meeting.

For those of us who will be at the Memphis march and for those of us who will not, I think it is important that on Good Friday we all participate in this ceremony of rededication. The principles of violence, democracy, and integration are being challenged from many quarters by individuals who question their relevance to the Negro struggle and urge their abandonment for new emphases and a new approach. I can think of nothing more detrimental to the Negro cause or more in violation of the memory of Martin Luther King. For Dr. King was not only profoundly committed to the goal of equality but also to the principles governing the means by which it would be achieved. And he knew that if black people forsake these principles, they will ultimately destroy the possiblity for their liberation.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
March 27, 1969

Rustin Colum

PREJUDICE AND POVERTY UNDER NIXON

by Bayard Rustin

Prejudice and poverty, those two great evils which have historically afflicted black people in America, seem to be in for a period of resurgence under President Nixon. Like the magician who says "Now you see it, and now you don't," Mr. Nixon makes rhetorical displays of friendship to Negroes in his public addresses, but in the serious business of day-to-day politics, he is embarking upon a course which may be disastrous for impoverished black Americans.

These developments should come as no great surprise, as much of Mr. Nixon's support in the last election came from Southern conservatives and business executives--two groups whose interests hardly coincide with the needs of the Negro. And the actions taken today by the Nixon Administration are largely a response to pressure from those quarters.

It was, for example, pressure from Strom Thurmond, the segregationist senator from South Carolina, that had much to do with the decision by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Robert H. Finch to ease the enforcement of school desegregation guidelines in five Southern districts. During his campaign, Mr. Nixon assured Southerners that he was opposed to "arbitrary" standards of racial balance, and Mr. Finch seems to be acting upon that assurance.

Senator Thurmond's influence was again instrumental in the decision by Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard to award $14 million in Defense contracts to three Southern textile firms--Dan River Mills, Burlington Industries, and J. P. Stevens--that have been charged with discrimination against Negroes in employment. Mr. Packard did not require that the firms make a written commitment in advance not to engage in discriminatory practices, even though one is required by federal regulations. In terms of what Negroes can expect from the Nixon Administration, Mr. Packard's decision is as important in the area of employment as is Secretary Finch's in the area of education.

As if these matters were not enough cause for alarm among black people, we now have the further decision by Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe to scrap the prequalification procedure set up by President Johnson to assure that highway construction companies receiving federal contracts do not engage in discriminatory hiring practices. Here again the Nixon Administration is appealing to the interests of the rich--in this case powerful highway contractors--at the expense of the grievous needs of the poor.

Relaxing desegregation guidelines and ignoring anti-bias regulations will not only harm black people, but they indicate quite precisely in which direction Mr. Nixon is moving during the crucial early months of his administration. But there is a more subtle and complicated set of circumstances presently developing which will brutalize poor Negroes--and poor white people--even more than the publicized actions of Finch, Packard, and Volpe. I am referring to Mr. Nixon's expressed desire to curb inflation in response to pressure from business leaders who fear that an inflationary economy will cut into their profits.

The economics of the situation is complex, but it is enough here to note that if Mr. Nixon decides to curb inflation by increasing unemployment and reducing federal expenditures, the results will be tragic for black people. It will mean that a 1% increase in unemployment will put one million more people out of work, many of whom will be young and black. Economic experts are predicting this to happen within the next year. It will also mean that we cannot expect the Federal Government to commit the resources that are needed to rebuild our cities, employ all of our citizens, and educate all of our children.

Mr. Nixon may speak of giving black people "a piece of the action," but the reality is otherwise. The action is coming from the South and from the rich, and I fear that there may be hard times ahead for those desperately in need of social Justice.

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 10, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

TOM MBOYA'S MESSAGE

by Bayard Rustin

Many people who read of the unfortunate confrontation which occurred on March 22nd following Tom Mboya's speech at the Countee Cullen Library in Harlem were deeply confused. They had difficulty understanding why black Americans who are struggling for freedom in this country would verbally attack a revolutionary African leader who urged them to continue their struggle and not to abandon it by returning to Africa.

One must remember that of the overflow crowd that came to hear Mr. Mboya, not more than a dozen people were involved in verbal abuse and that the great majority did not appear to disagree with his position. This fairly well represents the ratio of Negroes in the United States who would sympathize or take issue with Mr. Mboya's views. Yet it is important to understand the dynamic that is involved here since it bears heavily upon the relationship of all black Americans to their native soil--which is America.

The vast majority of black people profoundly desire social change in this country. They have a vision of freedom and equality which has not been destroyed despite centuries of suffering and daily indignities. But there have been setbacks in the struggle for justice, and our society has not made the vast investment in resources required if black people are to have a full life ~~in this~~

~~in this country.~~ As a result, a small percentage of Negroes have lost faith in the American system. They argue that since equality is impossible within the larger society, one should opt out and establish separate institutions, and that one should be prepared ultimately to leave this country and return to Africa.

I believe this to be a form of frustration politics that is far removed from reality. Africa has become for these Negroes a last hope. But as such it is also an escape from present circumstance--indeed, it is an illusion. And when a respected African leader essentially sticks a pin in that illusion, they are besides themselves with rage, for he has forced upon them the shock of recognition that they are Americans, that their identities have been forged in bitterness and suffering on this soil, and that they have no alternative but to seek their freedom here and now.

I think Mr. Mboya is to be congratulated for his forthright political analysis, for it may be only in this way that those Negroes who look toward Africa for the solution to their problems can be brought to their senses. He has rightfully directed their attention to the economic, social, and political problems in the United states. And while he recognizes the great influence that the creative protest of American Negroes has had in Africa, as well as the tremendous effect the African Independence Movement has had on the morale and self-image of black people in this country, he has understood that Africa and America are separate nations, and that Negroes, though drawn toward one by ancient heritage, are the citizens of the other by birth-right and experience. And we cannot deny that citizenship or abandon the struggle for dignity and equality without doing untold damage to our identity as black men and as human beings.

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
April 24, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

NO MORE GUNS

Black people have known violence in America. They have know the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils. They have seen the white mobs in Mississippi and in Cicero, Illinois. They have understood that violence is synonomous with oppression and destruction. And, therefore, the use of guns on the Cornell University campus by a group of black students should come as a great shock--and a great sorrow--to all black Americans struggling for freedom and social justice.

Those black students who paraded so arrogantly with their guns will not bring progress to the black community or reform to the universities by imitating the tactics of the Klan. Nothing creative can emerge from their mindless use of force. Rifle. will not enhance their education; nor will bullets enlighten their minds. And guns will not provide them with the knowledge and skills they need to help uplift their black brothers who are still suffering in the ghetto.

Those black students were not interested in reforming the university. Otherwise they would not have acted in such a way as to destroy the university.

The fundamental cause for their actions lies not in the failure of the university to provide them with the means of obtaining an adequate education. I say this in full knowledge of the tremendous changes which must be made in policy and and curriculum if universities are to meet the profound needs of black students--and white students--in our urban and technological society. And I should add in this regard that Cornell was far ahead of most universities in responding to this challenge.

These students acted as they did because they are under severe psychological stress. They have entered a predominantly white university from predominantly black high schools. In those high schools they were brutalized by inferior segregated education. Therefore, they now not only find themselves in an alien social environment, but they are being asked to perform academically at a level for which they were not prepared. On top of this, they are undergoing a difficult quest for a black identity which is being aggrevated by feelings of guilt at having deserted the ghetto.

Caught in a strange and pressured environment and deprived of the psychological security they had in the ghetto, their impulse is to withdraw from the challenges of the university and establish a separate world for themselves. Once a situation of racial separatism has been established, racial hostility becomes inevitable. Mutual misunderstanding, rhetoric, and fear predominate. A psychology of warfare developes, guns are procured, and the university is transformed into an armed camp.

The black students at Cornell only displayed their arms. They used them to intimidate the administration. But built into the situation is the logic of escalation. Violence threatened with bravado will become violence used with viciousness, and the main victims will not be the administration but the black students--and the university.

I, therefore, find those guilt-ridden and nihilistic white students who encouraged them in this madness to be equally as culpable. So too is the indecisive and flaccid administration which has abdicated its authority to insure that reason prevails in our institutions of higher learning. Cheap accommodationism will only bring greater violence in the future.

Moreover, by their irresponsible actions, these black students have strenghened the reactionary forces in the society which will obstruct any progress for black Americans. The fear in the white community which produced George Wallace has also been the source of resistance to programs to rebuild our cities, educate our youth, and employ all of our adults. These students have increased that fear and have thus further obstructed efforts for real social progress. They have not done a service to their black brothers in the ghetto.

Finally, the central and most profound difficulty was well articulated by Dr. Kenneth Clark who perceived in the confrontation tactics of these students "the destruction of the institutions and the total rejection of the rational and democratic process as a basis for redress of grievances." It is thus not only the university which is being threatened by these students, but all of our democratic institutions. And if democracy is destroyed and violence prevails, those who will suffer most will be black Americans. This has been true in the past, and it remains true today. We must repudiate such violence if we are to achieve our liberation.

****

The Rustin Column

(By Bayard Rustin)

Marcus Garvey, just as today he has opposed the movement for black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject W.E.B. Dubois' concept of "the talented tenth," has today guided his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalism. Ane he has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

MET OPPOSITION

His efforts met strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers who were striking for just demands.

Mr. Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves, and he embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today Mr. Randolph is an AFL—CIO Vice-President and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and ardous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE

The consequences of this victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and their dedication, and it is not surprising that E.D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today Mr. Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood.

His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

VICTORY

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became increasingly distressed about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the defense industries. To correct this injustice, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere.

Before long, local March on Washington committees had sprung up across the country, and as the March began to assume larger and larger proportions, the pressure on President Franklin Roosevelt mounted. On June 20 1941, less that two weeks before the scheduled date of the March the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the wa industries and setting up the Fai Employment Practice Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes

In 1948, Mr. Randolp travelled to Washington to spea with President Truma concerning segregation an discrimination in the arme forces. Mr. Randolph's influence and authority were such tha another Executive Order wa soon issued to comply with h demands.

It is a testament both to h achievement, and to the wo which has to be done, that th armed forces are today the mo integrated public institution i America.

CONCEIVED '63 MARCH

Mr. Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

He conceived and directed the great March on Washington of 1963 which brought a quarter of a million black and white Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

And today, on the eve of his 80th birthday, he is the president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which is carrying on the struggle to achieve economic, social and political freedom for Negro Americans.

Mr. Randolph stands out among his fellow Americans as a great and distinguished leader who has maintained a deep faith in the little man and in the capacity for mass direct action to achieve just ends.

He has been both a thinker and activist, as well as a man of enormous dignity and dedication. For those of us who have been his followers for many years, as well as for new activists who are joining the civil rights struggle, he remains an inspiration.

In his eightieth year, A. Philip Randolph continues to point the way to justice, freedom and equality for black Americans.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Wednesday,
April 30th, 1969

For further information, contact: Bayard Rustin
533-8000

--Bayard Rustin, the Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, today released a column to the Negro press in which he criticized the use of guns by Negro students on the Cornell University campus.

"Nothing creative can emerge from their mindless use of force," Mr. Rustin wrote. "Rifles will not enhance their education; nor will bullets enlighten their minds. And guns will not provide them with the knowledge and skills they need to help uplift their black brothers who are still suffering in the ghetto."

Mr. Rustin expressed the urgent need for university reform as well as the importance of programs in black studies, yet he added that the black students who carried guns "were not interested in reforming the university. Otherwise they would not have acted in such a way as to destroy the university."

The central cause for the use of violence on campus, Mr. Rustin noted, is that black students are "under severe psychological stress." They find themselves in an alien social and academic environment, and "they are undergoing a difficult quest for a black identity which is being agravated by feelings of guilt at having deserted the ghetto."

Rather than confront the challenges of the university, Mr. Rustin said that their impulse is to withdraw and "establish a separate world for themselves." The inevitable result of separatism is hostility and the escalation of violence, Mr. Rustin said. "Violence threatened with bravado will become violence used with viciousness, and the main victims will not be the administration but the black students--and the university."

Mr. Rustin also had strong words of criticism for the "guilt-ridden and nihilistic white students" who have encouraged the black students, as well as for the "indecisive the flaccid administration" which has capitulated to them. "Cheap accommodationism," he said, "will only bring greater violence in the future."

He added that the actions of the black students are calculated to increase the fear in the white community which has obstructed efforts for real social progress. "They have not done a service to their black brothers in the ghetto," he said.

Mr. Rustin expressed support of Dr. Kenneth Clark who earlier in the week had criticized the black students for rejecting "the rational and democratic process as the basis for redress of grievances."

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
May 8, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

CHARLESTON--"A NATIONAL TEST OF CONSCIENCE"

by Bayard Rustin

On May 6th, at the 80th Birthday Celebration for A. Philip Randolph, Mrs. Coretta Scott King made an appeal for the striking hospital workers of Charleston, S.C. She called the strike "a national test of conscience," and urged everybody to support it in whatever way they could.

Only a little over a year ago, Mrs. King's husband was murdered in the midst of a very similar strike. Like the Memphis sanitation workers, the black hospital workers of Charleston are asking for--and being denied--fundamental human rights. They are being paid $1.30 an hour, $.30 below the national minimum wage which itself is inadequate. "$1.30 is not a wage," Mrs. King said, "it's an insult." It is also far below the pay received by white workers who perform identical services. The strikers are asking for higher wages, but more urgently they are demanding recognition of their union, local 1199B of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees.

Rather than grant them this fundamental right which should be guaranteed to all Americans, Governor Robert E. McNair and the hospital trustees have decided to use repressive force to crush the strike. An unconstitutional court order has limited the number of pickets at the struck hospitals to 10, spaced 20 yards apart. Scabs have been brought in to replace the 500 workers on strike. A state of emergency has been declared and the city has been transformed into an armed camp. Over 600 arrests have been made. There have already been instances of violence.

It is clear that it takes more than the death of a great man to make some people see the need for social justice. Does not Governor McNair see that the obstinacy of Mayor Henry Loeb in Memphis a year ago produced only violence, Dr. King's death, and ultimately riots in over 100 cities? Does not President Nixon, who ignored the strike when he passed through Charleston a week ago on his way to the Kentucky Derby, realize that he cannot possible hope to bring America together if he shuts his eyes to the plight of the poor and the exploited? Must these men see blood in the streets before they are moved to grant human beings what is theirs by right of citizenship?

But there is no need for total despair. On the contrary, the alliance that has been forged in Charleston between the civil rights movement and the labor movement is powerful enough to hold out and win. This alliance has been victorious in the past. In her speech Mrs. King recalled the events of ten years ago in New York when 3,500 black and Puerto Rican hospital workers, who were earning as little as $32 a week, successfully struck for higher wages and union recognition. Dr. King called that strike "a struggle for union and human rights." The same struggle was carried on last year in Memphis, and it is continuing today in Charleston.

I think it is appropriate that Mrs. King made her appeal for the workers of Charleston at a dinner honoring A. Philip Randolph who, she noted, was largely responsible for the success of the New York strike a decade ago, and whose entire life has been devoted to the liberation of black people through the establishment of a Negro-labor alliance. Mr. Randolph's remarks at the dinner are a fitting tribute to the hospital workers of Charleston. "Like a mountain stream that grows in size and momentum as it rushes downward," he said," the struggle of the Negro masses for social and economic equality has become irrepressible. From Memphis, Tennessee to Charleston, South Carolina, they cannot now be satisfied with anything less than total liberation." I think it would be well for the Governor of South Carolina and the President of the United States to hedd the words of Mrs. King and Mr. Randolph and act swiftly so that violence can be avoided and social justice be made a reality.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
May 22, 1969

Rustin Column

THE MEANING OF TAX INJUSTICE

The protests against certain aspects of our tax system, which have been growing louder in recent months, are the result of clear and blatant injustices against lower income groups. Various "loopholes" enable the rich to avoid paying taxes, while the burden of financing government activities falls mainly on those--both black and white-- whose income derives from wages and salaries. It is not too great an over-simplification of the effects of our tax laws to say that "the rich get richer while the poor pay taxes."

Some very simple statistics underline the injustices involved According to the latest report by the U.S. Treasury, 134 Americans with incomes of over $200,000 paid no federal income taxes at all. At the same time, 2¼ million Americans, with incomes below the government's official poverty level of $3,000, paid $100 million in income taxes.

There is also tax injustice for those who are neither very wealthy nor very poor for, in general, the rate of taxation increases as income falls. Those earning between $3,000 and $5,000 a year pay about 33% of their income in taxes. The average tax load of those earning over $15,000 a year is only 28% of their income. A person who earns $5,000 a year is thus likely to pay a higher percentage of his income in taxes than someone who earns $50,000 a year. How is this possible?

First, there is the "capital gains" loophole by which the government loses more than $6 billion dollars a year in tax revenues. It applies only to profits made from the sale of stock or property, and it is obviously only the rich who have such things to sell. In 1960, out of 61 million tax returns that were filed, only 4 million listed any capital gains, and the top 8/10 of one percent of those 4 million received 33% of all capital gains.

Then there is the "oil depletion allowance" which enables rich oil men to pay no taxes on 27.5% of their total oil income. This loophole costs the U.S. Treasury about $2 billion a year. In addition, Senator Edward Kennedy has recently pointed out that oil import controls cost Americans between $4 billion and $7 billion a year.

Numerous other escape hatches for the rich include tax exempt state and local bonds, stock options, and preferential taxation of corporate dividends which together cost the government about $2 billion a year. Add to this accelerated depreciation on real estate, the un-taxed funds that now go into foundations, abuses in the area of "business expense accounts" and losses due to "hobby farming" by the rich, and the spinning off by big corporations of smaller subsidiaries for tax gains, and you have some very good reasons why there have been protests against tax injustice.

Tax injustice exploits the lower income groups in two ways. First, it deprives the government of money that might be used to lighten the tax burden that is presently borne by the lower and lower-middle classes. The AFL-CIO has made proposals that would increase the minimum standard deduction from $200 to $600 and reduce the tax rate on the first two income brackets. People can support these proposals by writing letters to their Congressman and Senators.

Second, tax injustice deprives the government of funds that might be used for programs to rebuild our cities, educate our children, and employ our adults. A. Philip Randolph's "Freedom Budget for All Americans" would cost $18.5 billion dollars a year. That is expensive, but let us remember that all the tax loopholes together cost the government over twice that amount yearly--$40 billion to be exact.

No group in American is in a better position to benefit from Tax Justice than black people, so many of whom are poor or salaried. Fundamental reform of our tax laws is, therefore, an absolute prerequisite for social and economic justice in America.

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
June 5, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

DR. CLARK'S STAND

On May 15, 1969, Dr. Kenneth Clark resigned from the Board of Directors of Antioch College. He accused the college of supporting in its Afro-American Institute "a racially organized and exclusionary" educational program. Dr. Clark's letter of resignation is a document which all should read. It is a tribute to his courage, and clear-thinking in this period of confusion, confrontation, and separatism. I quote from his letter:

"I continue to believe, that racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation are damaging to the human personality without regard to the racial rationalizations or excuses offered in support of such practices.

"There is absolutely no evidence to support the contention that the inherent damage to human beings of primitive exclusion on the basis of race is any less damaging when demanded or enforced by the previous victims than when imposed by the dominant group. There is absolutely no valid basis by which educational institutions can or should make any distinctions on the basis of race or color. Some argue that blacks and whites must be separated because they represent different cultures and that cultures, like oil and water, cannot mix. Segregationists have argued so for generations against integrated transportation, drinking fountains, integrated schools, and intermarriage - maintaining that mixture would lead to mongrelization of the races. Such racial distinctions are arbitrary, dangerously ignorant, and cruel. They are destructive and inimical to all of the goals of serious education.

"To exclude someone of one race - or to admit that it would be appropriate to do so - on the grounds that his background or experience are irrelevant, that they render him unable to achieve is precisely what white segregationists have been doing to blacks for centuries. Yet this seems to be the burden of rationalization at Antioch for a black separatist policy. Yet, it is whites who need a black studies program most of all.

"The white liberal for his part who concedes black separatism so hastily and benevolently must look to his own reasons, not the least of them perhaps an exquisite relief. To encourage or endorse a separate black program not academically equivalent to the college curriculum generally, indeed to endorse any such program, is to reinforce the Negro's inability to compete with whites for the real power of the real world. It is no excuse to justify the deed by citing the demand.

"The history of the Civil Rights movement, the pattern of evasion since the Brown decision 15 years ago prepared me/for this HEW type of logic and evasion of the fundamental moral and legal implications of this problem. What I am not prepared to accept is continued association with and educational institution which is an accessory, if not an instigator of this type of game-playing with the lives of human beings and with the life and stability of the society.

"I believe that above all under times of tension, stress, and pressures to conform to the shouting demands of the populace, colleges must have the courage to stand firmly for the rule of reason and for those principles and values considered indispensable to serious education. I do not believe that Antioch, in acceding to the demands for a separate facility for its Negro students, has showed this type of courage. I do not believe that Antioch, in permitting some of the more hostile Negro students to coerce and intimidate other Negroes and whites by quashing vocal dissent, has showed the courage necessary to maintain that type of academic climate which permits man that freedom of inquiry, freedom of thought, and freedom of dissent which are essential to the life of the intellect.

"Colleges and universities must be the custodians of the rational and intellectual approach to the study and eventual solution of difficult and complex human problems. To succumb to any form of dogmatism, to institutionalize the irrational is to fail in fulfilling this important obligation."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
June 19, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

FEAR, DEMAGOGUES, AND REACTION

by Bayard Rustin

We have reached a point in the political development of America that can legitimately be called an emergency. Our country is in trouble, very severe trouble, and those who are most profoundly threatened by this unhappy situation are black Americans.

Within recent weeks we have seen a conservative appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. We have seen two integrationist candidates for the school board of Denver, Colorado go down to a resounding defeat. We have seen an obsure police chief from Minneapolis run away with the mayoralty election on a platform of nothing more than "Law and Order." In Los Angeles we have witnessed the defeat of a talented and idealistic Negro candidate for mayor and the victory of an incompetent and unprincipled demagogue. And now in New York City we have seen both the Republican and the Democratic Parties nominate right-wing candidates for mayor. As these developments have come in the wake of a Republican presidential victory and the racist Wallace movement--the size of which was unprecedented--we can understand the gravity of the present situation, and we must recognize the necessity to change the course of our common political destiny.

There are many reasons for this reaction that is victimizing all people concerned with social justice, but the fundamental reason lies in the dynamic of fear.

There exists today a dangerous relationship between the extreme Left and the extreme Right, and between black rage and white fear. The confrontationist tactics of the one evinces a reactionary response from the other. When the pseudo-revolutionaries of the New Left manhandle professors, occupy buildings, and destroy property, the Right wins new adherents. When sincere but misdirected young black people engage in violence in the name of justice, they are strengthening those very forces which in the past have inflicted violence and injustice upon the Negro community. Such acts of protest may be cathartic, they may appear to be bold and militant, but let us be very clear--their primary effect is politically reactionary.

These acts have set loose a wave of panic in this country. And there are opportunistic right-wing demagogues who understand the nature of that panic and are building their political futures upon it. These demagogues don't believe in meeting the urgent needs of the black community for income and education. Indeed, social justice would threaten the very base of fear upon which they stand, for it would remove the cause of social unrest. Their program is the billy club and their staunchest ally the police arm of the state. They believe in repression.

The lessons of the past month should be clear. An assault upon our democratic institutions will not reform those institutions but destroy them. Violence will lead to more violence, not to social justice. And the fundamental tragedy is that the absence of justice will provoke more people to engage in violent acts. We must find a way out of this vicious cycle.

The needs of the black community for adequate jobs, housing, and education can be met only by developing a political strategy that will attract a majority of Americans to a program for social change. There are whites who are unemployed and white workers whose real income is steadily decreasing as the cost of living rises. Both these groups share with blacks the desire for increased and upgraded employment opportunities. Let us build a movement with them. There are whites living in substandard housing and paying exorbitant rents. Their children attend schools that are over-crowded and under-staffed. They share with blacks the desire for massively funded programs in housing and education. Let us build a movement with them too. And there are those more affluent whites of liberal persuasion who sincerely desire social justice. They too should be our allies.

These are positive points around which a political majority can be built. Such a strategy is the only means by which black people will achieve social and economic equality within the context of contemporary American society. This strategy demands the repudiation of racial separatism which can only isolate Negroes. It also demands the rejection of extremism and violence which increase fear and heighten animosities between groups that might otherwise be united.

Black people are enraged because there are social injustices which provoke rage. But if that rage is not expresed politically, if it is not devoted towards achieving constructive goals, then it will be self-defeating and ultimately self-destructive. Let us be enraged about injustice, but let us not be destroyed by it. Let us act now with forcefulness but restraint, with militancy but wisdom, in the hope of liberating ourselves from rage and injustice, and our white brothers from the fear which now enslaves them.

articles

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 28, 1969

To Escape Cycle Of Violence:

Blacks Urged to Channel Rage Into Positive Political Strategy

The author of the following article, Bayard Rustin, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a prominent civil rights leader.

By Bayard Rustin

WE HAVE REACHED a point in the political development of America that can legitimately be called an emergency. Our country is in trouble, very severe trouble, and those who are most profoundly threatened by this unhappy situation are black Americans.

Within recent weeks we have seen a conservative appointed a Chief Justice of the United States. We have seen two integrationist candidates for the school board of Denver, Colo., go down to a resounding defeat. We have seen an obscure police chief from Minneapolis run away with the mayoralty election on a platform of nothing more than "law and order." In Los Angeles we have witnessed the defeat of a talented and idealistic Negro candidate for mayor and the victory of an incompetent and unprincipled demagogue. And now in New York City we have seen both the Republican and the Democratic Parties nominate right-wing candidates for mayor.

As these developments have come in the wake of a Republican presidential victory and the racist Wallace movement—the size of which was unprecedented—we can understand the gravity of the present situation, and we must recognize the necessity to change the course of our common political destiny.

There are many reasons for this reaction that is victimizing all people concerned with social justice, but the fundamental reason lies in the dynamic of fear.

There exists today a dangerous relationship between the extreme Left and the extreme Right, and between black rage and white fear. The confrontationist tactics of the one evoke a reactionary response from the other. When the pseudo-revolutionaries of the New Left manhandle professors, occupy buildings, and destroy property, the Right wins new adherents. When sincere but misdirected young black people engage in violence in the name of justice, they are strengthening those very forces which in the past have inflicted violence and injustice upon the Negro community. Such acts of protest may be cathartic, they may appear to be bold and militant, but let us be very clear—their primary effect is politically reactionary.

These acts have set loose a wave of panic in this country. And there are opportunistic right-wing demagogues who understand the nature of that panic and are building their political futures upon it. These demagogues don't believe in meeting the urgent needs of the black community for income and education. Indeed, social justice would threaten the very base of fear upon which they stand, for it would remove the cause of social unrest. Their program is the billy club and their staunchest ally the police arm of the state. They believe in repression.

The lessons of the past month should be clear. An assault upon our democratic institutions will not reform those institutions but destroy them. Violence will lead to more violence, not to social justice. And the fundamental tragedy is that the absence of justice will provoke more people to engage in violent acts. We must find a way out of this vicious cycle.

The needs of the black community for adequate jobs, housing, and education can be met only by developing a political strategy that will attract a majority of Americans to a program for social change.

There are whites who are unemployed and white workers whose real income is steadily decreasing as the cost of living rises. Both these groups share with blacks the desire for increased and upgraded employment opportunities. Let us build a movement with them. There are whites living in substandard housing and paying exorbitant rents. Their children attend schools that are over-crowded and under-staffed. They share with blacks the desire for massively funded programs in housing and education. Let us build a movement with them, too. And there are those more affluent whites of liberal persuasion who sincerely desire social justice. They too should be our allies.

THESE ARE POSITIVE points around which a political majority can be built. Such a strategy is the only means by which black people will achieve social and economic equality within the context of contemporary American society.

This strategy demands the repudiation of racial separatism which can only isolate Negroes. It also demands the rejection of extremism and violence which increase fear and heighten animosities between groups that might otherwise be united.

Black people are enraged because there are social injustices which provoke rage. But if that rage is not expressed politically, if it is not devoted towards achieving constructive goals, then it will be self-defeating and ultimately self-destructive. Let us be enraged about injustice, but let us not be destroyed by it. Let us act now with forcefulness but restraint, with militancy but wisdom, in the hope of liberating ourselves from rage and injustice, and our white brothers from the fear which now enslaves them.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
July 3, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Colu

EXTEND THE 1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT!

by Bayard Rustin

President Nixon's proposal to revise the 1965 Voting Rights Law is a thinly-veiled attempt to pay off Strom Thurmond and other Southerners for their assistance during the last election campaign. In presenting these revisions to a House Judiciary subcommittee, Attorney General John N. Mitchell couched them in deceptively progressive rhetoric. But the reality is that the Nixon proposal represents a threat to the Negro's right to vote.

Three aspects of the Nixon proposal have particularly ominous implications. First, it would make nationwide the ban on literacy tests which presently applies to seven Southern states. The purpose here is not simply to remove the regional stigma of the 1965 Act, but also to dilute Federal enforcement of the Act in the South. Second, the proposal would undermine the procedures that have been set up to protect Negro voting rights in the South. Under the present Act, Southern states must first clear any changes they want to make in their election laws with the U. S. Attorney General or a Federal Court in the District of Columbia to insure that the changes are not discriminatory against blacks. Under the Nixon plan such clearing procedures would be scrapped, and it would be the obligation of the Justice Department to track down any discriminatory voting law changes and initiate suits against them. The capacity of Southern legislatures for devising intricate election laws with well-concealed prejudicial regulations (such as requiring presently elected officials to be appointed) would make the task of the Justice department formidable if not hopeless.

The third danger, potentially the most severe, is that Congressional bickering over these revisions might create a logjam that would jeopardize the passage of any legislation at all. The present Act expires on August 6, 1970, but if it is not renewed by the Fall of this year, we shall most likely lose the Voting Rights Act.

The significance of the Voting Rights Act to the black struggle has been such that failure to extend the Act would represent a major tragedy. In 1965, at the time the Act was passed, there were 72 black elected officials in the South. Today there are 461. 800,000 Negroes have been registered under the Act. In Mississippi alone registration has increased nearly tenfold from 28,500 to 260,000. Between 1964 and 1968, voter participation of eligible Negroes increased from 44% to 51%. Men like Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi and Howard Lee of Chapel Hill, North Carolina have been successful in their campaigns for mayor precisely because of the new Negro voting strength in their respective cities.

But, of course, these gains represent only a beginning, the first step on the road to political equality. Such equality cannot be achieved without the power to vote which is the citizen's most fundamental right and from which all other rights derive. This point was emphasized recently by former Chief Justice Earl Warren when he said that the most important rulings during his 16 years on the Supreme Court were those that provided for one man-one vote reapportionment.

The right to vote is also the Negro's most potent weapon during the present political period. For upon the right to vote depends the future of political reallignment in this country. Without this basic right there can be no coalition of progressive groups which have as their prime objectives the transformation of our social institutions and the achievement of political and economic equality. Without the right to vote, in other words, the black struggle cannot become a political force that is capable of joining hands with other forces in common cause for social justice.

# # # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
July, 17, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Colum

TOM MBOYA--IN MEMORIAM

by Bayard Rustin

With Tom Mboya's death, black people throughout the world have lost yet another spokesman for social justice. The Kenyans who are now in mourning for Mboya can well understand the profound grief experienced by Negro Americans last year when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated.

There is a bitter irony in the deaths of these two great leaders. They were both peaceful men who died by violence, and their assassinations brought about events that violated the principles to which they had dedicated their lives. Martin Luther King preached non-violence, yet his death was followed by rioting in over a hundred cities. Tom Mboya had struggled to build a unified nation, and now in Kenya there is the threat of tribal warfare between the Luos and Kikuyus.

The significance of Mboya's nationalist struggle is often misunderstood by Americans who are not familiar with African problem of tribalism. Within the national boundaries of Kenya (and other African states) live different tribes. While these tribes are of the same race, they are often as hostile towards each other as are Negroes and whites in America. Mboya understood the harmful effects of tribalism, for he saw European colonialists exploit tribal conflicts in order to weaken the Kenyan struggle for national independence. And after independence, he knew that Kenya could not successfully undertake the difficult process of development and nation-building if

653

all her energies were consumed by efforts to keep tribal peace.

Mboya, therefore, was an integrationist for reasons of national strength and survival. He had also dedicated himself to building unity between African nations for a similar reason--that inter-national cooperation and collective strength were in the interest of all black people on the African continent.

Mboya was capable of perceiving a fundamental distinction which is missed by all to many people. He understood that the unique identity of a people is not violated by their inclusion within a larger entity. Which is to say, that one can be a member of a tribe as well as a nation, that one can be both a Luo and a Kenyan, a Negro and an American, a member of a particular race and a member of the human community. And even more profoundly, he saw that the creative realization of one's particular identity cannot take place in isolation from the larger community.

It was Mboya's perception of this harmonious distinction which brought him into conflict with some American black nationalists who saw race as the only valid basis for self-realization, and who thought, therefore, that they could easily divest themselves of their American identity and become African. Mboya favored and actively encouraged dialogue between Africans and American Negroes, but he was firmly of the position that each had a struggle to wage in his own homeland, and that the race of the Negro, like the tribe of the African, must not be permitted to stand in the way of his nationality. In this regard, I think it is of the utmost significance that Mboya's final published words were directed towards American Negroes and as such, were part of his life-long effort to communicate with those whom he called his American "cousins." I quote from last essay:

Freedom for both Africans and black Americans is not an act of withdrawal, but a major step in asserting the rights of black people and their place as equals among nations and peoples of the world. Freedom involves the full realization of our identities and potential. It is in this sense that the objective of the African must be the development of his nation and the preservation of his heritage. And the objective of the black American must be the achievement of full and unqualified equality within American society. The black American should look to Africa for guidance--and for a chance to give guidance--but not for escape. He must merge his blackness with his citizenship as an American, and the result will be dignity and liberation.

Black people in Africa and America have survived slavery, colonialism and imperialism. Today we can survive change. We have been oppressed as a people, and have been divided to the point of taking roots in different cultures. But as we struggle to achieve our full liberation, these differences should become less important. If and when we are all free and equal men, perhaps even those racial distinctions that now divide our societies and that separate one nation from the other will disappear in the face of our common humanity.

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: ~~Immediately~~ July 31, 1969 For further information, contact: ~~Rustin~~ Column

THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1970 SENATE ELECTIONS

by Bayard Rustin

1970 will not be an easy year for liberal Senators who have supported progressive legislation. Those coming up for re-election face a difficult challenge, and their success or failure will determine for years to come the character of the Senate as well as the possibilities for further progress toward social justice.

The problem is only in part the result of a strong conservative movement in the country which in the last three years has produced numerous victories for right-wing and Republic candidates, including, of course, the most important victory of all--the Presidency of the United States. It also results from the fact that in 1970 more than half of the liberals in the Senate will be up for re-election. Today the Democrats hold a 57-43 advantage in the upper chamber, but 25 of the 34 seats to be contested in 1970 are presently Democratic. They were won during the liberal surge of 1964 when the policital picture was quite different than it is today. The loss of just a handful of these seats will enable conservatives of both parties to organize a commanding and long-term majority in the Senate. A slightly larger loss will enable the Republicans to control the Senate for the first time since 1954. A major defeat would leave the Democrats weaker than they have been at any time since the conservative days of the 1920's.

Among the liberals up for re-election are men like Philip Hart of Michigan, Harrison Williams of New Jersey, and Ralph Yarbourough of Texas. These Senators and other like them have made substantial contributions to the causes of civil rights, civil liberties, and economic equality. While they stand for a just society based upon legal process and social order, they have refused to exploit the wave of fear that has been set in motion by left and right-wing extremists. For this reason their re-election is both an imperative *and* an uncertainty.

The difficulties faced by these liberals of running during a conservative period and without the benefit of the coattails of the 1964 Johnson candidacy are exascerbated by the traditional drop-off in voter turnout during an off-year election. It is estimated that three-quarters of the 16% drop-off represent Democratic voters. It is therefore essential that liberals, trade unionists, and Negroes begin to undertake massive voter education and registration campaigns so that the turnout in 1970 is as large as possible.

The consequence of 1968 has been the Democratic loss of the Executive branch of the Federal Government, and because of the President's power of court appointments, Democrats are also losing control over the Judicial branch. It is necessary, therefore, that the Democrats retain control over Congress if the conservative trend in the country is to be halted and its effects minimized. It is significant, in this regard, that the great progress made by Negroes and working people in the 1960's coincided with the Democratic control of Congress. If Republicans are permitted to gain ascendancy there as well, we can expect a halt in *any* progress towards social justice. Such an unhappy situation can only increase the frustration and rage of the poor and intensify the fear of those only a few steps removed from poverty. This polarization would be disastrous for all who desire a more democratic and equal society, and we must politically organize ourselves now to prevent it.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
August 14, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

NIXON'S PROPOSALS:

FANCY RHETORIC, HOLLOW RING

The proposals President Nixon has presented for welfare reform, revenue sharing with the states, and manpower training have been welcomed in some liberal quarters. Their enthusiasm, however, is less a testament to substantive reforms that Nixon has proposed than to his skill in making very little appear to be a great deal.

It is true that Nixon has established for the first time a Federal commitment to maintain national standards for welfare payments, thereby setting a precedent for the possible future elimination of the inequities which presently exist between some states. But he has done this on a tragically minimal financial basis, and the ultimate effect should be self-defeating.

Let's take a look at some of the specific reforms he has proposed and their dangerous implications.

---The White House plan guarantees families on welfare $1600 of Federal funds every year. This is less than half of the government-set poverty standard of $3300 which, in turn, is about one-third of what a family of four ~~needs~~ to maintain a "moderate standard of living." The minimum national standard for the aged, blind, or disabled would be $780 a year. There is no provision at all made for single persons or for couples without children.

---If the head of a family on welfare is employed, that family's total income can rise to $3920 a year, just slightly above the welfare payments which that same family would receive today in New York City. But more significantly, Nixon talks about the need to work without providing the opportunity to work. He proposes 150,000 "new training slots," hardly enough to satisfy the needs of one major city, and he has taken no steps whatsoever to create new jobs. His manpower training proposal is simply an administrative reshuffle.

---This raises practical, not to speak of moral and constitutional, questions about the stipulation that the poor, to be eligible for relief, be required to accept "suitable" jobs or training. This would not only be impossible to administer, but it raises the specter of a new system of forced labor for the poor and the black. I can see how industry, particularly in the South, can benefit from the creation of pools of cheap black labor. But such a system will exploit the workers on welfare and depress the wages of those presently employed. The disabled and mothers with pre-school children would be exempt from the work requirement, but what about mothers with young school children who must maintain a household and provide a decent home environment? Will they be forced to accept low-paying, degrading jobs that will take them away from their families and consume all of their time and energy?

---Ultimately the most ominous aspect of the Nixon proposals is what he has called "The New Federalism." This entails turning over Federal tax revenues to the states who will determine their use, and letting the states administer the job-training and welfare programs. Nixon has couched "The New Federalism" in all sorts of high-sounding rhetoric, but in reality it is nothing more than a trumped-up version of the tradional conservative call for states rights. And let us remember that states rights has always, and will always, mean "taking things away from the niggers."

---It has been frequently pointed out that Nixon is proposing to increase the meager welfare allotments presently given by Southern states. This is all to the good, except that the hard-pressed cities in the North will be short-changed, to say the least. More fundamentally, this bonanza for the South is entirely consistent with Nixon's famed "Southern strategy" which earned him the warm friendship of Strom Thurmond and which is guiding his opposition to Negro voting rights and to school integration.

---Finally, Nixon's proposals embody a persistent call for self-reliance and a scathing critic of welfarism, apathy, and dependenc Obviously self-reliance is a virtue and apathy a vice, but these terms have also become conservative rallying cries for anti-Negro feeling. And when Nixon warns of "our dangerous decline into welfarism," let it not be mistaken that he is proposing to mobiliz conservative opposition to government programs that are vitally needed by the poor of our nation.

At the same time that Nixon was making these "progressive" proposals, he strongly rebuked the House of Representatives for appropriating $1.1 billion beyond his budget request for education He noted the need to halt inflation, but his real impulse was to halt government spending. He is still the conservative he always was, and his primary concern is to appeal to the rising conservative sentiment in America in the hope of building a long-term Republican majority. If he succeds, it will be the black and the poor who will suffer.

++++++++++++++++++

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
~~August 28, 1969~~

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

1969 or 1896?

BY Bayard Rustin

The nomination of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., to the Supreme Court indicates President Nixon's intention to restore the doctrine of "separate but equal" to the courts and to the life of this nation. In one of the low points in our country's history, the Supreme Court sanctioned "separate but equal" in 1896 in the Plessy v. Ferguson decision. The Court struck down this doctrine in the famous Brown decision of 1954, and in the process it helped initiate a period of great social change. By nominating Haynsworth, currently the Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, Nixon has expressed his desire to halt that change and turn back the clock three quarters of a century. At the same time, he would like to recreate the Supreme Court of the 1920s whose conservatism on civil rights was equaled only by its hostility to labor unions.

Haynsworth's record on civil rights explains the enthusiasm with which Senators Eastland and Thurmond reacted to his nomination. In 1963 he supported Virginia's policy of massive resistance to the 1954 Supreme Court decision by refusing to shift to Federal courts a suit by Negro parents demanding the re-opening of schools in Prince Edward County. The schools had been closed by white parents to block integration. In the New Kent County, Virginia case in 1967, he upheld the "freedom of choice" plan even though the plan has been used by Southern school districts to stall the process of desegregation. The Supreme Court subsequently reversed Haynsworth's views in both of these decisions, as well as in two other decisions involving school integration. He also supported a transfer plan used by white parents in Charlottesville, Va., to remove their children from schools undergoing desegregation.

In a 1963 case involving the receipt of Federal funds by a hospital in Greensboro, N.C., Haynsworth dissented from the majority which ruled that the hospital could not exclude Negroes. Haynsworth's long and involuted argument denying the applicability of the 14th Amendment could not disguise his clear and consistent intent to uphold the constitutionality of Jim Crow.

If Haynsworth's Southern origins have influenced his views on civil rights, his involvement early in his career in business corporations has helped shape his anti-labor views. He has supported management in labor disputes as consistently as he has sided with segregationist school boards against Negro parents. Twice he sided with Southern textile mill owners in cases involving collective bargaining rights for workers, and both times he was over-ruled by the Supreme Court. In one of these cases, Haynsworth cast the deciding vote in a decision invalidating claims of unfair labor practices made by the National Labor Relations Board against the Darlington Manufacturing Company. The NLRB contended that the company had closed a plant to avoid a union election and had failed to provide any compensation for the workers left unemployed.

It has since been revealed that at the time of this decision, Haynsworth held stock in Carolina-Vend-A-Matic which did business with the parent corporation of the Darlington textile firm. Since a conflict of interest caused Justice Fortas to step down from the Court, it is entirely improper that his place should now be filled by a man guilty of a similar indiscretion.

It is possible that Haynsworth shall not fill the Fortas chair if sufficient opposition can be aroused. The civil rights and the labor movements are now fully united to prevent his confirmation by the Senate, and it is absolutely essential that citizens support these efforts. This can be done by each person writing to the two senators from his state urging that they vote against the appointment of Haynsworth. In fact, a telegram might even be in order, for the issues at stake are the direction of the Supreme Court, the welfare of Negroes and workers, and in a very real sense, the future of this nation.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

Immediately
September 10, 1969

Rustin Columr

For Release:

For further information, contact:

THE ROBIN HOOD OF THE RULING CLASS

By Bayard Rustin

The Nixon Administration's decision to call for a delay on school integration in Mississippi clearly indicated that the President is responding to pressures from Southern segregationists. And now the tax bill which he has submitted to Congress suggests that he is giving in to pressure from another quarter--from the corporations and from the very wealthiest individuals in America. The only people, it seems, upon whom Nixon has turned his back are Negroes of all classes and salaried workers of every race.

The American system of taxation is extraordinarily complex. Corporations and men of great wealth hire lawyers who have been specially trained in the intricate ways of finding tax loopholes for their clients. Needless to say, salaried people can't afford to hire such lawyers, and even if they could, they would be unable to take advantage of the loopholes that are designed to benefit only the rich. Yet all the while these people, who earn more than the poverty level of $3500 a year but less than the $9500 it costs to maintain a moderate standard of living, are forced to bear the heaviest burden of taxation.

The tax reform bill passed by the House of Representatives in August was an attempt to remedy some of these inequities. But now President Nixon has presented his own bill to Congress which seeks to undo most of the positive aspects of the House proposals.

Nixon's bill is a classic example of taking from the poor to give to the rich. He is the Robin Hood of the ruling class. The major benefit Nixon is offering the rich is a 2% reduction in the corporate tax rate. This would save the corporations $1.7 billion a year. He is also proposing to make the top tax rate on earned income 50%, something which would benefit only the moneyed individuals in the highest tax brackets. In addition, he is asking the Senate to leave almost intact two other sources of bounty for the rich which were attacked by the House bill--capital gains loopholes and interest earned from the purchase of state and local bonds.

Nixon hopes to compensate for the revenue lost through such tax relief for the rich by reducing the tax relief for the poor. He has asked the Senate to add $2.5 billion to the House-proposed tax burden for individuals and families in the low and middle income brackets. Taxpayers earning less than $11,000 but more than the poverty standard, for example, would be deprived of benefits from the "low-income allowance." The Administration also proposed a smaller increase in the standard deduction, a step which would save the government over $600 million. In addition, the tax relief for single persons would be reduced by about one-third.

The significance of Nixon's tax bill at a time when the nation is experiencing a tax revolt by low and middle income groups should not be missed. Nixon's proposals, if accepted, would increase the economic frustrations of working class America which feed backlash sentiment. The problem is that much of the hostility resulting from these frustrations will not be directed at the wealthy, but remote, interests which put the pressure on Nixon, but at Federal programs for the poor, and by extension, at the poor themselves. The fact that many of these poor happen also to be black can only feed the flames of racial hostility. Racial polarization helped Nixon become President, and on its persistence his power depends. And while the poor and the almost poor take out their frustrations against each other, Nixon and his allies can rest in comfort, for the grievous social ills of this nation do not reach as far as Wall Street, nor has the cry of the ghetto been heard in the inner chambers of the White House.

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 25, 1969

For further information, contact: ~~Rustin Column~~

THE VIOLENCE OF PREJUDICE

by Bayard Rustin

American colleges and universities are beginning the 1969-70 school year with a degree of caution, and this is understandable since there was more violence on the campus last year than at any time in this country's history. If it is true that one must experience difficulties in order to learn something from them, then all of the parties involved in the recent unprecedented activities should have learned a great deal and may now avoid repeating the errors of the past.

Unfortunately, however, there are some who have learned very little. A case in point is the situation that is currently developing at the City College of New York. Last Spring CCNY was the scene of some of the worst campus violence in the nation. In the midst of the conflict Dr. Buell G. Gallagher resigned as President and Dr. Joseph J. Copeland took over as acting president. Dr. Copeland, who was trained as a biologist and not as an administrator, never showed signs that he fully understood the complex political issues confronting him. Prior to the opening of the present school year, he gave further evidence that he still does not understand them.

In an interview with a campus newspaper, Dr. Copeland in referring to Dr. Wilfred Cartey, a black professor of English, said, "He's too goddam shiftless--and you can use that word in your story there--shiftless." I do not know Dr. Cartey personally, nor am I familiar with the issues which caused the acting president's displeasure, but it is clear that Dr. Copeland was unwise in his choice of words. "Shiftless," when it is applied to Negroes, is part of the vocabulary of American racism. It is a word that is drawn historically from the period of slavery and psychologically from the dark back-corners of the mind where the humanity of individuals is denied. It is a word so pregnant with racial overtones that it is hard to believe that Dr. Copeland used it unthinkingly. Yet if, indeed, he had not considered his remark, this is all the more indicative of the depth and pervasiveness of his unconscious prejudices.

This incident reveals two problems, one of them political, the other moral. The political problem is that we will have no peace on campus until we have administrators who can act with intelligence and integrity under trying circumstances. Dr. Copeland acted without intelligence, and his unfortunate remark may very well provoke another confrontation at CCNY this year. And there are other university administrators, who call themselves liberals, whose actions have been guided by guilt and fear rather than integrity, and who have consequently encouraged violence by refusing to take a firm stand against it. Campus violence will be inevitable as long as there are university administrators who do not understand the political prerequisites for campus peace.

The moral problem is far more profound and troubling, for Dr. Copeland's remark underscores the persistence of racial prejudice in America. It is possible that such attitudes are changing. Certainly the reaction of young people to the remark (which as little as five year ago might have passed virtually unnoticed by white students)reveals that these attitudes are changing. Yet substantial white prejudice remains as a form of spiritual violence committed against Negroes which is at least as destructive, as immoral, and ultimately as much in violation of human dignity as the physical violence which it might provoke.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
October 9, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

NATURE, NURTURE, OR NONSENSE?

By Bayard Rustin

What is intelligence? How is it produced? And how can it be measured? These are questions of special interest to social scientists whose job it is to try to provide us with precise, quantifiable answers, and they are also of general interest to all those who are curious about the nature of human development. Historically the debate has been between those who believe that the most important factor determining an individual's intelligence is his natural, genetic endowment. The opposing side has emphasized the supreme importance of such environmental factors as social class, family rearing, and the quality of schooling.

This nature-nurture debate is no doubt intellectually stimulating, and social scientists will continue to publish studies defending one side or the other. But there are times when the debate takes on an ugly racial character. One race is claimed to be inherently superior (Hitler's Aryans is one such example) or another is "proven" to be inherently inferior. I do not think it at all coincidental that in America such theories tend to appear during periods of intense racial conflict. Around the turn of the century, when the legal structure of segregation was being solidified in the South, numerous "studies" appeared, such as Robert W. Shufeldt's THE NEGRO, A MENACE TO AMERICA CIVILIZATION, which rationalized popular racist attitudes. Today, when the consciousness of racial distinctions is unusually intense and there is growing racial antagonism in the society, the question is once again being debated of whether Negroes are inherently inferior to whites.

The focus of the debate is a study which appeared in the HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW almost a year ago. It was written by Arthur Jensen and it purported to prove, on the basis of IQ test scores, that intelligence and the ability to reason abstractly are overwhelmingly determined by genetic factors, and that blacks have less intelligence than whites. The study has aroused a furor, and justifiably so, for its conclusion violates the faith shared by men of good will in the potential for a democratic, racially equal society;and worse, it provides more grist for the bigot's mill. But what seems essential at the present time is less indignant emotion and more critical thought.

In discussing the Jensen report we must clearly distinguish between its intellectual legitimacy and its political effect. If he is correct, we must accept his conclusions regardless of whether we like them or not. But I do not think that he is correct. Jensen's study is based on IQ test scores, not on genetic data, and nobody has ever proven that IQ measures intelligence. (One person has sarcastically written that it measures only IQ.) It is true that IQ measures the ability of a child to take an IQ test, but this ability depends upon the successful learning of certain psychological processes. (One can hardly expect an infant to take an IQ test.) Jensen merely assumes that all American children have an equal opportunity to learn these processes, but this assumption fails to take into consideration the terribly unequal environmental conditions under which children--particularly black and white children--are reared in America. IQ does, to a degree, accurately predict achievement in school, but this may well be more on indication that children are treated according to their IQ and produce only what is expected of them than that their achievement is gentically determined.

The psychologist Benjamin Bloom has responded to Jensen by pointing out that under the equal conditions of an Israeli Kibbutz Jewish children of European origin, who normally have an IQ of 105, have a tested IQ of 115, while Jewish children of Oriental (Mid-eastern)origin, who normally have an IQ of 85, have also been tested at 115. Jensen did not consider this kind of data, but based most of his conclusions on studies with identical twins who have common genes and fairly similar IQ scores when they are raised in different families. But even one-sixth of the identical twins reared apart differ as much in IQ--15 points--as blacks and whites. This difference is entirely due to environment since their genes are the same, and I do not think it is too much to assume that the radically unequal conditions under which blacks and whites live might produce a similar difference in IQ.

Christopher Jencks, a social scientist, has recently argued persuasively in THE NEW REPUBLIC that Jensen did not substantiate his claim that the IQ differences between blacks and whites are genetically determined. Jencks concludes from this that "Jensen's decision to reopen this ancient controversy without first gathering more evidence strikes me as a serious political blunder." Indeed it is, for whatever Jensen's intent was in writing his report (and I doubt that it was racist) its effect has been to profoundly offend black people and to provide bigoted white people with a new argument with which to defend their racist beliefs and actions.

My own feeling is that the Jensen study is irrelevant and that we should dismiss it entirely. It is irrelevant because it tells us nothing we can believe and it contributes nothing to our struggle for social equality. Rather than quibble over a study which suggests the permanence of inequality, we must work to change those social and economic conditions which determined the nature of Jensen's conclusions. If we can change these conditions, we can make life livable for black people in America, and though we would not have intended it, we would have provided social scientists with new data with which to refute the theory of inherent racial inequality.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
November 4, 1969 *Rustin Column*

AN ATTACK ON THE BLACK VOTE

One provision of the tax reform bill now before the Senate threatens to cripple the effectiveness of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The provision, which would deprive private foundations of the right to fund non-partisan voter registration campaigns, is a deliberate attack upon the black voter and, as such, upon the whole democratic process. This provision is motivated by ill-concealed racism and must be defeated if the majority of black Americans are not to lose their faith that social change can come about nonviolently and democratically.

For a number of reasons that are both hostorical and sociological, the right to vote for Negroes is not meaningful without voter registration drives. It is understandable that people who have been oppressed by Jim Crow and literacy tests for a hundred years do not swarm to the polls the moment they have been granted the right to vote. Some may respond with apathy or incomprehension. Others may not vote for fear of reprisals from hostile whites who want to turn the clock back to the nineteenth century. Moreover, poor people in general are heavily under-registered, and millions of black people, particularly in the South, have not yet escaped from poverty.

For these reasons the right to vote must be complemented by registration campaigns, if all eligible black Americans are to participate in our democratic system. Yet it is now conceivable that the Congress of the United States, which is bound by oath to uphold the Constitution of this land, will pass a law that vio-

lates the spirit of that document by disenfranchsing millions of people.

The organization that is most drastically threatened by the tax bill is the Voter Education Project (VEP) of the Southern Regional Council. Largely through the efforts of the VEP, the number of registered black voters in eleven Southern states more than doubled between 1962 and 1968, rising from 1.48 million to 3.11 million. By 1968 62% of the eligible black voters were registered, a considerable figure in relation to the past, but also an indication of what remains to be done. Increased black registration has changed the political structure of the South. In 1965 when the Voting Rights Act was passed there were 78 black elected officials in the eleven Southern states. By 1969 that figure had jumped to 473.

The black vote has not only increased in numbers in recent years, but also in sophistication. It is becoming the crucial swing vote in many elections, in the North as well as in the South. The anti-Negro forces in this country are aware of the growing significance of this vote and do not want to see it expand any further. Their primary objective is to make certain that the almost five million black Americans of voting age who are still unregistered will remain unregistered.

It is a bitter commentary on the state of our nation that there are people of great power who want to deny the Negro the right to vote only four years after he had been granted it. If these people have their way black Americans will become disillusioned with the democratic process, and those amongst us who have called for a nonviolent political solution to the racial crisis will no longer speak with a convincing voice. The provision in the tax bill which bans foundation funding of registration campaigns must be defeated, and we should all immediately write to our Senators urging them to vote against it.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For further information, contact:

For Release:

Immediately
November 6, 1969

Rustin Column

THE CONSTITUTION IS UPHELD

"All deliberate speed for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissable. Under explicit holdings of this Court, the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once." With these words the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously ruled against any further delays in carrying out the 1954 school integration order. In doing so, the Court repudiated the Nixon Administration which, according to Senator Strom Thurmond, "stood with the South in this case." and of equal importance, it vindicated the Constitution of this land.

Jack Greenberg, the head of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP and the counsel for the Negro plaintiffs from Mississippi, pointed out in his argument that an entire generation of children in the Deep South had gone all the way through school since the Supreme Court declared "separate but equal" education unconstitutional fifteen years ago. Through extended litigation, "freedom of choice" plans, and outright "massive resistance," most Southern officials gave clear proof that they understood "all deliberate speed" to mean not orderly transition but rigid intransigence. The Court's admirable firmness in ordering the immediate abolition of dual systems was underscored by its refusal to permit any further judicial delays by Souther officials: in the future, all appeals in these cases must come after, not before, desegregation is an established fact.

Certainly the Supreme Court decision is a much-deserved embarrassment to President Nixon whose behavior in this area has been unspeakable. A former aide of Mississippi Senator Stennis charged that the government requested a desegregation delay in 33 Mississippi school districts in order to secure the Senator's vote for the Nixon ABM program. Nixon defended the action on September 26th when he said that there are "two extreme groups, those who want instant integration and those who want segregation forever." Accordingly, therefore, the Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice whom Nixon himself appointed, must be considered "extreme." Jerris Leonard, the chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, said last September that "if the Court were to order instant integration, nothing would change." Leonard, however, saw fit to argue against such an order, and in doing so he found himself paired with Mississippi segregationist John C. Satterfield. This is the first time the Justice Department has sided with the segregationists since the 1954 Brown decision. Finally, when we consider that in its recent decision the Court called the failure to comply with the 1954 ruling "the denial of fundamental rights to many thousands of school children," we can understand more fully the terrible implications of the Haynsworth nomination. For it is precisely this man who has time and again upheld the constitutionality of delaying tactics while presiding as Chief Judge of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

No doubt the pace of school desegregation in the South will be quickened by the Supreme Court's decision, though it is also likely that many Southern whites will now move to establish segregated private schools, even though this would entail a great financial burden. The decision has also placed constitutional obstacles in the path of Nixon's Southern strategy and may force him to modify, though perhaps not abandon, some of the reactionary aspects of this policy. But most importantly, the decision heads off what in recent months has appeared to be a reversal of the entire desegregation process, however gradual this process may have been. In this sense, the Supreme Court has given

Americans renewed faith that the ultimate arbiter of justice is not an Administration with political obligations to certain interests, but the Constitution which respects the rights of all people, regardless of race.

++++++++++++++++:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
November 20, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

BOULWARISM
GENERAL ELECTRIC'S MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCT

by Bayard Rustin

Thirteen unions and 150,000 workers are now on strike against General Electric. If these workers were striking to achieve benefits only for themselves--benefits that are rightfully theirs and long overdue--their struggle would be worth supporting. But the issues in this strike go far beyond the contract that must be negotiated, far beyond even the welfare of the workers and their families. At stake in the G. E. strike is the security of every worker in America, black or white, and the future of the collective bargaining process.

The striking unions have taken on a formidable opponent in G. E. which in the past has used sophisticated anti-union techniques to considerable advantage. By offering benefits to some workers and not to others, by holding separate talks with individual unions, often with each local within a union, and by establishing a national teletype network informing G.E. central headquarters of each union's every move, thereby enabling the company to plan a coordinated counter-strategy, G.E. has kept its opposition weak and divided. But today, unlike in the past, the unions are united (they even have their own teletype network) and have established a coordinated bargaining committee.

Having achieved union solidarity, they must now confront another obstacle--G.E.'s policy of Boulwarism. Originated in 1947 by Lemuel Boulware, the director of employe relations for G. E., this policy is at once a challenge to the entire process of collective bargaining and an insult to the dignity of the workers. The company practicing Boulwarism plays the role of a benevolent dictator. The workers in this situation have no rights but only privileges granted from on high. The workers are "privileged" to accept The Offer made by the company whenever a contract must be signed. Indeed, they must accept The Offer for G.E. will never make another one. Its policy is "take it or leave it." It is ironic that G.E., which is one of the major propagandists for "free enterprise" (its propaganda is pure right-wing vintage) should engage in authoritarian and paternalistic practices which one usually associates with the Soviet Union.

By coincidence, on the very day the strike began, the U.S. Court of Appeals declared Boulwarism an unlawful bargaining practice in that it "amounts to a declaration on the part of the company that not only the union, but the process of collective bargaining itself may be dispensed with." Despite this decision, G.E. refuses to budge. Its intransigence remains a threat to its own employees and to workers in other industries where companies might practice their own brand of Boulwarism.

The G.E. strike is also significant for other workers in that it is a prelude to negotiations in the trucking, meatpacking rubber, and automobile industries. In all of these negotiations, the companies will be counting on the support of public opinion, and in appealing for this support, they will echo Mr. Nixon's plea to halt inflation, even at the risk of a recession which will lay off hundreds of thousands of workers.

G. E. has already made this appeal in advertisements in the national press which warn of "super-inflation" if they give an inch on the unions' wage demands. Since this issue will be with us for some time, let us take a look at what G.E. has done to control inflation. Its only contribution to the cause has been to pay its workers well under the going wage in other major industries. The buying power of G.E. workers has not increased since 1960. Yet at the same time G.E. leads all manufacturing companies in after-tax profits. In 1960 G.E. made 14.3% as against 9.2% for all manufacturing. In 1968 it was still ahead, 14.8% to 12.1%. Price-fixing is another aspect of G.E.'s "contribution" to the anti-inflation campaign. In 1961 a Federal court found G.E. guilty of bid-rigging and price-fixing and handed down penalties more severe than had ever been imposed upon a company in an anti-trust case.

The G.E. strike has posed the issues of justice and injustice with a rare clarity. When all of the company's fatuous rationalizations are set aside, we are faced with a simple conflict between workers demanding respect and a decent wage and a company responding with paternalism and greed. The workers need and deserve all the support they can get, both moral (public expressions of sympathy) and financial (boycotting G.E. products). For every American who sincerely desires social equality in this country, the goal of the moment must be a union victory at General Electric.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
December 18, 1969 *Rustin Column*

THE PANTHERS AND THE POLICE

For years and years black people in the South have been exposed to brutal and arbitrary violence committed by roving bands of white vigilantes. In the early 1960's white civil rights workers from Northern universities caught a first-hand glimpse of the Southern phenomenon of night-raids and terror, and some even lost their lives in the process. There is now considerable evidence that this brand of Southern violence has now moved to the North. The recent police raids against the Black Panthers in Chicago and Los Angeles,may not be identical to the night-raids south of the Mason-Dixon, just as the Panthers are not replicas of Southern Negroes, but the similarities are greater than the differences. The North now has its own version of Klan terror.

The behavior of the police in Chicago and Los Angeles is not only a moral outrage but also a social tragedy. They have substituted the force of arms for the authority of law. When men who are entrusted to enforce the law violate the law, when, in fact, they take the law into their own hands and act without regard to judicial and ethical constraints, then the legal basis upon which a democratic society rests is threatened and the continuance of social order becomes problematical. The sole dependence upon force to maintain order is an admission that law has lost its validity. At this point the only alternatives open to a society are totalitarianism or anarchy.

The evidence available at the present time casts serious doubt upon the police account of the events in Chicago. It is not very likely that the Panthers fired first, as the police claim, since there were no bullet holes anywhere near the police positions. At the same time there were thirty-six bullet holes in the walls near where Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark lay dead. Hampton, who was found on his bed with a shotgun blast in the skull, may have been killed in his sleep. THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE added to the horror of the incident by publishing an "exclusive" story justifying the policy version of the events and backing it up with pictures provided by the state attorney's office of Cook County. In one picture, what the newspaper described as bullet holes near the policy position upon closer examination turned out to be nail heads. Another photo showed a door riddled with bullets. The TRIBUNE said the bullets were fired by the Panthers, but it was subsequently learned that the door led into the bedroom where the police directed their fire. The subservience of the press to the police, like the arbitrary use of force to maintain order, is a threat to any democratic system.

One of the reasons the police have felt free to declare open season on the Panthers is that the policies and rhetoric of the latter have aroused little sympathy in the country. Certainly the outcray against the persecution of the Panthers would be far greater had they made any effort to appeal to a broad section of the American people. Martin Luther King advocated a policy of non-violence in word as well as in deed not only because he was a pacifist, but also because he understood that the historical and political situation in the United States is such that the rhetoric of violence can in itself become a trap for minorities. One must protest vigorously against what the police have done, and one should also support the right of black people to defend themselves, yet one cannot deny a fundamental political reality in American life: namely, that the ultimate destination of black people who resort to violence as a political weapon will be jail, exile, or death. This is not a question of objectives or of ideology. It is simply a question of strategy.

With the emotionalism of all parties so intense, it is essential that there be an objective nationwide investigation into all of the clashes between the Panthers and the police. A dispassionate inquiry is exactly what one cannot expect from the F.B.I. whose director, J. Edgar Hoover, has already called the Planters "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." An independent commission, therefore, has been established which is headed by Roy Wilkins and Arthur Goldbert and of which I am a member. The commission will impose a degree of sanity upon this explosive situation, and it will let the public know the facts. At the moment there is a great need for sanity and objectivity.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
December 31, 1969

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

DR. KING'S BIRTHDAY--A NATIONAL HOLIDAY

by Bayard Rustin

January 15th will be the anniversary of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. There are millions of black and white Americans who will observe Dr. King's birthday with the solemnity that is appropriate for such an important occasion. Many adults will not work, students will not attend classes, and children will stay home from school. Instead of engaging in their normal activities, they will attend meetings at which speakers will discuss the meaning of Dr. King's life and the heritage he has left us. As a result of their day's observance, these people should be wiser and more dedicated to building a just society.

It is not enough, however, that Dr. King's birthday be celebrated on such an informal basis. For a number of reasons it is essential that his birthday be made a national holiday and that it be observed by all Americans.

The most obvious reason for creating this holiday is to pay honor to Dr. King and to the principles for which he lived and died. As the leader of what has come to be called The Second American Revolution, Dr. King achieved a stature comparable to that of our Founding Fathers. More importantly, he remade the First American Revolution in its own best image. The principles of equality and liberty which were the stated goals of that revolution were marred by the inclusion of a clause in the Constitution that designated each Negro slave as three-fifths of a human being. Thus, the first revolution was incomplete, and it was almost two centuries before a movement arose demanding the realization of the American ideals. Dr. King led that movement and articulated its most profound desires. For this reason alone he deserves to be honored by the entire nation.

Yet there are other reasons. Our county is now experiencing its most serious crisis since the Civil War. At that time the root cause of the crisis involved the position of the Negro in American society, and the same is true today. Our nation is being torn apart over the issue of whether or not there shall be equality for black people. The greatness of Dr. King was not so much that he led the struggle for equality, but that he led it in such a way that America could survive the accompanying social conflict, and in fact become a greater nation in the process. He preached equality for black people yet his message also pointed a way to salvation for white people. He understood that only by means of nonviolent protest could black people achieve their demands while at the same time preserving the society into which they were demanding entrance He understood that integration did not mean a loss of identity for black people, but rather the recognition of their humanity by white people. He also believed that black people must recognize the humanity of whites, and his own life was a beautiful testament to the power of this belief.

If Dr. King's faith in the possibility of human reconciliation helped Americans to discover a way out of their racial dilemma, it also encouraged people all over the world to increase their efforts to end war, poverty, and human oppression. The Nobel Peace Prize, which he received in 1964, was a tribute to the international significance of the nonviolent struggle he waged here at home.

Finally, Dr. King's birthday should be made a national holiday because this would be a symbolic recognition by all Americans of the contribution of black people to American society. It would also signify to Negroes that the government and the people of the United States believe in what Dr. King stood for. At a time of severe racial division, when a growing number of black people no longer believe that they will ever find real freedom in America, the creation of a national holiday for Dr. King's birthday would be taken by Negroes to mean that equality is still possible in America, that Martin Luther King's dream can still become a reality. If Negroes lose this faith, it will not be their tragedy alone. It will be America's tragedy.

# # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
January 14, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

NO QUALITY WITHOUT QUANTITY

by Bayard Rustin

The latest sham to come out of Washington is the President's notion of "the quality of life." By this phrase, Mr. Nixon has described the need to attack the problem of air and water pollution. I do not mean to underestimate the importance of the problem of ecology. The growing size of our society and complexity of our technology has raised the question of whether life--both human and animal--can survive in an increasingly pollute environment. President Nixon is correct in bringing the attention of his office to this problem. But it is one thing to point out a problem and an entirely different thing to solve it, and there is considerable reason to believe that the President is not thinking seriously about solutions. There are, as always, political problems of the moment to worry about.

If the President were serious about preserving a clean environment, he would not have requested almost $600-million less than the $800-million appropriated by Congress to fight water pollution. And now that Congress has appropriated those funds, Mr. Nixon has devised a new plan (which involves issuing bonds on which the Federal Government would pay the principal) to avoid spending the money. Moreover, "The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969" which the President sent to Congress is a tale told to the nation signifying nothing. The Act proposes no appropriations for pollution control, nor does it even suggest a solution. It merely obligates the government to spend $1-million for a Council on Environmental Quality the sole purpose of which will be to recommend policies to the President.

The casual observer might be fooled into thinking that the President is actually doing something about pollution simply because he has expressed "concern" with the problem. But in point of fact, Mr. Nixon is doing something quite different. He is covering up for his failure to deal with any of the social and economic problems which afflict this nation. He talks about "the quality of life" while he witholds "the quantity of funds" needed to build housing for people, to employ and educate them, and to take care of their health needs.

"The quality of life" must be coupled with a second Nixon phrase if its true meaning is to be understood. That phrase is "fiscal responsibility," which means cutting funds for Model Cities, urban renewal, Federal construction projects, medical research and health care, and education. This policy can be seen most clearly in Mr. Nixon's threat to veto the $19.7-billion Congressional appropriations bill for education and welfare. What has really aroused the President's ire is the decision by Congress to appropriate $4.3-billion for education, which is over $1-billion more than he requested.

There may very well not be sufficient votes in Congress to override the President's proposed veto. If this is so, it will be a terrible blow for those who want to see some progress made on our serious domestic problems. It will certainly make the claim by Attorney General Mitchell, that Negroes secretly like the Nixon Administration but don't want to admit it, seem even more ludicrous than ever before. But a presidential veto might have another effect which would work against Mr. Nixon, for it will have made our national priorities a major issue in the 1970 Congressional elections. It is hard for a do-nothing president to survive at a time when social problems are worsening. It is even harder for him to survive without a friendly Congress. If Americans vote against Mr. Nixon's policies in 1970, this would be a harbinger of things to come in 1972.

# # # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
January 29, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Colum

TWO STEPS BACKWARD

by Bayard Rustin

Within a single week President Nixon has taken two major steps backward. His nomination to the Supreme Court of Judge G. Harrold Carswell, a man whose racial views are as questionable as his intellectual competence, was no less an insult to black Americans than to the reputation of the highest court in the nation. And his veto of the $19.7-billion education and anti-poverty appropriations bill was an act of disregard for the welfare of millions of Americans, black and white.

These acts are reprehensible and must be strongly condemned and opposed, yet they also reveal a subtle inconsistency in Nixon's political and economic strategy which ultimately may prove to be his undoing.

All the evidence in the Carswell case points to the guilt of the defendent. The now-famous 1948 speech which Carswell delivered during a campaign for the Georgia legislature is worth quoting at length because it is such an explicit statement of the views he held at that time: "I believe that segregation of the races is proper and the only practical and correct way of life in our states. I have always so believed, and I shall always so act. I shall be the last to submit to any attempt on the part of anyone to break down and to weaken this firmly established policy of our people....I yield to no man as a fellow candidate, or as a fellow citizen, in the firm, vigorous belief in the principles of white supremacy, and I shall always be so governed."

Now those are pretty strong words, and they were not the "thoughtless, juvenile expression of the moment," as Roy Wilkins has pointed out, "but the utterance of a mature man of twenty-eight." Even if Carswell has since repudiated such racist beliefs, he did so only after his nomination. The new disclosure that he took part in 1956 in the formation of a segregated private golf club in Tallahassee to prevent its desegregation as a municipal facility hardly lends credence to his new view that racism is "obnoxious." George Meany has rightly called the Carswell nomination "a slap in the face to the nation's Negro citizens."

Aside from Carswell's racial beliefs, he has shown no distinction in the legal profession, a fact which, in itself, should disqualify him from sitting on the Supreme Court. He has written no legal articles, and according to Fred P. Graham of The New York Times, the 25 or so opinions that Carswell showed to the Justice Department read like "plumbers' manuals."

All of the foregoing was learned about Carswell during the week following his nomination, yet the Justice Department claims it thoroughly investigated his record. Either it did a terrible job, or Nixon wanted a man of precisely Carswell's character and competence.

The second possibility would make the Carswell nomination consistent with Nixon's Southern strategy and his attempt to appeal to Middle America. Yet while such a blatant affront to Negroes might win him some support from racists and right-wingers, that other aspect of his policy, the appropriations veto and the budget cuts, might undermine his appeal to "the silent majority."

There is a contradiction inherent in Nixon's policies which should receive far more attention from his liberal opposition. It is the contradiction between Nixon's racial strategy and his economic policies. By appealing to the racial fears and hostilities of white people, he will no doubt win some followers, particularly in the South. Yet the great body of the constituency he wants to make part of a Republican majority stands to lose from the budget cuts. Middle America does not appreciate high interest rates and other economic policies which have increased unemployment, raised mortgage rates and reduced the amount of home building, and taken away vital funds from schools and hospitals that were already financially starved. We are on the verge of a recession which should make Middle America worry more about its economic interests than its racial fears. If this happens, Mr. Nixon may find his stay in the White House shorter than he had hoped.

* * * *

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
February 11, 1970

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

IN SUPPORT OF CURT FLOOD

Curt Flood, the all-star outfielder for the St. Louis Cardinals, has filed an important and controversial anti-trust suit against Organized Baseball. Flood's lawyer is Arthur J. Goldberg, a former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and former United States Ambassador to the United Nations. With the support of the Players' Association, numerous civil libertarians, and coutless baseball fans, Flood may win his case to become a free agent, and in the process he may modify the reserve clause which has made baseball players--unlike boxers, football players, and other athletes--the hired serfs of the baseball monopoly.

Over 80 years ago John Montgomery Ward, a star outfielder with the New York Giants, called the reserve clause a form of "slavery." The term is still appropriate. Flood was traded to the Philadelphia Phillies last October after twelve successful years with the Cardinals. The years of work he had put into his profession, his desire to remain in St. Louis, his well-being as an employee were all irrelevant beside the wish of some top management official to send him somewhere else. He was being treated, as Flood appropriately put it, "like a slave." Out of a sense of offended pride and violated rights, he is mounting a campaign which in the end may benefit not only himself, but all of his colleagues.

The reserve clause binds players to a particular team and gives the team the right to trade the players. This one-sided affair was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1922 and three times in the 1950's, but the picture is different today. Flood is the most prominent player ever to challenge the clause, he has the most prestigious legal counsel available, and his claim that baseball is an interstate business monopoly in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act has never been more to the point. Baseball's income from television now exceeds what is taken in at the local box-office by $10-million. In addition, the travelling and communication that are required to stage a baseball game cost over $1-million a year. Baseball is clearly an interstate enterprize.

And it is also a monopoly. Baseball players may be paid more than the average employee, but in many cases they have fewer rights. Flood is challenging not only the reserve clause, but also, among other things, the practice of permitting only beer produced by Anheuser Busch, Inc., of which the Cardinals are a subsidiary, to be sold in their park. The result of this practice, Flood claims, is that added revenue goes to the company at the expense of the ball club and the players.

All of the points of contention in Flood's suit may not, at first, seem relevant to baseball *as a sport*. But it is also an enterprize and a profession, and Flood, in addition to being a player, is an employee. His suit, therefore, represents an attempt to expand the rights of a specific group of employees who are now at the mercy of their employers.

It is also an attempt to reform an institution in which black athletes have acquired prestige and wealth and have become a source of pride for other Negroes. As such, Flood stands in the tradition of such black athletes as Jackie Robinson and Muhammad Ali who, in addition to achieving great status within their professions, took courageous stands on issues of human rights. For these reasons, Curt Flood deserves our support and respect.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
February 26, 1970

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE COMPROMISE OF 1970

by Bayard Rustin

During one tragic week in February, the nation turned its back upon its black citizens. It is, of course, still too early to assess the full significance of the events of that week, but it is possible that historians may someday compare them to the Compromise of 1876 when the principle of equality was sacrificed to the economic advantage of the wealthy and the racial fears of the bigoted.

Sixteen years after the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation and only several months after the Supreme Court ordered the abolition of dual school systems "at once," Congress accommodated to racism and conservatism. In the House a coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats secured the passage of two anti-integration amendments to the appropriations bill. And in the Senate these conservative forces, aided and abetted by some liberal Democrats, won their greatest victory--the passage of the Stennis amendment which may cripple all integration efforts in the South.

Why was this conservative field day in Congress permitted to take place? The Northern Republican-Southern Democrat coalition has always fought against progress in civil rights, yet it has never been as successful as during the third week in February. The reason it was were able to pick up two new allies--the President and a small yet decisive contingent of liberal Democrats.

President Nixon may not have been involved in the Congressional maneuvers to close the door on integration, yet he has been an active ally of the Southern racists ever since he entered office. Time and again he has tried to slow the pace of school desegregation, to reverse the progressive direction of the Supreme Court, and to water down the 1965 Voting Rights Act. This has all been part of his insidious strategy to win the Wallace vote in the South and to organize an electoral majority on the basis of hostility to Negroes. Nixon's role in the recent debacle in Congress was dramatically emphasized on the day before the passage of the Stennis Amendment when Leon E. Panetta resigned from the civil rights office of HEW, claiming that the White House was undermining the school desegregation efforts of his office. The Administration's crowning insult to Negroes was the appointment of Robert C. Mardian as executive director of Vice President Agnew's cabinet-level desegregation panel. Mardian is a former campaign worker for Barry Goldwater, a foot-dragger on desegregation, and one of Mr. Panetta's most bitter antagonists.

While Nixon's behavior has been reprehensible, it comes as no surprise, but this cannot be said for the liberal Democrats who supported the Stennis amendment. Does Senator Ribicoff, who has been an ally of the Negro in the past, really think that he has done a service to the Negro cause by confusing de facto and de jure segregation, opposing the former in such a way that he makes it impossible for the government to attack the latter. Do not he and Senators Mansfield, Gore, and Yarborough (who also voted for the Stennis Amendment) realize that de jure segregation is segregation sanctioned by government and subject, therefore, to legal redress, while de facto segregation is the result of economic factors and residential patterns which can be altered only with major social programs, and that to confuse the two is to play into the hands of Southern segregationists? Do they not see that by requiring the government to do what it cannot do in the absence of an economic program, they are directing its attention away from what it can do now, namely, to abolish dual school systems in the South. The political intelligence of these men seems to have become the victim of their guilty consciences, all to the detriment of the Southern black.

But perhaps guilt is not the only emotion which is motivating these and other liberals today. For the past four years, a major ideological shift has been taking place in the liberal community which can best be described as an accommodation to localism of every kind, particularly racial separatism. Many liberals have come out against a stronger integration effort since they feel that it would be futile and counter-productive. Yet the week that Congress retrenched on integration, white students at Wade Hampton High School in Greenville, S.C. welcomed 300 Negro students who had been assigned to the school under a court order. The potential for integration is there, but it can only be realized if moderates feel that they have the power of the federal government and the authority of the law on their side. But the President and Congress now threaten to put the bigots in command and the moderates on the defensive. The same thing happened in 1876, and it was over three quarters of a century before the nation remembered what the Constitution is all about.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: *Immediately*
March 12, 1970

For further information, contact: *Rustin Column*

THE RATIONALIZATION OF NEGLECT

We now have a new phrase in our national vocabulary--benign neglect. Daniel P. Moynihan, the President's adviser, has dredged it up out of nineteenth century British colonialist history and has applied it to contemporary American race relations. It has caught on immediately for a very simple reason. Unlike phrases such as "The New Federalism" or "The Southern Strategy," benign neglect seems to capture the full meaning of the Nixon Administration's civil rights policies--their combination of blunt appeals to the racial backlash with sophisticated rationalizations for measures that undermine the Negro's social and economic gains of the last decade.

We have seen how benign neglect works in numerous areas of social policy. If funds are cut for Model Cities or for education, or if unemployment increases as a result of an economic "slowdown", this is all justified as "fiscal responsibility." No thought is given to the injustice of making black and other poor people bear the full burden of a modest reduction in the rate of inflation. If conservatives and, in the case of Carswell, outright racists, are appointed to the Supreme Court, it is all done in the name of "strict construction of the Constitution." No thought is given to the constitutional decree that all men are created equal, so it is easily forgotten that a white supremist or a conservative who does not believe in full equality is hardly a strict constructionist.

The sophistry of the Nixon Administration has been most evident in the area of education and school integration. There have been two main approaches proposed for the improvement of the educational performance of black children: integration and compensatory education. The Nixon Administration has generally been identified with those in opposition to both strategies. It has given in to Southern pressure to halt integration, and the President vetoed the Congressional appropriations bill because it proposed "excessive" expenditures for education.

The rationalizations for these policies are interesting, and no doubt we will be hearing them more and more often as time goes on. For example, John D. Ehrlichman, the President's chief assistant for domestic affairs, has said that he is against school integration for purely "social", as opposed to educational purposes. Then there is Mr. Nixon's use of the 1966 Coleman Report to show that expenditures to establish low pupil-teacher ratios and improve school plants may be wasted since they bear little relation to pupil achievement. Little did Mr. Nixon know that in basing his argument on the Coleman Report he was refuting Mr. Ehrlichman and casting serious doubt on his own position as well.

The basic finding of the Coleman study was that integration could do more to advance the educational achievement of lower class black children than any other strategy. So much for Mr. Ehrlichman. As for Mr. Nixon's contention that we are not getting our educational dollar's worth, this is at best a half-truth and at worst a dangerously conservative argument to cut school appropriations. It is true that many compensatory educational programs (with the exception of such programs as the More Effective Schools) have not been successful. But the reason is not that there is no relationship between expenditure and achievement, but that the appropriations to date have been far below what is needed to make a real impact, that a good part of them have been misused, and that even when properly used, they have been applied to segregated schools where the problems could not be solved only by money. As was pointed out in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights which was based on the Coleman study, compensatory education programs "appear to suffer from the defect inherent in attempting to solve problems stemming in part from racial and social class isolation in schools which themselves are isolated by race and social class."

Thus, there cannot be quality education without desegregation, something which the President recognized in his recent message to Congress. The problem is that Mr. Nixon wants to have his cake and eat it too. Not wanting to spend money on education, he mentions that need for desegreation. But in his policies and programs, he has done nothing to advance desegregation and everything to obstruct it. His sophisticated references to government studies might sound good in some people's ears, but in the xontext of his actions they are meaningless. Mr. Nixon's policies speak for themselves and they know but one word--NEGLECT.

# # # # # # # # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 26, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE PRESIDENT v. DESEGREGATION

BY Bayard Rustin

"Words often ring empty without deeds," said President Nixon in his message on school desegregation. The statement was a remarkable, if unintentional, bit of candid self-criticism, for no president in recent memory has been more "deedless" in that particular area of social policy. But it is not necessary to point to Mr. Nixon's Southern strategy to prove the emptiness of his words. If one can penetrate the veil of rhetoric he has cast over the subject of school integration (take, for example, his use of such civil rights phrases as "we can overcome"), it is not difficult to see that his words are themselves just one more attempt to woo the Wallace vote.

"In devising local compliance plans," said Mr. Nixon, "primary weight should be given to the considered judgment of local boards--provided they act in good faith and within constitutional limits." This statement represents Mr. Nixon's clear intent to reverse the policies of the last six years which, in accordance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, required Southern school districts to meet strict federal "guidelines" for school desegregation. Such guidelines were deemed necessary at that time precisely because "good faith" efforts by local school districts did not bring about desegregation, and there is no reason to think that they will today. Mr. Nixon's return to the principle of "good faith" (something be underlined in the most succinct and emphatic paragraph in his entire 8,000 word message--"This matter of good faith is critical") is an abdication of the federal government's responsibility to integrate Southern schools.

Then there is Mr. Nixon's unequivocal endorsement of the "neighborhood school" concept and his equally unequivocal repudiation of busing "for the purpose of achieving racial balance."

The neighborhood school and opposition to busing to achieve integration have been the rallying cries of segregationist forces throughout the country. What is shocking about Mr. Nixon's position is that as President of the United States, he is firmly identifying himself with political elements that have consistently opposed the 1954 Supreme Court decision and subsequent civil rights legislation relating to school integration. It would be unusual for any president to identify himself with such political elements, let alone one who has so frequently spoken of the need for "law and order."

In drawing a clear distinction between de jure and de facto segregation, Mr. Nixon played upon the confusion that was created during the recent fight over the Stennis Amendment. The amendment, which was supported by the South, would have blurred that distinction in order to weaken the fight against de jure segregation. But now the amendment has been virtually killed in Senate-House conference committee, and Mr. Nixon has found another way to satisfy the South. He has accepted the de jure- de facto distinction but has restricted the definition of de jure to "deliberated racial segregation of pupils by official action." This would apply only to rural Southern districts. Accordingly, all other forms of segregation would be de facto and would be totally outside the province of federal action. Mr. Nixon made sure to point out that de facto segregation "exists in the South as well as the North." This was a clear message to Southerners that they can expect no federal action taken against segregation in the urban South.

Mr. Nixon's decision to spend $1.5-billion over two years to improve segregated education as well as to desegregate is to be welcomed, but he indicated that these funds would be procured by diverting funds from other domestic programs. Thus, the only bright spot in the President's message may end up simply as a budgetry reshuffling that will divert scarce resources from other vital areas.

Finally, Mr. Nixon has once again used the Coleman Report to confuse rather than to enlighten. Following Coleman, Mr. Nixon tells us that "in educational terms, the significant factor is not race but rather the educational environment in the home." "Students learn from students" was another idea that Mr. Nixon borrowed from the

Coleman Report. Taken together, these statements mean that students from a high socio-economic background tend to perform better in school than students from a low socio-economic background, and that the latter will learn more if they are integrated into classes with the former. Mr. Nixon is correct as far as he goes. The key educational factor is not racial integration so much as class integration. But he does not carry this point to its ultimate conclusion--namely, that in a society where there are so few middle class blacks, class integration necessarily involves racial integration. Rather, immediately following this part of his message, he launches into a below-the-belt criticism of white integrationists by saying that their attitudes are characterized by "smug paternalism," "racist overtones," and "hypocrisy." This is nothing more than an appeal to black separatists and to their allies in the white liberal community. As such, it shows that Mr. Nixon is sophisticated enough to understand how the confusion among these groups can benefit himself and his conservative allies, but his attempt to exploit this confusion is unprincipled, and it is certainly not worthy of the President of the United States.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 9, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WHY CARSWELL LOST

By Bayard Rustin

The Senate's rejection of G. Harrold Carswell's nomination to the Supreme Court is a resounding victory for the liberal forces of this country and a stunning defeat for President Nixon's Southern Strategy. In the history of the United States, perhaps no nominee to the Court has been more lacking in the moral and legal qualifications for that position than Carswell, and his defeat is a source of tremendous relief and joy to all citizens of good will. Only a few months ago, the thought of this triumph seemed to some an idle fantasy, but to others it was a real possibility and they tirelessly devoted themselves to bringing it about. These people are the heroes of the moment.

Who are they? Those who led the fight within the Senate--Senators Birch Bayh, Edward Kennedy, Joseph Tydings, Edward Brooke, and others--are among them. They deserve and have been given the great credit that is their due. And there are others who played a less prominent but equally significant role. They did the hard back-up work of lobbying, pin-pointing and convincing wavering senators, and mobilizing national opposition to Carswell. It is likely that when history is written, the real credit for the victory will go to these people and to the organization through which they worked, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

The Leadership Conference is really more than a single organization. It is the coordinating agency for over one hundred and ten civil rights, labor, liberal, and religious bodies. It is, in fact, the organizational embodiment of the liberal coalition. With Roy Wilkins as Chairman and Arnold Aronson as Secretary, it has been largely responsible for the great legislative victories in civil rights, especially the civil rights bills of 1964 and 1965. Since Nixon has been in office, its role has been primarily to resist the Southern Strategy. It saved the Voting Rights Act, crippled the Stennis Amendment, and defeated Haynsworth. And now it can add the rejection of Carswell to its impressive list of accomplishments.

The principal actors in the struggle against Carswell reflect the coalition of forces which make up the Leadership Conference. Clarence Mitchell, the Conference's Legislative Chairman, is also the Director of the Washington Bureau of the N.A.A.C.P. and probably the most skilled civil rights lobbyist in the country. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., the Counsel for the Conference, is Vice-Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action and a leading spokesman for the liberal community. The AFL-CIO's Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller is on the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference and works closely with it on many crucial issues. The actions of these men demonstrate the importance and influence of the civil rights-liberal-labor coalition. This is the coalition that is preserving the gains that were made in the past and upon which we must depend for progress in the future.

An additional word should be mentioned about one element of that coalition, the labor movement. Many people who were quick to credit labor with an important role in defeating Haynsworth have been under the impression that it fought half-heartedly, if at all, in the struggle against Carswell. The reason for this, they say, is that Haynsworth was anti-labor as well as anti-black while Carswell has only an anti-black record. The truth is that the trade union movement went all-out against Carswell (indeed, every speech George Meany made during the past few months began with a denunciation of him) because it is committed to racial justice and because, as Meany put it, "a judge who is anti-Negro is also anti-labor." These words echo what Martin Luther King once said, that "the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth." Labor and the black community share common interests in addition to a common opposition. Together they helped to defeat Carswell in 1970, and together they will continue to struggle for economic and social change.

A final note: More than any single event, the Carswell fight reveals how important are the 1970 elections. If the liberals lose a majority in Congress, there will be nothing to prevent Nixon from stacking the court with conservatives and cutting back drastically on social legislation. The present victory should make us rededicate ourselves to future electoral victories, Without a liberal Congress, even the deeds of heroic men will be in vain.

%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 23, 1970

For further information contact: Rustin Column

VIOLENCE AND THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY

By Bayard Rustin

Much of the social turmoil which our society experienced in the 1960's can be attributed to what sociologists and political scientists have called the revolution of rising expectations. This means that for an upwardly mobile group, the achievement of social progress is far more likely to stimulate demands for change than to satisfy them. This is certainly one of the important factors that added momentum to the Negro protest movement.

The sword, however, cuts both ways. In a conservatice period we are likely to see a counter-revolution of rising expectations. The moment it becomes clear that a reaction has set in against further change, the progressive forces are put on the defensive while the reactionaries, who were held at bay during the liberal years, sense that their time has come. They now come out from hiding, flex their muscles, and boldly prepare to attack the agents of progress as well as progress itself. It is at this point that the floodgates of hatred and racism are opened, and society enters a very dismal and dangerous period.

Something like this counter-revolution is occurring in the South today. During the past fifteen years, the South underwent a tremendous social transformation as a result of the civil rights movement. The period was traumatic for many Southerners, but there have been indications that the region as a whole has been adjusting to the new situation. School integration was proceeding slowly, but it was proceeding, and it was becoming an accepted fact of life for a growing number of white Southerners.

But now this positive trend has been reversed. Segregationism is regaining its respectability, and even more ominous, the bombings, the burnings and the physical attacks upon blacks which some had thought to be relics of Southern history are taking place with greater and greater frequency.

If we are to find the cause of these developments, we need look no further than the President's Southern strategy. More than any single factor, it has been a signal to Southern reactionaries that the tide has turned in their favor. The Southern strategy has both stimulated and sanctioned opposition to court orders and federal laws that require integration. As such, it is responsible for transforming reluctant acceptance of change into violent resistance.

For example, when Governor Claude Kirk of Florida dramatically refused to comply with a school integration plan imposed by a Federal district court, the Justice Department did not oppose him and even went so far as to join with him in trying to have the plan changed in an appeals court. This outrageous defiance of the law by both a governor and the Justice Department was a clear message to other Southern governors that they are under no pressure by the Nixon Administration to comply with any court integration orders.

The new mood of resistance to integration by federal and state officials has encouraged violent acts by local Southerners. In a report in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (April 17, 1970) Neil Maxwell gives a detailed account of the numerous bombings and burnings of black churches, schools, and community centers which have resulted from Nixon's Southern strategy. As Paul Anthony, the director of the Southern Regional Council, told Maxwell, "All the things coming out of Washington these days and the new defiance by leaders just can't help but encourage a greater degree of white resistance--and the only way some people know how to respond is with violence."

Mr. Nixon talks of law and order and points an accusing finger at black America. But he would do better to examine his own policies which have caused a revival of violence and lawlessness in the South. By placing politics above law, the Nixon Administration has set in motion a series of events which might well end with a racial war that would be a tragedy for the South and for the entire nation.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
May 9, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE FIGHT AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

by Bayard Rustin

Last week lawyers for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF) argued the case of Maxwell v. Bishop before the Supreme Court, and in so doing took one more step in their five-year fight to abolish the death penalty in America. The momentous decision in this case, when it is handed down, is likely to determine the fate of 500 persons now on death rows across the nation. Their executions have been stayed by the courts since June 2, 1967 pending the outcome of the Maxwell case which could make capital punishment illegal. If the LDF loses its fight, however, the gas chambers, electric chairs, gallows, or firing squads will be reactivated in those 39 states where the death penalty is still legal. (In 3 of these states, New Mexico, New York, and Vermont, capital punishment is sanctioned only in special cases such as the murder of a prison guard.)

What is at stake in the Maxwell case is more than the lives of these men. According to LDF director-counsel Jack Greenberg, if the goal of the litigation is achieved, it "will perhaps make it possible, in some cases, for men whose innocence is established years from now to go free. Most important of all, we may make a small contribution to advancing the day when man's problems are dealt with by reason and persuasion and not by brute force."

In addition to the broad humanistic reasons for opposing the death penalty, there is the specific reason that it discriminates against Negroes. Anthony G. Amsterdam, an LDF representative who is on the law faculty of Stanford University, has reported that a study of 2,500 rape cases in 11 Southern States showed that "if the defendant was Negro and the victim was white, the chance of a death penalty proved high; in all other rape cases, the chance of a death penalty was remote." On the basis of this and other evidence about the death penalty, Amsterdam concluded "that a man is seldom sentenced to death because of the crime he's committed. He's usually been selected from among a large number of equally guilty men on grounds of race or poverty or physical ugliness or any fluke random capricous factor."

Despite the many humanitarian arguments that can be made against capital punishment, the LDF is basing its case more on complex legal issues. It is unlikely that the Supreme Court will act favorably on the alleged discrimination argument, and it has rarely listened to any cases based on the Eighth Amendment's injunction against "cruel and unusual punishment."

The LDF will make the above arguments, but it is challenging capital punishment primarily on the grounds that a) The Arkansas jury which convicted Maxwell had no legal standar in passing the death sentence rather than another penalty, thus leaving the judgment up to the jury's "unfettered and arbitrary discretion;" b) Maxwell was denied due process in that the jury determined both his guilt and his punishment at the same time. He could not have produced evidence for the mitigation of his sentence, therefore, without giving up his privilege against self-incrimination on the guilt issue; c) persons opposed to capital punishment (about half the population) are not permitted to serve on capital juries, thus leaving the determination of both guilt and punishment up to the more vindictive and less enlightened elements of the population; and d) The condemned man does not now have the right to legal representation for all critical procedures available to him beyond the routine state appeal.

The United States is far less advanced than many other countries in the area of capital punishment. Every nation in Western Europe, except France has abolished the death penalty, and in India, the Philippines, and other countries, the number of executions is declining. The Supreme Court now has before it a wonderful opportunity to raise to a higher level the moral character of American society. The abolition of the death penalty will erase an area of terrible racial discrimination, it will guarantee that a man may be proven innocent even after he is judged guilty, and it will establish the principle, at a time when it is sorely needed in America, that society should take the life of no man, not even of one who has taken life. And not least, it will further the cause of man's humanity to man.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
May 21, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin column

DEATH IN BLACK AND WHITE

by Bayard Rustin

No recent event has more clealy underlined the persisting racial division in American society that the killing of four Kent State students by the Ohio National Guard. The deaths of these students represent a tragedy which must be mourned by all decent Americans. But what concerns me here is not the deaths themselves, but how we as a nation have reacted to them. We reacted not as one nation, but as two--one white and the other black.

The predominant reaction among white Americans was shock and disbelief. The picture of the young girl kneeling beside the body of a dead student with a look of fear, grief, and helplessness on her face became a symbol of the national mood. No doubt the mass media encouraged this mood as much as they responded to it, and for more than a week the killings rivalled the American intervention in Cambodia as the major news story. And no doubt also there were many white Americans who did not share in this mood and who even felt that the students deserved their terrible fate. But though there were conflicting reactions, it seems clear that the killings assumed a central place in the nation's consciousness to the degree that few events have in recent memory.

The reaction of black America was considerably different. Though blacks also grieved over the students' deaths, they could not help feel that far more attention was being paid to the Kent killings than had ever been paid to young Negroes who died under similar circumstances. And to explain this discrepency, most blacks could only conclude that the Kent students were mourned with such tremendous emotion because they were white.

Most white Americans probably do not recall that only two years ago three black students from Orangeburg's South Carolina State College who were demonstrating to integrate a bowling alley were killed by highway patrolmen. These students were entirely innocent; one had even been shot in the back. Moreover, the demonstration was largely peaceful, while the Kent killings had been preceeded by the burning of an ROTC center, looting and window-breaking, and rock-throwing at the National Guard. Yet somehow the horrible injustice of the Orangeburg killings has never penetrated our national consciousness.

I am reminded of the brutal killing of three civil rights workers in 1964. Two of them were white, and for that reason alone most Americans were outraged. The hundreds of black deaths in Mississippi which preceeded those killings never received more than a tiny news story. ¶ In the last few weeks we have been provided with fresh examples of American hypocrisy. In Augusta, Georgia six blacks were killed in racial violence that followed a protest against the inhuman conditions in the local jail. All of those killed were shot in the back, some of them were shot as many as nine times, and possibly four of them were bystanders. At Jackson State College in Mississippi, highway police fired into a crowd of students killings two and wounding nine. There is no evidence to prove the police claim that they were being fired on by snipers, but there is evidence which indicates that the police fired on the students with automatic weapons. And finally, there is the report from the Chicago grand jury that the killing of two Black Panthers last December did not result from a "shoot-out" between the Panthers and the police, as the police had claimed. All the evidence available points to a police ambush in which the Panthers were murdered.

What are black Americans to think when such events are forgotten almost as soon as they happen, while the death of young white students is made into a national tragedy? The answer is obvious and, sadly, it is one that we have known all along: that in America the life of a white person is considered to be more valuable than the life of a black person; that the killing of a white student thrusts a lance of grief though the heart of white America, while the killing of a black is condoned or rationalized on the grounds that blacks are violent and thus deserve to be killed, or that they have been persecuted for so long that somehow they have become "used to" death. My own feeling is that the word "racism" is thrown about too loosely these days, but considering what has happened in the last few weeks, I think it accurately describes much of what goes on "in white America."

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
June 4, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE MOST CRUCIAL VOTE OF ALL

by Bayard Rustin

The recent primary and run-off elections have stirred great interest, and for good reason. The races portend the outcome of the 1970 elections, and George Wallace's victory in Alabama will have a strong influence on the presidential election in 1972. But in the midst of all the excitement over the primaries, very little attention has been paid to a vote which may be the most crucial of all--the vote in the House of Representatives over whether the 1965 Voting Rights Act will live or die.

The virtues of the 1965 Voting Rights Act are well known. It has been responsible for the registration of over one million black voters in the South, and this in turn has led to an increase of more than 700 percent in the number of Southern black elected officials. Yet the Act is due to expire on August 6th, and it must be renewed before that date if it is not to disappear from our statute books.

The procedures for voting on the renewal of the Act are complicated, but the alignment of pro-black against anti-black forces is the same as it has always been on civil rights legislation. The key issue in the current debate is whether the House will accept all of the Senate's amendments to the Voting Rights Act, particularly the one which lowers the legal voting age to eighteen. Questions have been raised as to the constitutionality of lowering the voting age through legislation rather than by amending the Constitution. These are legitimate questions, but in some cases they are being raised simply to block passage of the entire Act.

This would be possible since if the House does not accept the 18-year old amendment, the bill would either go back to the Senate or would be sent to a Senate-House conference committee where differences between the two legislative bodies could be resolved. Even if the conference committee could issue its report before August 6th, the Act would have to be debated in the Senate once again, thus guaranteeing a Southern filibuster. (The Southerners didn't filibuster the last time around because that would have delayed the vote on the Carswell confirmation.) Without the President's support, it would be impossible to obtain the two-thirds Senate vote that would be required to cut off the filibuster.

President Nixon has already shown that he is not enthusiastic about the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Last year he offered some amendments that would have made it ineffective, and more recently he addressed a letter to House members questioning the constitutionality of lowering the voting age through legislation. In this instance Mr. Nixon is not motivated by constitutional considerations, but rather by his Southern Strategy. Even if the House passed the 18-year old provision, the Supreme Court could determine its constitutionality before it would become effective on January 1, 1971. The real issue, and Nixon knows it, is whether or not the voting rights of Southern Negroes will continue to be protected by the Federal Government.

The need to lower the voting age, it must be emphasized, is not a matter of contention. The senate passed this amendment by 64 to 17, and even President Nixon has supported it in principle, arguing only that it should be done through an amendment to the Constitution. The question is whether a procedural issue, which is ultimately subject to judicial review, shall be permitted to stand in the way of Negro voting rights. For anyone who cares about racial justice in America, the answer must obviously be No. Therefore, it is essential that the House pass the entire Voting Rights Act as amended by the Senate. For it to do otherwise would not only be a tremendous setback in the struggle for black equality, but it would also be a tragic violation of the democratic philosophy upon which, it is professed, our nation rests.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
June 18, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

"TO BUILD A NEW CITY"

By Bayard Rustin

Ken Gibson's victory in the Newark mayoralty race is one of the most encouraging developments to have taken place in American politics in recent years. In addition to being a personal triumph for Gibson who is now the first black mayor of a major Northeastern city, the victory represents a repudiation by the majority of Newark's voters of Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio's unprincipled appeal to fear and racial antagonism. "We must begin to reconcile the community at this moment," Gibson said after the election, as he called on the "energies of all the people here--black and white--to build a new city."

Gibson ran the kind of campaign which should enable him to fulfill his pledge that Newark "will no longer be a place of fear." Unlike Addonizio and his Police Director, Dominick A. Spina, who called the election a "black-versus-white situation," Gibson appealed to all the people, black and white, by proposing creative new programs for Newark. He talked of more jobs and housing and promised better schools and health care. As a result, he won 20 percent of the white vote which was his margin of victory.

Gibson's strategy was patterned after the successful campaigns of Carl Stokes in Cleveland, Charles Evers in Fayette, Mississippi, and Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana. In each of these campaigns, the victorious black candidate ran on a program of coalition between the Negro community and progressive elements in the white community. The success of this strategy reveals the extreme danger of black nationalist rhetoric which can only divide blacks from their white allies, thereby leading to the victory of reactionary, anti-black candidates. In this regard one of the most hopeful aspects of the Newark election was the constructive contribution of Leroi Jones who throughly understood that political power depends upon coalition.

Gibson's triumph has created a feeling of elation in the black ghettos of Newark. But we should be very careful to distinguish between the symbolic importance of the victory and the effect it will have on finding a solution to the city's staggering problems. Ken Gibson is a highly competent and humane individual, but he is not a miracle worker, and in the absence of fundamental social reforms, only a miracle could bring social justice to all of Newark's citizens. The years of neglect and decay that have preceeded him, the lack of sufficient resources, and the conservative administration in Washington are just a few of the disadvantages that will confront him in his capacity as mayor.

Ken Gibson has few illusions about the magnitude of the problem he must now deal with. "The task before us will not be easy," he told his supporters at a victory celebration. "Our national priorities must be changed, our tax structure must be revised. Our cities must become as important to America as a trip to the moon." Unless the Federal government provides hundreds of millions of dollars in aid, the finest mayor in the world could not begin to cure the underlying social ills that plague Newark.

If Gibson can get Federal aid for Newark, he has already shown signs that he will use it effectively. He has appointed a task force headed by Paul N. Ylvisaker, an eminent urban specialist and the former Commissioner of New Jersey's Department of Community Affairs. The task force will report on what specifically must be done to solve the problems of employment, education, housing, and wealfare that were the basic causes of the 1967 violence in which 26 blacks were killed.

With Gibson's victory, all the factors necessary for Newark's regeneration are present but one. The city will now have a fine Mayor who can unify the people and mobilize their creative energies appoint capable administrators, and plan intelligent social program But "to build a new city" in Newark will require a new social commitment in Washington, and that, unfortunately, does not yet exist.

The effect on national politics of such a development would be tremendous. The Democratic Party would have the strength of a majority behind it, and at the same time it would not be retarded in its efforts to achieve social reform by powerful conservative elements. The fact that Negroes have already played a central role in moving this development along is just one more indication of how effective they can be in the political process, and of how vital they are to the future of liberalism in America.

%%%%&&&& *****&&&%%%%

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
July 2, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

A WEST SIDE STORY

by Bayard Rustin

Since the passage of the 1968 Housing Act which called for the annual construction of 2.6 million homes, more than twice the present rate, the housing situation in the United States has steadily deteriorated. High interest rates, the rising cost of land, materials, and labor, and most critically, the failure of the Nixon Administration commit itself to the goal of securing for every American a decent home, have produced one of the worst housing shortages in our nation's history. Nowhere is that shortage more evident than in New York City. In one neighborhood in particular, the lack of adequate housing has led to a series of unfortunate events which are probably not uncharacteristic of what has taken place elsewhere in New York City and in other cities as well.

For over a decade now a section of the upper West Side of Manhattan, consisting of 20 square blocks, has been undergoing urban renewal and rehabilitation. The goal of the renewal project is to create a stable community with a population that is mixed both economically and racially. About one-third of the homes have been set aside for poor families whose rent would be subsidized with public funds. Such a project could become the prototype for a solution to our urban crisis since it tries to avoid the disastrous consequences of racial and economic ghettos. We are too familiar with such consequences: crime, inferior schools, terrible housing, and a tax base that is too depleted to provide funds for adequate social services.

Two stages of the project have now been completed, but the third stage has been held up due to bureaucratic delays, insufficient funds, and the need to relocate displaced families.

A community group has been formed called CONTINUE which has pledged itself toward the fulfillment of the renewal project. Represented in the group are churches, block clubs, businesses and other organizations in the community.

Some other people, however, have concluded that the renewal project is dead. Chief among these are Father Henry J. Brown, the head of the Stryckers Bay Neighborhood Council, and William Price, the director of Community Action, Inc. which operates in the neighborhood. These men have spearheaded what has become known as "Operation Move In," a program that "liberates" boarded-up dwellings in the rehabilitation area by illegally moving poor families into them. The "move in" began in May and there are now about 135 "squatter" families living in the renewal area.

The families already living in the neighborhood have reacted with alarm and concern to the "move in" for two reasons. First, if it continues the whole renewal project will be finished, and second, because the boarded-up apartments have no plumbing, heating, or fire-escapes and thus represent a health hazard to their inhabitants and a fire hazard to them and to the rest of the community.

In order to find out whether the city was planning to go through with the renewal project, the block association held a meeting on June 18th to which they invited several city officials. The meeting was held at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Logan, two of the outstanding fighters for justice in the black community. They were close friends of Dr. Martin Luther King and raised substantial funds for him. In addition, Dr. Logan was formerly the director of Haryou Act and the President of the city's anti-poverty program, and Mrs. Logan has worked endlessly to improve their local neighborhood. For example, she was primarily responsible for the construction of a beautiful park which is used by hundreds of neighborhood children.

When people arrived at the meeting, however, their way was blocked by a group of demonstrators who claimed that the purpose of the meeting was to remove the "squatters." They also claimed to represent "the people," of the community even though they arrived in cars and the large majority of them were white and middle class. After shouting insults at the Logans, Borough President Percy Sutton, and others, three of them--Father Brown and two women--agreed to partipate in the meeting and the demonstration was called off.

The following day Mrs. Logan was visited by one of the women who said she had come to apologize. She said that it was only at the meeting that she realized the Logan's and the other neighborhood people were not "their enemies," as she had been told they were by some of the leaders of "Operation Move In," but that they were really interested in the welfare of the entire community, including the poor. She added that at the demonstration she had been handed a mimeographed sheet of paper on which were written the insults she was to shout at the Logan's. She said that she "had been used" by the leaders of "Move In" and now wished to write a document in both English and Spanish which she would circulate to all of the poor in the area to explain to them what the real situation was. Both she and Mrs. Logan agreed upon the need to form a coalition of community people and "squatters" to fight "the real enemy."

Who is this enemy? In the immediate sense it is those people who call themselves the champions of the poor but who actually exploit the poor for whatever reasons they may have. Certainly the poor people who were "moved in" to the community were misinformed as to the nature of the situation and cannot hope to benefit from the whole misguided operation. But in a larger sense the enemy is the city officials who have not fulfilled their promises and the Nixon Administration which has been so irresponsible in the area of housing construction,not to speak of employment, education, and health care. They have created the context in which the poor can be used and in which communities can be destroyed. It is this larger social crisis which must be solved if we are ever to live in peace with one another.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
July 16, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

CAN DEMOCRACY PREVAIL?

by Bayard Rustin

Recent events in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the focal point of the school strikes of 1968, raise fundamental questions about the democratic process which are of vital interest to all Americans. Black Americans should be particularly concerned with the conflicts taking place in Ocean Hill since the potential exists for similar conflicts in other black communities.

Last March elections were held in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to elect a new community school board. The election was won by Assemblyman Samuel D. Wright and other candidates on his "slate," all of whom were critics of the out-going Ocean Hill-Brownsville local board. The leaders of the old board denounced the election, urging that it be boycotted since they disagreed with the decision of the Board of Education to absord the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district (it had been set up three years earlier as an experiment in community control) into a larger district.

The conflict between the new board and its opposition, led by Rev. Herbert C. Oliver, the chairman of the old board, and Rhody McCoy, the former administrator of the experimental district, has continued since the election. On July 7th, following the new board's announcement of the appointment of a district superintendent, a group of about 75 people enterer Wright's office, overturned chairs, scattered papers, and left about $1500 in damage. Following this incident, Wright's opponents sent a letter to Mayor Lindsay and other city officials which read in part: "The sentiments of the people is as follows: Get Sam out of Ocean Hill-Brownsville by August 1, 1970, we'll burn down Ocean Hill-

Brownsville and make it a Burnsville--we'd rather see Ocean Hill-Brownsville leveled than to have Sam and his stugges (stooges) destroy and degrade this community further." The letter was signed "Community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville."

I think that the most misused words in our vocabulary are "the community" and "the people." Who is the community in Ocean Hill-Brownsville? Those people who signed the letter certainly do not represent the entire community since I strongly doubt that Wright and his supporters would agree with the sentiments expressed in it. Are we to define community as "only those who agree with me?" I doubt it, since that would hardly be fair to those who do not agree with me.

A community consists of many different groups holding different opinions on any number of issues. Finding a way for these groups to live in peace with one another is the ultimate goal of a democratic system which is based upon two principles--majority rule and minority rights. Majority rule is determined through open and free elections. Wright won the election in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and this gave him the right to make decisions relating to community educational issues. If the Oliver-McCoy group really represents the community, as it is claimed, then they should have participated in the elections. The fact that they avoided this test of strength makes one doubt whether they,in fact, do speak for the community.

The point is that Wright should be permitted to serve in the capacity to which he was elected. Confrontations which threaten him and try to force him to resign are fundamentally in violation of democratic principles. They are also a threat to everybody in the community since they establish the precedent that any minority can forcefully impose its will on the majority. This is not democratic community control but dictatorial control of the community by a minority. I should think that the black community has enough problems without having to be burdened with this new injustice.

In the past several years violent confrontationism has become a popular form of protest. In many cases the confrontations have been between blacks and whites, and where there have been violations of democratic procedures, they have been either obscured by the controversial racial issues involved or, in some cases, justified by the claim that they were furthering the cause of racial justice. In Ocean Hill-Brownsville, however, both sides are black, so the issue is not racial justice but democracy. There will no doubt be other black communities where similar disputes will take place. If these disputes are not resolved peacefully and democratically, then all blacks will suffer, particularly the children who cannot afford to have their schools destroyed by the political pranks of some of their elders.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
July 30, 1970

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE STORY OF A BLACK YOUTH

by Bayard Rustin

If we are to believe what we read in most newspapers and magazines, poor black youths who grow up in the ghetto end up as social outcasts of one form or another. They become, or so we are often told, either criminals or violent revolutionaries, wanting only to destroy the society which has inflicted so much hardship upon them. No doubt in many cases these stories are true in addition to being newsworthy, but the difficulty is that the stories of other youths who have also been brutalized by society but whose lives have taken a different course are left untold.

Victor Rivera is one such youth. He was born 26 years ago in New York City, attended the city's schools, but like so many other youths he dropped out before completing high school. He took a job so that he could have the money to buy fancy clothes and other things that would give him status in the ghetto. Eventually he began selling dope and stealing, even though this made him feel guilty since he was violating what his parents had taught him.

Victor embraced the ghetto ideology which was then developing in order, as he said, to justify the wrong he was doing. He was "misusing a truth" since he was using the assertion of black pride to "rationalize" his rebellion and to justify his apathy. But he continued to be troubled by vague feelings of guilt and uncertainty. Knowing that what he was doing was wrong and sensing in the back of his mind that he deserved punishment, he began doing irrational things which ultimately led to his arrest for armed robbery.

He decided not even to fight his case. He willingly accepted his 4 1/2 year prison sentence as a period during which he could get himself together."The hardship of the bust forced me to mature, to face reality,"he said. "I had no more facades to hang on to. I had to deal with myself, my raw self."

He learned many things in prison. He joined the Black Muslims who stressed the need for blacks to better themselves. "In order for a black man to really come into his own, to understand himself as a person and as part of an ethnic group, he may have to go through the Muslim stage. It's a vehicle, a means toward an end." The most profound influence on him was Collins Hinton, a teacher who was crippled by the loss of his hands. "I have my blackness and my books," Hinton told him, "and I made it. You've got your health, so I know that you'll make it too." Every free moment Victor had he studied economics, math, science, and literature. He began to develop a new conception of what society is--an evolving organism which in many ways is wrong and unjust, but which is subject to change through peaceful means. He came to see that in order to change the institutions of the society, one must be part of those institutions; that repudiation of the society is only an escape from its problems, not a solution to them.

On his release from prison Victor saw that society had not changed but that he himself had. He applied for a job as a tutor with the Joint Apprenticeship Program which gets jobs for young blacks in the building trades. The hardships he had lived through, especially his prison experience, were an asset to him in his new job since he could communicate with the ghetto youths recruited by the JAP. Though he has not yet completed his first year on the job, Victor has already become one of the JAP's best tutors. Normally about 40% of the tutees, black or white, will pass an entrance examination for the building trades. Recently Victor tutored 95 carpenters and 86 of them passed the test, and many of them were among the highest scorers.

Victor's range of activities has expanded in the last year. He speaks frequently at high schools where he represents the JAP. He recently returned from a three week stay in Washington where he studied economics and labor history at the AFL-CIO's Labor Studies Center. He's a member of the Board of Directors of the East Harlem Environmental Extension Service which is designed to improve the living conditions in poor neighborhoods. And he is no enrolled at Pratt Institute from which he hopes to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering.

What enabled Victor to"get himself togehter?" It was probably a combination of strong character, inner resources imparted to him from his parents, and a certain degree of good fortune. Whatever it was, Victor is now part of the institutions of this society and is struggling every day to change them. It is doubtful that these institutions, being what they are, will change quickly, but certainly there would be no hope at all were there not young people like Victor Rivera who are capable of rising above the brutal conditions of their lives and making a contribution toward the advancement of society.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
August 13, 1970

Rustin Column

THE TRIUMPH OF THE PARAPROFESSIONALS

By Bayard Rustin

When I spoke before the convention of the American Federation of Teachers in 1964, I said that the best way to upgrade and protect the poor would be to write upward mobility into their union contract. This is precisely what has been done by the new three-year contract negotiated by the United Federation of Teachers which covers paraprofessionals in New York City's public schools.

The settlement, which came after months of intensive negotiations with the Board of Education as well as a threat to shut down the city school system, will bring important benefits to 4000 paraprofessionals, most of whom are black and Puerto-Rican. They will receive (retroactive to January 1, 1970) a 140% increase in wages and fringe benefits, thereby bringing to an end the unseemly practice of paying paraprofessionals well under the government-set poverty level. In addition, they will receive paid vacations, sick leave, health and dental coverage, and better welfare benefits.

As important as the immediate economic gains is the career ladder program that was written into the contract. Through this program, the paraprofessionals will have the opportunity to obtain the additional education which will enable them to qualify for advanced professional positions. They will be given 2 1/2 hours a week of released time with pay in order to attend high school or college, and beginning with the summer of 1971, a 4-week college career training program will be established which will be open to all paraprofessionals with a high school diploma or its equivalency. Such a program is clearly of benefit not only to the paraprofessionals but also the entire society.

The paraprofessionals will receive the educational tools which will enable them to secure dignified and remunerative professional jobs. At the same time, thousands of people, many of them former welfare recipients, will be making a constructive and vital contribution to the society's well-being.

The importance of this contract was summed up by Velma Hill, the chairman of the paraprofessional steering committee and a long-time activist in the struggle for civil rights: "With this agreement, paraprofessionals who have already demonstrated that they can contribute greatly to the education of children now are guaranteed the opportunity to make an even greater contribution. This was made possible by the unity of all UFT paraprofessionals and the success of the collective bargaining process."

Of the many lessons that can be drawn from the struggle of the paraprofessionals, two stand out as most worthy of mention. The first is that the union which the paraprofessionals elected to represent them, the UFT, is frequently portrayed in the press as the "enemy" of black community, and the president of that union, Albert Shanker, has been called a racist by numerous people in the black and liberal communities. That the press and the name-callers are grievously mistaken is demonstrated by the UFT paraprofessional contract which Shanker helped negotiate, and they can also be sure that the UFT will now protect the paraprofessionals as vigorously as it has protected the teachers. What should be remembered is that the fundamental issue which precipitated the 1968 strikes was not racial animosity but union rights, and a side benefit of the new contract is that it will help bring together the UFT and minority groups around the common struggle for better schools.

The second lesson has to do with the way poverty can be eliminated. During the past six years, countless small programs have been started which have tried to deal with various aspects of poverty. The difficulty with these programs has been that they were too limited and treated only the effects of poverty, not its cause. The new contract, which puts millions of dollars into the pockets of the poor, does more to combat poverty than all of these other programs.

Moreover, it does not fight poverty in a patronizing way by administering to the poor. On the contrary, the contract is the result of the poor's own struggle to create a decent and dignified life for themselves. In this sense, the new UFT paraprofessional contract is one of the finest examples of self-determination by the poor, and it is likely to be repeated in other cities as part of a nationwide struggle by low-income workers to achieve equality.

%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
August 27, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

FEMINISM AND EQUALITY

By Bayard Rustin

The women's liberation movement, which has created such controversy in recent months, is not a new phenomenon but part of a long struggle for women's equality. The fact that a major feminist demonstration was held on August 26, 1970 is indicative of the historical character of this movement since the date was the 50th anniversary of the passage of the 19th Amendment granting female suffrage.

The modern feminist movement differs from the suffragette movement of a half century ago in that its demands have more to do with economic equality than political rights. To a considerable degree, this is a reflection of technological changes that have taken place in the society which have freed the more affluent women from household chores and have enabled them to gain a high degree of education. They are now demanding that jobs and other opportunities be opened to them on a non-discriminatory basis. The force of their argument is reflected in economic statistics which show that the income differential between men and women is greater than it is between whites and blacks.

If the women's liberation movement should be criticized, it is not because their demands are unjust. What is wrong with these demands is that they don't go far enough. The three demands put forth at the August 26th demonstration were for free abortions, 24-hour day care centers for children of working mothers, and equal educational and employment opportunities.

These demands are fine enough in themselves, and I would personally take issue with none of them. But they are inadequate in that they are proposed in isolation from the broad social and economic context of American life. The feminists are making the same mistake that many other social protesters have made: that is, they do not connect their demands with larger issues which ultimately will determine whether the specific demands can be met.

For example, I am entirely for free abortions on demand since I think women should be free to choose whether or not they want to have children. But I think that the feminists would be wiser to make this specific demand part of a larger demand for socialized medicine. Our current health system does not permit all women, or all Americans, to obtain adequate medical care, and good health is a prerequisite for "liberation," however one cares to define that word.

Similarly, it is not enough to have day care centers that will free the mother from the children. There should also be the demand for the expansion of pre-school education and for quality integrated schools that will liberate the minds of the children and enable them to develop themselves to their fullest potential. Finally, the demand for equal employment opportunities cannot be met in the absence of full employment. As long as a sizable portion of the population is out of work, workers, regardless of their sex or race, will have to compete for jobs, and employers will be able to hire those willing to work for least pay. It should be added in this context that the demand for female equality is too often stated in terms of giving women the same rights as men. What happens is that women then consider their own privileges--such as laws protecting women workers--to be expendable. Rather than giving up these rights, they should be demanding that similar privileges be granted to all workers.

The failure to date of the women's liberation movement to make their demands within this larger context I have described is not accidental. It is, in fact, a commentary on the affluent social origins of many of the feminists. They are, for the most part, women who already have access to adequate health care, whose children (if they have them) probably attend excellent schools, and who don't need jobs but better jobs. This is one of the reasons why so few black women have participated in the feminist movement. If the feminists do not make the larger demands I have suggested, their movement will become just another middle class foray into limited social reform, the main result of which will be to divert valuable social energies away from the problem of fundamentally transforming our society's institutions. And without such a transformation leading to full social equality, all Americans--female or male, black or white, poor and rich--will not be free.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 10, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE KIDS, THE HARDHATS, AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

By Bayard Rustin

In an analysis of American political trends which appeared in THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS (September 2, 1970), Ted Lewis quoted from a recent speech I made and concluded with the following ambiguous statement: "When Bayard Rustin sounds like George Meany on certain big issues, and Meany and Nixon are buddy-buddy on some issues too, there are obviously forces in motion that could markedly change the images of both major political parties." George Meany can speak for himself, as he has on many occasions, but I think it is important that I clarify my own position since the issue of political realignment is of such importance to the future of this country.

The basic question I tried to deal with in the speech from which Lewis quoted was how the Democratic Party in particular and the democratic left in general can reassert control over American politics. I took issue with "the kids" of the New Left not only because they have shown little capacity to think politically, but also because their extreme actions have created a backlash that has driven the nation to the right, has helped place conservatives in power, and seems now to be the major factor that will keep them in power. The words "radical" and "revolutionary" are thrown around very loosely these days. A close look at the situation will reveal that many so-called militants are actually helping the most conservative elements in the society. From this point of view one is entirely correct in describing the New Left as reactionary.

As for the hardhats, Lewis made it appear that I was apologizing for them when I said that they are "the only people in the United States saving and borrowing to send their own children to college." What I was actually saying was that it would be a grave error for those who are trying to rebuild the Democratic Party to dismiss the importance of appealing to the vast middle of the American population (Nixon has called it the Silent Majority) because of the violent actions of a minority of that group. And I was also saying that if such an appeal is to be made, it is necessary to understand why working class Americans, who depend upon education as a means of advancement in life, would be angered when affluent students who have never worked for anything attempt to destroy our educational system.

What seems essential to point out is that one can be against the actions of young New Leftists for many different reasons. Nixon and Agnew are against them for clearly conservative reasons. It is their profound hope that working class Americans will join the Republican Party because they see it as the only alternative to a Democratic Party which tolerates student disorders. Thus, in their scheme of things the actions of militant youths will be the key factor that will cause American workers to belt the Democratic Party. For example, the more bombings there are during the coming months, the more the conservatives will be helped.

I am against the violence of the New Left in principle, but also for what I regard as progressive political reasons. I am against anyone whose actions polarize the country to the benefit of the right. And I am firmly convinced that the Democrats must take a firm stand against student or other disorders if they are not to be labelled apologists for an unpopular and morally questionable cause.

If the progressive elements in America--by which I mean the minority groups, the liberal community, and the trade union movement--are to regain the political advantage, they must adopt a strategy based upon several key principles. The first is that they must maintain the unity of the liberal coalition and not permit the conservatives to cut into the workingclass vote. And to do this they must speak out clearly against student disorders and other forms of violence, and in addition, put forth an economic program that appeals to the needs of both the poor and the working class. Let there be no mistake about it: lower-middle class Americans have been serverely hurt by Nixon's economic policies, and they will join the Republican ranks only against their own economic interest. I think there is a good chance they can be persuaded not to act in this way, that they can be won over to a program of social change and the expansion of economic opportunities for everybody. When my position is stated in this way, it should be clear that it is the very opposite of Mr. Nixon's. Not to see this is to misunderstand the basic issues underlying American politics today.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 24, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE PARAPROFESSIONALS AND THE SCHOOLS

By Bayard Rustin

When we think about a school system, we are usually concerned with its ability to perform its primary and vital function--the education of children. But even though this is by far the most important function of schools, it is not their only one. Schools are also important to the millions of adults who work in them. These adults must be well-trained if they are to educate children, and they must also be payed a decent salary if they are to provide for themselves and their families.

The significance of employment in the schools has been underlined by the emergence of a new classification of school personnel--the paraprofessionals.. One cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of the paraprofessional program to the schools and to the welfare of our social system. The paraprofessionals tend to be poor and nonwhite, and as such, a vital relationship obtains between themselves on the one hand, and the schools and the society on the other.

One of the major educational problems of the last few years involves the relationship of the school to the community. This, in a sense, is what the decentralization crisis was all about. The significance of the paraprofessionals in this regard is that they are community people who work in the schools. They can, therefore, serve as a bridge between the community and the school, bringing into the schools their own special knowledge of the community and the children, and reassuring the children that the school is not a foreign environment. Such a contribution is in addition to the specific educational benefits the paraprofessionals provide--among other things, taking some of the burden off the shoulders of over-worked teachers, helping with supervision, and in Spanish-speaking areas, serving as interpreters between teacher and pupil.

What must also be emphasized is the social relevance of the paraprofessional program. In the first place, the program provides jobs for poor people--not dead-end and degrading jobs, but jobs that enable them to make an important contribution to the society. Moreover, they are jobs with a future since adult education and a career ladder are built into the paraprofessional program. Thus, poor people who at one time may have had little hope for advancement are now being given the opportunity to re-educate themselves and to play a new and useful role in the society.

The tremendous meaning the paraprofessional program has to the paraprofessionals themselves is indicated by a crisis situation that has developed in New York City where thousands of them are being fired due to lack of funds. People whose lives had begun to brighten are now being thrust back into deprivation. One such person is Patricia Jones, the borough co-ordinator for the paraprofessionals in Brooklyn and a former domestic. Miss Jones recently testified before a public hearing of the New York Human Rights Commission about her terrible experiences as a domestic and how much her new job means to her. Miss Jones compared the situation of domestic workers to that of slaves, and said she dreaded having to return to it. She was bewildered at the inability of America, the richest society in the world, to fund a vital social program.

Then there is Lettie Concepcion, a former factory employee who has 5 children. Miss Concepcion says that she never became a teacher--even though she had always wanted to--because nobody ever encouraged her. Now, as a paraprofessional, she is attending college 4 nights a week and has a chance to realize her aspirations. She has worked hard to get where she is, and the cutbacks may mean that it was all in vain.

The situations of Miss Jones and Miss Concepcion are by no means unique. Thousands of people in New York are now being threatened with similar hardships.

One of the hidden beneficial effects of the present crisis in New York City is that it has united all of the groups concerned about education in support of the paraprofessionals. New York, we should not forget, was the scene of extraordinary conflict over the schools only two years ago. Former enemies are now allies because they have come to realize that they cannot achieve any improvements in the schools if they do not work together. While their cooperation does not assure salvaging the jobs of the paraprofessionals, it at least offers the prospect of a renewed spirit of common purpose upon which all future progress depends. The New York experience offers an important lesson to people all over the country who are concerned about the quality of ~~education in our schools.~~

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
October 8, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE U.A.W.--ON STRIKE FOR JUSTICE

by Bayard Rustin

Vice-President Agnew is running all around the country these days railing against liberals and students. While he gets carried away at times with his convoluted rhetoric, his objective is very simple--he wants to win working class Americans over to the Republican Party, the party of big business, by playing upon their reaction to the activities of some dissenters. It's a weird strategy, however, because he never gets around to talking about what's really bothering workers, namely, the economic crisis presented by continuing inflation and growing unemployment. And this eminent "friend" of the worker, for all his talk, hasn't once spoken out in support of the 400,000 U.A.W. workers who are now on strike against General Moters, America's biggest corporation.

It's not difficult to understand the bind that Agnew is in. As a leading member of the Nixon Administration, he can't be critical of Mr. Nixon's policies which have caused the present economic crisis; and as a good Republican, he knows that "What's good for G.M. is good for the nation." So he would have a hard time showing any sympathy for the striking U. A. W. workers whose plight is caused by rising prices, a slumping economy, and a corporation that wants to enlarge its profits at their expense.

The U. A. W. strike, the Vice-President to the contrary notwithstanding, is one of the most important issues facing this nation, and anyone who really cares about the welfare of working people and minority groups should be militantly in support of it. The demands being made by the U. A. W. workers are entirely reasonable. While G.M. propaganda tries to show how the union's "exorbitant" demands have caused inflation, the truth is that the workers have been made the chief victims of inflation. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that the worker's real wages are down 7.6% since the last contract, and by the nature of the U.A.W's demand for first-year wage increases. The amount separating the G.M. offer and the U.A.W. demand is about equal to the cut that inflation has taken in the workers' salaries. In the 1967 contract the union agreed to accept a ceiling on cost-of-living increases on the condition that if the rate of inflation exceeded that ceiling, G.M. would make up the difference to the workers in the 1970 contract. The difference amounts to 26¢ an hour. Thus, G.M.'s present offer of a 38¢ an hour wage increase is actually 12¢ an hour which is outrageously inadequate. Moreover, it is against granting workers full cost-of-living protection during the coming three years.

G. M. has also refused to grant dental care program for the workers and their families and many other of the unions non-economic demands. Nor will G.M. grant the union's "30 and out" demand which would enable workers to retire after 30 years with a $500 a month benefit.

This last demand says something about the hardship an auto worker must endure on the job. Many people are under the misconception that an auto worker's job is soft. (It just so happens that a good number of those who hold this view have soft and well-paying jobs and have never laid eyes on an assembly line.) Recently, NEWSWEEK magazine provided a great service by sending one of its reporters to work in an auto plant. He found the job "inhuman" and unbearable, and he lasted only 4 days. One of his co-workers "couldn't understand how I could give up a steady job paying $3.77 an hour and take my chances in a state where one out of eleven people is out of work. And it was only then," the reporter wrote, "that I realized just how important these jobs are--as miserable as they may be--to the men who have to work them." The reason why workers are demanding "30 and out " is, therefore, not hard to understand. As a striking worker from

Linden, New Jersey said, "You work hard as hell, and after 30 years a man's had it."

Black Americans have a special reason to support the U.A.W. strike. There's been a great deal of talk in the past few years about "Black Power," but few people have been able to give any clear definition to the term. While there is not space here to give my own definition, let me point out that the growing number of blacks at all levels in the U.A.W. is one of the best examples of Black Power that I can think of. The U.A.W. strike is one way to increase that power and, in the process, to strengthen the unity between blacks and the unions. Nothing that I know of would cause the Vice-President of the United States greater discomfort.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
October 22, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE ISSUES IN THE ELECTIONS

For black Americans the two over-riding issues in the 1970 elections are the racial and economic policies of the Nixon Administration.

The Administration's reactionary racial policies have been the subject of public discussion now for nearly two years and need little elaboration here. Mr. Nixon and his aides, Attorney General Mitchell and Vice President Agnew, have given us the well-known phrase "The Southern Strategy" which speaks for itself. It calls forth all sorts of negative associations such as the Supreme Court nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell, Mr. Nixon's endorsement of the neighborhood school concept and his opposition to busing--both of which have given great encouragement to Southern segregationists, and his efforts to prevent the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Black leaders have registered numerous protests against these policies, but no protest could be more effective than a massive outpouring on election day of black voters who will repudiate the candidates Mr. Nixon is supporting. All of our energies, therefore, should now be directed at getting out the black vote on November 3rd.

Mr. Nixon's racial policies have been overtly anti-Negro in the sense that blacks have been singled out for special treatment. His economic policies, on the other hand, have affected blacks only indirectly, but it may well be that they have caused far more damage to the Negro's well-being. The rate of unemployment is now 5.5% and can be expected to rise still further. This means that 1.9 million more people are now unemployed than when Mr. Nixon took office in January 1969. What this means to blacks is that the substantial economic gains that were made during the period 1960-68 are now being wiped out. The unemployment rate among Negroes is up to 9%, and among black teenagers it is a catastrophic 34.9%! Morever, these figures actually represent conservative estimates since they do not include part-time workers, people who work for below poverty-level wages, and people who have stopped looking for work.

The worst aspect of Mr. Nixon's economic policies is that he has made poor blacks, in addition to hundreds of thousands of white workers, pay the price of fighting inflation. As such, these policies are immoral and socially reactionary. And they are also ineffective since inflation continues to rise unabated. The 0.5% increase in the Consumer Price Index for September leaves the Nixon Administration vulnerable to the severest criticism immediately before the elections.

The failure of these policies is hardly surprising. As the noted economist Leon Keyserling has frequently pointed out, slowing the economy (as Mr. Nixon has done) is more likely to cause prices to rise than to fall. If there's little housing being built, for example, landlords and speculators can demand a higher price for the little that does exist. You end up with the worst of both worlds--recession with inflation. Nor will raising interest rates (another one of Mr. Nixon's gimmicks) control inflation. Interest rates are now higher than they've been in 100 years, with the result that mortgage rates have been rising at an annual rate of 14%. This doesn't hurt the rich who already have enough money so that they don't have to borrow. It hurts the workingman who must borrow in order to build a home or to pay medical bills. And it hurts these people whether they are black or white.

Mr. Nixon and Vice President Agnew are now engaged in a feverish campaign to cover up for their failure on the economic front. They're very deft at making voters think about other things such as student unrest or the Black Panthers. In New York their strategy reached new peaks of ingenuity when they attacked Senator Goodell who was trailing both the liberal Ottinger and the conservative Buckley in the polls, hoping thereby to produce a Buckley victory by inducing liberals to desert Ottinger and to rally around Goodell in defense.

It can only be hoped that the voters have had enough of such devious strategies and will support the candidates who can do something about the severe social and economic problems of this nation. Politics is not a form of subterfuge but a means to achieve social change, and the voters should make this eminently clear to the present Administration on November 3rd.

###########

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
November 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

LET'S TALK SENSE ABOUT CRIME

by Bayard Rustin

It is perhaps inevitable at a time when "law and order" has become a euphemism for anti-black attitudes, and when the President, Vice-President and Attorney General of the United States and many lesser officials in state and local offices offer anti-crime proposals that are clearly designed to appeal to white fear and prejudice, that many blacks are reluctant to speak out vigorously in favor of more and better law enforcement. This reluctance would not exist if we could destroy several myths about crime.

The first myth, perpetrated by the racists and the demagogues, is that crime essentially consists of assaults by Negroes upon whites. According to a government study released in September, the overwhelming number of crimes against whites are committed by other whites. The second myth is that an anti-crime program would necessarily be an anti-black program. Blacks, in fact, stand to benefit more than any other group in the society from an effective program to reduce crime. Blacks are the victims of a majority of the violent crimes in the United States, and they are also among the prime victims of organized crime. In 1968, for example, the revenues from gambling and narcotics in 3 slum areas in New York City--Bedford-Stuyvesant, Central Harlem, and South Bronx--was $343-million than the state spent on welfare in those areas.

It is ironic but true that those most quick to panic about crime are the ones least likely to suffer from it, while those who suffer the most from crime have been reluctant to advocate that measures be taken against it.

This leads us to a third myth--that "law and order" is a conservative and racist proposal. Certainly conservatives and racists have made use of this slogan to further their own deplorable ends, but it should not follow, therefore, that liberals and blacks should be against the content of this slogan. Indeed, one of the tragedies of the last few years is that the progressive elements in society have permitted the reactionaries to define the issues. Rather than propose a program of affirmative action, they have simply reacted instinctively against whatever the reactionaries have said. Thus, if it is "conservative" to be against crime, it is "liberal" to be for it.

The real division between conservatives and liberals on this issue should not be over whether or not they oppose crime, but over the kind of program they propose to fight it with. A characteristically conservative proposal is one that would not cost very much money. Thus, Nixon has proposed an anti-crime bill for Washington, D.C. that would include provisions for preventive detention of suspects and "no-knock" power for police raids. This is "law and order" in its more obnoxious sense--cheap and repressive.

What cannot be ignored is that any progress against crime will cost literally billions of dollars over what we are now spending on law enforcement. There must, for example, be a massive construction program of new correctional facilities. 61 of the larger prisons in the U.S. were built in the 19th century, and prisons in general are horribly over-crowded. A Prisons Bureau study has proposed the construction of 166 new federal correctional institutions at a cost of $700 million. (Incidentally, to my knowledge Nixon has not said anything about this study.) It is also essential, as Chief Justice Warren Burger noted in his State of the Judiciary message, to overhaul our entire judicial system to insure that there is a 60-day limit between arrest and trail. Together, these reforms would do away with the terrible conditions which have led to a wave of prison riots.

There is also the need for more and better-trained personnel so that the prisons will encourage genuine rehabilitation and not, as they do now, breed criminals more hardened in their ways than when they were arrested. The police must also be reinforced, upgraded, and reformed. Police corruption must be rooted out and officers who violate the rights of citizens must be firmly disciplined.

Finally, fundamental to any anti-crime program must be full employment. If the unemployment rate among black youth is 34.9%, it is hardly surprising that the crime rate for these young people is also high. Other programs in the fields of housing and education will also be required. To the extent that reactionary and simplistic slogans about "law and order" do not help bring about programs for penal and social reform, they will do nothing to stop crime. On the contrary, by debasing the meaning of law and order, they will make lawlessness and disorder even more common and more dangerous.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
November 5, 1970 Rustin Column

THE POWER OF THE BLACK VOTE

There was a good deal of talk before the recent election about the apathy of the black voter. Many people predicted a low turnout in the Negro community on the assumption that there were not enough candidates that blacks found acceptable. Now that the election results are in, we can see how groundless such talk actually was. Black voters showed themselves to be far more sophisticated than some of their analysts. They turned out in higher numbers than they did in the 1968 presidential election, and they used their votes to stem the right-wing trend and to help elect many liberals into office.

The black vote was certainly one of the most important factors which prevented a big Republican victory. The failure was due to the emerging coalition of Negroes and white moderates. This was evident in the gubernatorial victories of moderates such as Dale Bumpers in Arkansas and Reubin Askew in Florida. And most importantly, it led to the defeat of Albert W. Watson in South Carolina whose vicously racist campaign had the full backing of the present Administration in Washington.

The 1970 elections underlined once again how important it is for black candidates to win the support of white voters. Those who still believe that Negroes can or should "go it alone" need only look at the Congressional victories of George Collins in Chicago, Ron Dellums in the Berkeley-Oakland area, and Parren

J. Mitchell in Baltimore to see how self-defeating their position is. Running in majority white districts, these men would have lost had they taken a separatist approach. Perhaps the most encouraging victory by a Negro was in the race for Superintendent of Education in California where Wilson Riles engineered a stunning upset over the super-conservative Max Rafferty.

These victories, together with the election of Negroes to state and local offices throughout the country, demonstrate that the ballot is one of the most effective means for achieving real "black power." The trend toward greater political involvement in the black community is proof that Negroes fully understand that social grievances cannot be solved without political power. Unfortunately, there are some white liberals who are not aware of this new mood among blacks. They feel that the civil rights movement is over and that the only problem that is left to be solved is "racism." But in defining the problem as "racism," they make it seem as if the psychological rehabilitation of whites is more important than the redistribution of political and economic power. Thus, too many liberals ignored blacks in the recent elections, and they also ignored until the very last moment the economic issues which are of vital importance to the Negro community. This situation should change, however, as the force of black political participation awakens liberals to the reality that blacks are in no mood to withdraw into a non-political shell until whites have worked out their racial hang-ups.

The 1970 elections should give us some encouragement as we look toward the crucial election of 1972. The Southern Strategy was not as successful as Mr. Nixon had hoped, and his unprincipled appeal to the working class on "the social issue" was negated by the effect on those same people of his disastrous economic policies. During the next two years Mr. Nixon will probably develop more elaborate strategies to appeal to middle America, but he will have to cope with powerful opposition from the trade union movement which is committed to denying him the working class vote. Like the Negro community, the trade union movement is today more politically involved and organizationally astute than ever before.

With the 1968 and 1970 elections behind it, the unions have thousands of experienced election workers and an organization that is prepared to challenge Mr. Nixon's working class strategy. The combined political strength of the trade union movement and the black community might be enough to reverse the trend to the right of the past few years and to initiate a period of social progress.

++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately December 3, 1970
For further information, contact: Rustin Column

POLITICS AND POWER:

The New Stage of Black Protest

If we review the past fifteen years of the black protest movement, we can identify several key turning points. Certainly the Montgomery bus protest in 1956 was one such turning point since it initiated a mass direct action assault on Jim Crow. Then the sit-in 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina marked the beginning of the period of nonviolent civil disobedience. And in the middle of the decade the riots initiated a period when separatism and violence became significant themes of black protest. And today, though the evidence is not yet conclusive, there is strong reason to believe that the 1970 elections have marked another major turning point. If I am not mistaken, the dominant thrust in the 1970's of the Negro movement for equality will be political action.

We are experiencing today the effect of certain events which took place in the middle of the last decade. The first event was the 1965 Voting Rights Act which has very nearly revolutionized the political life of the South. In 1965 there were about 70 black elected officials in the South. Today there are over 700, and this tremendous increase is a direct result of the hundreds upon hundred of thousands of Negroes who were able to register under Voting Rights Act. In the last election 114 Negroes were elected to office in the South. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, this represented the greatest gain by blacks in any campaign since Reconstruction. We can only expect this trend to continue as more Negroes register to vote and as Negroes throughout the South develop increasing organizational skill and political sophistication. The important support they have received and continue to receive from the trade union movement should further encourage the full-scale entrance of the Negro into Southern politics.

Perhaps more important than these specific changes in the South is the effect they will have on politics throughout America. I have long argued that progress for black Americans will depend to a large extent upon the realignment of the Democratic Party. Conservative Southern Democrats have been a major factor preventing the Democratic Party from becoming an instrument of genuine social change. If they can be denied power in the party, the character of the national Democratic Party will be fundamentally transformed. This is gradually taking place as a result of the political activity of Southern blacks. A coalition of blacks and white moderates is forming, and as they succeed in electing liberals to office and assume positions of power in the Democratic Party, conservatives should follow Strom Thurmond into the Republican Party. Nixon's Southern Strategy is an example of great short-sightedness since it should spur this process on. If it furthers the realignment of the Democratic Party, as I think it will, the Southern Strategy may well weaken the power of the Republican Party and the corporate elite which it represents.

A second major event which began in the mid-sixties and is influencing our current politics was the transition of a Southern based civil rights protest movement concerned primarily with the problem of segregation into a national political movement having to confront basic social and economic problems such as poverty, unemployment, and urban decay. This transition did not take place immediately, nor is it yet complete. But it should continue to develop since it is the only way that the social problems affecting Negroes can be solved. The Federal Government alone has the resources to solve these problems, but it will appropriate these resources only under mandate from a political majority. Blacks, therefore, must be part of this majority along with the trade union movement and the liberal community, and they also have a vital role to play in bringing its varied components together into a united coalition. It is my judgement that with each election, more of them are playing this role. The voter registration groups organized across the country by the A. Philip Randolph Institute were active on an unprecedented scale in the last election, and their activities should increase as we approach 1972.

I do not doubt that many people think of the period 1965-70 not as a time when the civil rights movement gradually transformed itself into a political movement, but rather as a time when black nationalism and tactics of violence became more common than ever. Yet we can be deceived by appearances and by the extravagant publicity given to these forms of protest. My own feeling is that nationalism and violence have had their day. They have produced nothing constructive. If anything, they have contributed to the strengthening of reactionary forces. And while some people continue to use the rhetoric of these movements, the vast majority of blacks are moving off in a different direction. It is the direction of political action, the cultivation of alliances, and the exercise of power--not the power of slogans, but the power of holding political office, of making important decisions, of helping to determine of the future of America.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
December 17, 1970

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE MYTHS OF NIXONOMICS

BY Bayard Rustin

As the 1970 elections made eminently clear, politics is deeply influenced by economics. A decisive portion of the American electorate, including white workers as well as blacks, had little use for the political party of a President whose economic policies are responsible for the recession that we are now in. It is hardly surprising that they would react in this way. People don't like to be out of work, they don't like to pay high interest rates when they borrow money to buy a car or a house, and they don't like prices that rise like an escalator. What is surprising, however, is that the President would persist in carrying out policies which produce all of these things. He can't claim ignorance of the political repercussions of a recession since it was an Eisenhower recession that was an important factor in his loss to Kennedy in 1960, and now he is repeating the same mistakes.

Why is he getting himself into trouble all over again? The answer, I think, is that he is operating on the basis of bad economic theory and in the interest of conservative economic interests. The essence of the theory is that inflation is the result of an "overheated economy" and an excessive supply of money, and that the way to stop inflation is to slow down the economy and reduce the supply of money. The policies chosen to accomplish these goals are higher interest rates and reduced government spending. Additional policies that were suggested recently by Arthur F. Burns, the conservative Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, include a variety of methods to curb the bargaining power of trade unions, the exemption of teenagers from the federal minimum wage law, and the creation of a wage-price review board.

The theory is shot full of holes, and the policies that have been carried out have produced the present recession. In the first place, it is not clear why inflation is the evil demon of so many economists. The reason, we are told is that inflation leads to a depression. Yet historical evidence proves otherwise, since the Great Depression of the 1930's was preceeded by a seven-year peiod of remarkable price stability. Moreover, the inflation we are having today is not the result of an "overheated economy" since our economy is operating at only about 80% capacity and has never operated at more than 87% capacity since the Korean war. And certainly recession does not necessarily reduce inflation as we are now experiencing both recession and inflation simultaneously.

It is no doubt true that conservative economists actually believe that what they are advocating is best for the economy, but it is also true, and probably not coincidental, that the policies they propose benefit the conservative rich at the expense of the poor. In the past 17 years, for example, high interest rates have transferred over $150-billion from borrowers who don't have money to lenders who do have it. Moreover, it is not clear how high interest rates can reduce inflation. In fact, their primary effect would seem to be inflationary since high interest rates increase the price of money. Moreover, cutting federal spending on such things as housing or education hurts the poor and helps the rich whose taxes might otherwise have to pay for these programs. And needless to say, the advocation of anti-union measures has always been a favorite passtime of the corporate establishment. While Dr. Burns recognizes the need to stimulate the economy, his method for doing so is strictly pro-business--tax credits for companies which invest in new equipment.

If we are to have an economy that can meet the needs of all citizens, especially those who are poor, we will have to break the link in our thinking between inflation and an expanding economy. There is little evidence to prove that such a link exists Between 1961 and 1966 the economy was expanding rapidly but prices remained remarkably stable. And since 1966/the rate of economic growth has been going down at the same time that inflation has been increasing. Leon Keyserling, the distinguished economists and the former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has suggested reasons why recession can lead to inflation. They relate to the fact that when products are scarce, as they will be during a recession, producers will be able to charge more for them. In addition, in major industries there are administered prices which can be kept artificially high during recessionary periods of low demand. These are complicated arguments which Keyserling develops at length. Here it is enough to note that such ideas suggest the folly of weakening the economy in order to help it--something which conservatives (and sometimes even liberals) are guilty of proposing. We need a strong economy where there is full employment and where the government spends on programs to fulfill social needs. This is not only morally just, but it also makes economic sense.

#.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
December 31, 1970

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

DR. KING'S LEGACY

By Bayard Rustin

I am strongly in favor of making Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday, but not for the reasons that are often given to justify such a momentous, indeed radical, departure from tradition.

The arguments I have heard from countless blacks are all based upon Dr. King's extraordinary contribution to his people. There is also reference made to the psychological and symbolic significance of creating a national holiday in honor of a leader of a minority that has suffered so many centuries of oppression and discrimination.

I find these arguments compelling, but in the end they are not sufficient, for what is to prevent an Italian or a Jew or an Irishman from demanding similar recognition? One could argue, I think correctly, that these minority groups of Americans have not suffered nearly as much hardship as have blacks, and that, therefore, creating a national holiday for Dr. King would be a form of just compensation for a people so sorely denied.

But I doubt that the majority of Americans could be convinced that it is fair to single out one minority group above all others for special treatment. Nor do I think that creating a national holiday for Dr. King would be an adequate form of compensation. It would be important as a symbol, but it would hardly do much to end discrimination and poverty. We should be wary of purely symbolic gains because they may be taken by many people as a substitution for the real thing: namely, the kind of social, political, and economic equality that was the objective of

Dr. King's struggle.

There is a much more basic reason for honoring Dr. King. More than any single individual, he was the symbol of racial reconciliation, and if the races in America are not reconciled with each other, this nation will not survive. The division between black and white throughout American history forms the core of our national drama and, as Gunnar Myrdal pointed out long ago, is the central dilemma of American life. Dr. King's life, work, and death demonstrated the way to resolve that dilemma, and he should therefore be honored by the entire nation.

Dr. King was able to maintain a balance in his life that is absent in the romantic and often suicidal nations of many so-called revolutionaries and in the narrow world of conservatives as well. He saw that democracy was not a sham but a precious and fragile form of government, and that American society, despite its terrible injustices, could be changed through democratic struggle. His tremendous achievements restored the faith of millions in the democratic process.

He also saw that nonviolence was not only morally necessary, but the only form of social struggle that could change the society for the better. It offers a way for the victims of society to be truly free, for it is at once an effective form of struggle and a guarantee that the victims will not become the new oppressors

And Dr. King maintained his faith in integration throughout his life. The ideal of integration has been attacked from many sides in recent years, and yet the violence and the hatred that have been associated with these attacks have only proved how vital integration remains as an objective. Racial barriers can never lead to racial peace but only to endless conflict. Building a single society is not a choice but a necessity.

Dr. King was a man of love, and for that he was loved, hated and mocked. We should appreciate the spiritual side of his nature without sentimentalizing it, for he was also acutely aware of the economic context in which people live. He believed not only in brotherhood, but also in the redistribution of wealth, and he engaged in struggles toward that end. He recognized the need for a social and economic program without which we will never solve the basic problems of our society.

Dr. King was a man for all of us. He challenged what is worst in our society by appealing to what is best in our natures. Though he is no longer with us he still symbolizes our hopes and our ideals, the ideals of equality, freedom, and peace. By honoring him America would be doing justice to itself, for it would be creating a symbol--a day of national observance--of how we must behave toward one another if we are ever to realize the principles upon which this nation was established.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
January 14, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

by Bayard Rustin

How shall we call ourselves? Negroes? Blacks? Colored people? Afro-Americans? These are not new questions, and they shall remain with us as long as the identity of our people remains unresolved. But perhaps we can temper the debate over nomenclature by putting the problem in its proper historical perspective.

American Negroes (I shall use that term here because a 1969 Newsweek poll showed it to be far and away the most popular) referred to themselves as Africans or Free Africans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indicating by these terms the attachment to the land they had so recently left. By the first half of the nineteenth century a change took place, and they started calling themselves Colored Americans and, to a lesser extent, Negroes and Blacks. In the first edition of "The Colored American," one of the earliest Negro newspapers, the editor offered a brief explanation for his choice of the title. "Many," he wrote, "would gladly rob us of the endeared name, 'AMERICANS,' a distinction more emphatically belonging to us, than to five-sixths of this nation, and one that we will never yield. In complextion, in blood and in nativity we are decidedly more exclusively 'American' than our white brethren; hence the propriety of the name of our paper, COLORED AMERICAN, and of identifying the name with all our institutions, in spite of our enemies, who would rob us of our nationality and reproach us as exoticks." The name "Colored" was chosen because "We are written about, preache to, and prayed for, as Negroes, Africans, and blacks, all of which have been stereotyped, as names of reproach, and on that account, if no other, are unacceptable."

If the adjective "Colored" represented in this case a growing sense of pride and dignity and a refusal to be stereotyped, the noun "American" signified an adament refusal to be sent back to Africa (at that time the people urgining emigration were mostly white) and an assertion of a new sense of American identity.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the name "Negro" was finally settled upon and was made official by its capitalization. There remains much confusion over the origin of this word. Many young people today think that "Negro" is a term that whites gave to blacks and thus reject it as a symbol of paternalism and subjection. But, as historian Theodore Draper, has pointed out, it was a self-chosen word representing the Negro's growing "Americanization and self-realization."

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois once made a brilliant commentary on the debate over names in a reply to a letter from a 15-year-old youth who objected to the use of the term "Negro" because it was, in his opinion, "a white man's word to make us feel inferior." DuBois wrote back urging the young person not to mistake "names for things," nor to put undo emphasis on what something is called. DuBois' letter is a masterpiece of gentle refutation and is worth quoting from at length:

> ...why seek to change the name? "Negro" is a fine word. Etymologically and phonetically it is much better and more logical than "African" or "colored" or any of the various hyphenated circumlocutions. Of course, it is not "historically" accurate. No name ever was historically accurate: neither "English," "French," "German," "White," "Jew," "Nordic" nor "Anglo-Saxon." They were all at first nicknames, misnomers, accidents, grown eventually to conventional habits and achieving accuracy because, and simply because, wide and continued usage rendered them accurate. In this sense "Negro" is quite as accurate, quite as old and quite as definite as any name of any great group of people.

> Suppose now we could change the name. Suppose we arose tomorrow morning and lo! instead of being "Negroes," all the world called us "Cheiropolidi" -- do you really think this would make a vast and momentous difference to you and me? Would the Negro problem be suddenly and eternally settled? Would you be any less ashamed of being descended from a black man, or would your schoolmates feel any less superior to you? The feeling of inferiority is in you, not in any name. The name merely evokes what is already there. Exorcise the hateful complex and no name will ever make you hang your head.

This was in 1928. One can imagine a youth writing a letter today identical to the one written to DuBois, and one can imagine DuBois, were he alive, writing the same reply. The problems confronting Negroes are formidable, and they will not be solved by altering a name, or by dressing differently, or by wearing one's hair in a new way. We should not be fooled by names or appearance The real problems lie beneath the surface.

# # #

file

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
January 28, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

MR. NIXON'S CONSERVATIVE "REVOLUTION"

We live in an age when making a revolution has become as fashionable as the latest style in women's clothing. We have heard the word used so often that "revolution" has lost its meaning. It has become little more than a rhetorical happening, full of sound and fury, but signifying nothing. And so it should come as no surprize to hear the President of the United States--a conservative in the classical sense of the word--proposing to initiate "a New American Revolution" and to return "power to the people." When he made these remarks in his State of the Union address, he wasn't being radical but only fashionable. Needless to say, he was also trying to score political points.

The central concept behind Mr. Nixon's new "revolution" is "The New Federalism," something he articulated during his first year in office. "The New Federalism" means, as Mr. Nixon stated in August, 1969,"the decentralization of governmental power, the restoration of a rightful balance between the state capitals and the national capital." In more down-to-earth and openly conservative terms, this simply means "states' rights"--a shift of power away from the Federal Government, which has been the major source of social progress for poor and working people, and to the states which have generally been dominated by conservative interests.

The revenue sharing proposal which Mr. Nixon offered in his State of the Union address was first unveiled in 1969 as part of "The New Federalism." Dr. Arthur F. Burns, at the time a counselor to the President and now the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board--and, it should be emphasized, a profoundly conservative man--praised the proposal as "an old Republican concept."

All it means is that the states and localities will be given funds that the Federal Government now spends on such things as public education, manpower training, Model Cities, and mass transit. One danger, as THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out, "is that the return to the states and localities of unearmarked Federal money will result in a decline, rather than an expansion, in total public action to deal with urgent social problems. The temptation will be strong in many areas to use the windfall from Washington to meet conventional budget requirements and thus ease the burden on local taxpayers."

Moreover, as the Budget Director of New York City, Edward K. Hamilton warned, cities might very well lose money as a result of revenue sharing. If payments, he said, are delayed--a likely possibility given the need to reorganize procedures and given also the fact that budget officials often use delays to save money--costs would increase during the period of postponement and the Federal money might not be enough to finance existing programs.

Revenue sharing is like playing musical chairs with money. The only thing that changes is the level of government that foots the bill, and the experience of low-income people in America has been that it's better for the national government to do so.

Mr. Nixon's proposal to reorganize the Executive Branch of the government is also not "revolutionary." Reducing the number of Cabinet departments from 12 to 8 appeals to Nixon the businessman who appreciates efficient organization. But as Alan Otten wrote in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, "Even in the business world, where there are fewer political pressures to complicate matters, conglomerates often make for inefficiency and waste."

The millions of Americans suffering from inadequate and costly medical care no doubt agree with the President's call for a "a new era of medicine," but the President did not outline the details of his health plan. There are reports from Washington that these details have not yet been worked out, and that one point of uncertainty is the number of people who will be covered by the plan. In light of the struggle the President has waged since he has been in office to cut spending on social welfare programs, one cannot be confident that the details of his health plan will be worked out to the advantage of lower and middle income Americans. The President could easily clear up any doubts by endorsing the Health Security Act of 1971 that has been proposed by the AFL-CIO, the UAW, and a score of Senators.

It is significant that just a few days after Mr. Nixon's State of the Union address, Vice-President Agnew ruled in the Senate in favor of a conservative,pro-filibuster bloc. Anyone who has fought for civil rights legislation knows what Southerners can do with the filibuster. Agnew's ruling is just part of the President's on-going Southern Strategy, something that bespeaks his political intentions more clearly than his "revolutionary" rhetoric. Mr. Nixon may talk about "power to the people," but I felt much better when Lyndon Baines Johnson, without all the fanfare, said "We Shall Overcome."

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
February 10, 1971

Rustin Column

THE CHANGING SOUTH

Many people have been pleased as well as bewildered by the liberal statements on race relations that have been made recently by a number of newly elected Southern governors. Are these statements just good publics relations, or do they represent important political changes? My own feeling is that they represent a political development of far-reaching importance which should have a favourable impact not only on the South but on the entire nation.

Jimmy Carter, the successor to the segregationist Lester G. Maddox as Governor of Georgia, proposed a new era for his state in his inaugural address. "I say to you quite frankly that the time for racial discrimination is over," he said. "No poor, rural, weak or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simple justice." Similar statements were made in their inaugural addresses by other new Southern governors: Reubin Askew in Florida, Dale Bumpers in Arkansas, Winfield Dunn in Tennessee, and John West in South Carolina. West's address is particularly important in that he now represents an alternative in South Carolina to Strom Thurmond, one of the most powerful and rigid old-time Southern conservatives.

One of Carter's first acts was to appoint, as the successor to the late Senator Richard Russell, David Cambrell, an out-spoken liberal on racial questions. One Georgia state legislator summed up the feelings of many of his fellow blacks when he said, "His appointment looks like part of the new day that is dawning in the South."

The new day for the South is result of many factors, the most important of which is the increased power of the black vote. For the first time since reconstruction Southern politicians must take into account the feelings and interests of Negroes. The new influence of blacks in the political life of the South is a direct result of the civil rights movement. It is the finest example of the way effectively organized social protest can be transformed into political power.

The changes in the South are also the result of increasing urbanization and the large immigration of Northerners and Westerners to the South. In many areas this has produced constituencies similar to those in the North, and this, in turn, has led to the rise of a new breed of Southern politician.

The changes in the South are occuring in the context of a fundamental shift in national politics. Over the past twenty years the Southern strength in the Democratic Party has been gradually diminishing. At the same time the Republican Party has been gaining ground in the South. Many liberals see this as a positive development because the Southern conservative wing of the Democratic Party has prevented the Party from playing a more forthright liberal role in national politics. The dilemma for the Democrats is that they cannot maintain themselves as a majority party if they write off the South entirely as some liberals have proposed.

The emergence of a moderate to liberal group of Southern governors shows that there may be a way out of this dilemma. In the past it was not felt that such politicians had a chance in the South because they could be defeated in most cases by demagogues who played on racial fears. Race-baiting politics no doubt still exists in the South, but it seems to be on the decline, and a new coalition has emerged composed of Negroes, trade unionists, and white moderates. Recent indications show that this coalition has a chance to become the dominant political force in the South.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
February 26, 1971

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE NIXON STRATEGY--ANTI-INFLATION OR ANTI-POOR?

By Bayard Rustin

President Nixon's recent suspension of the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act has been hailed by some people as the Administration's first firm step to halt inflation in the construction industry. Actually it is nothing of the kind. In terms of taking effective action, the suspension of the Act bears some resemblance to the President's much-heralded Philadelphia Plan which was not so much a program as a public relations gimmick. The present move should also be seen as consistent with the Administration's overall anti-inflation strategy, the dominant thrust of which has been "soak the poor."

The Davis-Bacon Act requires contractors on Federal or federally-assisted projects to pay workers the prevailing union wage rates. Thus, whether the contractor runs an open or a closed shop, whether he uses union or non-union labor, the Act requires him to pay union wages. The suspension of the Act now allows him to pay below the union wage level. What will be the effect of this? Labor costs on projects using union labor will not be affected since contractors are obligated to pay unionists the prevailing wage rates. Only the wages of non-union workers would be cut, and these are workers who can least afford pay cuts. It should be emphasized that cutting the wages of these workers will not necessarily lower construction costs. What it probably will do is simply increase the margin of profit for non-union contractors.

So in effect, the President has harmed the poorest workers in the construction industry and helped the open shop contractors. This is like saying that the way to get rid of air pollution is to have everybody take one deep breath, all the while providing car manufacturers with a government subsidy.

The suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act is not only a mistake in itself, but it is symptomatic of a larger failing on the part of the Administration. The President has made the typical businessman's error of identifying wages as the cause of inflation. Starting from this assumption, his strategy can only fail because he ignores so many other factors, particularly the cost of land and financing. Since 1949, the cost of on-site labor as a percentage of total housing costs has shrunk from 33% to 18%. During the same period, the cost of land and financing has gone up from 16% of total housing construction costs to 31%. Thus, land and financing have been the major inflationary factors in construction, yet they have been totally neglected by the President in his strategy to curb inflation.

As construction contractors and presidential aides are so apt to point out, the hourly wages are higher in the construction industry than in other industries. What they do not mention, though, is that the construction industry is seasonal and that a worker is fortunate if he is on the job 40 weeks out of the year. Thus, a construction worker's hourly wage may by high, but his annual wage is not. According to the Census Bureau, the average annual wage for a construction worker in 1969 was $7,089, which was almost $200 below the average wage for male workers in manufacturing. The national median income is about $8500, and the annual income that a family of four needs to maintain a moderate standard of living, according to the Department of Labor, is almost $11,000.

The President has often posed as "pro-Black" in his attacks on the building trades,but Black people should not be so easily fooled. The suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act will encourage contractors to employ non-union construction workers, and many of these workers are Negroes, but those who see this as a blessing are sadly mistaken. In the end Blacks have never benefited when their labor has been used to undermine unions. They have invariably been paid low wages (and the effect of Nixon's recent act, as we have seen, will be to lower non-union wages), and they have been used to destroy an institution which they should be struggling to join and to improve.

The efforts of contractors and others to cut wages by using non-union labor might easily backfire. In situations where union standards have been threatened by open shops and non-union labor, unions have been spurred on to fully organize their industry. The best way to serve the interests of some workers is by serving the interests of all workers. This is an old principle, as true today as ever before.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 11, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WHITNEY YOUNG--THE LOSS OF A LEADER

by Bayard Rustin

There is little that can be said about Whitney Young that has not already been said by the countless Americans of every race and creed who were his admirers. His loss grieves us immeasurably. Its suddenness startles us. His death creates a sense of disorientation, an immediate need to make an adjustment to a new situation. Only the loss of someone who is important to us, who plays a vital role in our lives, can arouse these emotions.

Whitney Young was important to us.

He came to prominence during the brightest and most successful years of the civil rights movement. In the ten years that he was the Executive Director of the National Urban League, he brought the organization into the vanguard of the struggle for civil rights. He was an activist in the very best sense of the word. I worked closely with him during the organization of the March on Washington. He attended every meeting, gave unsparingly of his time and energy, and brought the full resources of his organization into the struggle for jobs and freedom.

He did more than work on demonstrations. He understood the nature of power in American society, and also the process by which social change must be brought about. He pressed the fight in Washington for civil rights legislation and for laws that would improve the economic condition of black Americans. Of equal importance was his unique talent for dealing with the white power structure without losing touch with the grass-roots movements in the black community. At times he was attacked by people who did not understand the necessity for working on so many different fronts, but he weathered these attacks and continued to build the Urban League into an immensely influential and effective organization.

Whitney Young was a public figure, an important leader. To appraise him, therefore, is to appraise the philosophy and ideals which he stood for. We are familiar with these ideals. Martin Luther King stood for them, and so do the overwhelming majority of blacks who are fighting for equality. Among these ideals are the belief in a single society in which black and white can live at peace with each other. Among them also is a commitment to the idea that social change can only come about democratically and nonviolently. There were some points at which Whitney Young and I disagreed over specific tactics and strategies. That is only normal. But there was complete and total agreement on the fundamentals of integration, democracy, and nonviolence, and it is the fundamental philosophy of a social movement which ultimately determines its character and fate.

Whitney Young's loss comes at a time then his voice is more needed than ever. He profoundly believed in unity within the black community and in racial reconciliation within the society at large. He was extraordinarily skilled at bringing people together, at trying to find some way to resolve differences. At a time when sharp divisions presist within the black community, his loss will be felt most deeply. He looked for common denominators among different groups of blacks in the hope of welding together a sense of common purpose. We must continue to strive for this goal, even though the task is now made more difficult than ever by Whitney Young's death.

He also tried to bring together blacks and whites. This remains the most pressing challenge facing the society, and again, it will be a challenge that is so much harder to meet because one of the most articulate voices calling for racial justice and racial peace is now silent.

Whitney Young had the rare qualities of perseverance and total dedication. He knew that society could not be transformed overnight, that the struggle for justice is a long struggle--longer than a lifetime. He geared himself for that long fight and now, through some quirk of fate, his life has been cut short. The loss is ours. The grief is ours. And ours, also, must be the commitment to carry on the struggle and see it through to a successful conclusion.

-

File

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 25, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE CRISIS IN OUR SCHOOLS

by Bayard Rustin

New York City has now weathered its second school crisis in less than six months. In both cases the script was the same--funding cuts, massive public protest, and the restoration of funds. Other cities have suffered similar crises, and all signs indicate that the drama will be played out again and again in the coming months. The problem is national in scope, and at the root of it is the method by which we finance our public education system.

The New York crisis underlined the plight that our schools are in, but it also revealed an extraordinarily encouraging development--the growth of public solidarity in the face of common problems. Only a little over two years ago New York endured one of the darkest periods in its history as a result of a conflict over community control of the schools. Teachers were divided from parents, racial tensions escalated, and widespread violence seemed imminent. In the latest crisis, however, former opponents were brought together into a "Citywide Coalition to Save Our Public Schools." The coalition included thirty local school boards, more than twenty chapters of the NAACP, important Jewish organizations, citizen and education groups, and numerous unions, among them the United Federation of Teachers and District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees

The coalition undertook the organization of a massive demonstration which was called a "March for a Million Children." Had it been held, it would probably have been the largest demonstration ever organized in New York City, but the funding cuts were restored two days before the march was scheduled and it was called off.

If the funds had not been restored, more than 10,000 teachers would have been dismissed. The consequences would have been disastrous: the disruption of classes, violence, and general chaos. This intolerable situation would have developed had the people of New York not united to protest in their common interest.

But what is to happen in the future? New York has been granted only a temporary respite, and cities such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit are in a similar bind. Our school systems and our cities cannot endure an endless series of crises. The only solution lies in finding a way to put out schools on a stable financial basis.

In order to do this we have to recognize that the procedures by which many cities must procure school funds are archaic and unfair and should be discarded. Cities are caught in a squeeze. On the one hand, their tax base is rapidly eroding as middle and upper income families flee to the suburbs. At the same time, the cities have much more of a need for funds than wealthier suburban communities. They don't have enough to pay for public safety, welfare, and sanitation let alone public education. Central to the whole problem is the fact that in each of these areas of public service, the cities need far more funds than do the suburbs--their problems are so much more severe--and yet they possess far less resources.

The first step towards a solution should be the takeover of education by the states. Central state funding would at least spread the burden of financing urban education throughout the state. There would also have to be a high degree of Federal funding, hopefully with the amount of funding determined by the level of need in a particular area. Changing the method of funding would not, of course, provide all the necessary funds. For that we need tax reform that would begin to close the loopholes protecting the vast wealth of a very few Americans. And this leads us to politics, that vital activity which ultimately holds the key to the most serious problems facing this nation.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
April 8, 1971

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

ANTI-UNION AND ANTI-BLACK

by Bayard Rustin

An alliance is now taking shape which, despite the professed intentions of some of its members, will set back the black struggle for economic advancement. It is an alliance between liberals who think they are helping blacks by hurting unions, and conservatives who want to appear to be helping blacks precisely in order to hurt unions. The basis of agreement is to smash unions by using the open shop and other anti-union measures. The effect will be to irreparably harm blacks who depend upon unions for their economic security, all the"liberal" cant to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Nixon Administration, with its sophisticated brand of conservatism, provides the ideal setting for such an alliance to take shape. The Administration's policies, which have hurt both unions and blacks, have been vigorously denounced by the trade union and civil rights leadership. In order not to lose votes as a result of its policy failures, the Administration has unleashed Agnew to win over "the worker," and it is trying to appeal to Negroes by attacking unions in the name of fighting union discrimination in the construction industry.

The most forthright expression of this "pro-black", anti-union posture was given by Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur A. Fletcher in a speech delivered last month before a meeting of open shop contractors. Mr. Fletcher had nothing but praise for "a President and an Attorney General who support a specific anti-discrimination program in this field." There was no attempt to analyze why the President and the Attorney General--Attorney General Mitchell, that great friend of the Negro!--

might be taking this course. Mr. Fletcher was interested only in proclaiming, with great exuberance, that the Administration had finally "whipped" the unions.

Mr. Fletcher, let us remember, was speaking to open shop contractors, people who don't care about the color of a worker's skin, as long as he's not in a union and does not have to be paid union wages. The open shop contractors applauded his speech not because they like Negroes and are interested in their welfare, but because they don't like unions. They would hardly have applauded if Mr. Fletcher had called for full and equal participation of black workers in the building trades at union wage scales.

Mr. Fletcher warned the open shop contractors that they should not take advantage of the assault on unions by exploiting a new source of cheap black labor. "Too often in history," he said, "black people have been used as strike breakers, only to be put aside by management, and discriminated against by employers, when they had served the purpose of breaking the union." But the contractors applauded just the same because they've been around too long. They know full well that breaking unions and getting cheap labor go hand in hand, and that the appeals to higher motives are only icing on the cake. "It is your responsibility," Mr. Fletcher said, "to see that the civil rights movement is not perverted into an anti-labor, anti-worker movement." It is shocking that Mr. Fletcher could seriously make this appeal to open shop contractors who have never made any effort to hide their hostility to unions. They know what he doesn't know--that business is business, and that the objective of the businessman is not to fight for racial justice but to make money, and if that means cutting wages, then so be it. It is for this very reason that unions were formed in the first place.

What Mr. Fletcher did not tell the non-union contractors is that Negroes depend on unions even more than whites. According to a study just released by the U.S. Department of Commerce, "For Negro men working year-round full-time in blue-collar occupations, union members earned about 50 percent more than their nonunion counterparts." The ratio of union to nonunion wages for whites was a good deal lower.

It is one thing to call for full and equal opportunities for minority groups workers in the building trades. It is an entirely different matter to call for union busting, yet this is what Mr. Fletcher has done. I am sure he will not welcome the terrible consequences this will have for Negro workers, yet he (and the conservative Administration he represents) is following this course anyway. One thing is clear: that when Mr. Fletcher spoke before the meeting of open shop contractors, his audience understood what he was saying better than he did himself. He said, "The fight is for racial justice," but they heard, "The fight is against unions." What they knew, and what Mr. Fletcher seems incapable of grasping, is that the fight against unions is ultimately a fight against blacks as well.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
April 23, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

A CURE FOR OUR HEALTH SYSTEM

by Bayard Rustin

The proposition that the American health care system is sick and could benefit from some kind of reform is now accepted by almost everybody who has had any contact with the problem. Something is rotten when a nation spends more and more for a service, as we have been doing for health care, while the problem gets increasingly worse. In the last decade our expenditures for health care more than doubled. By June 30, 1969 the total annual bill reached is $60.3 billion, which is approximately $295 per person. During the same period we dropped from 11th to 21st among the nations of the world in infant mortality rates. Our position also deteriorated in terms of the life expectancy of adult men and women. Blacks suffer most of all under these circumstances (they have 3 times the infant mortality rate of whites and more than 5 years less life expectancy), but whites are also being hurt. One study estimated that the infant mortality rate among whites in 49 of 50 states is higher than the highest provincial rate in Sweden. The Swedes get better and more comprehensive medical care but spend only 5% of their gross national product on health services, in contrast to our own 6.7%. Somewhere our medical system has gone wrong.

Part of the problem lies in the fee-for-service system which characterizes the present relationship of most patients and doctors. Under this system the doctor determines both the amount of service and the cost, a procedure that has greatly enhanced his earning capacity. In 1964 the median income for doctors was a substantial

$28,380. Five years later the figure was over $40,000.

A second problem has to do with the private health insurance industry which operates on a cost-plus basis. The hospitals set the costs and are guaranteed an income in excess of that from the insurance companies. There is thus no incentive either to reduce costs or to increase efficiency. The private insurance companies have also benefited from present procedures. One report estimates that only 56 cents of every $1 paid out in premiums goes into payment for health services. The rest is overhead and profit.

The recommendations that President Nixon has made to change the present health care system only reinforce some of its worst aspects. His plan relies entirely on private health insurance companies and, according to BUSINESS WEEK, will provide the largest company of all, Blue Cross, with "more business, more money." The President has called for "minimum standard health insurance protection," which leads one to believe that his plan could consist of the least expensive and most limited protection that is now provided by private insurance. The cost estimates for the President's program are still vague, but the most quoted figure for Federal expenditure is $3-billion which is terribly inadequate.

A second plan, which Edward Kennedy and 24 other senators and Representative Martha Griffiths and more than 100 congressmen have introduced into Congress, recognizes the inadequacies of private, profit-oriented medicine and calls for genuine reform of our medical system. Everybody, rich and poor, would receive equal coverage under their proposed National Health Insurance Act. The cost of the plan is estimated at $41-billion or 7% of the nation's total payroll. 1% would come out of employees wages while the Federal government and employers would share the remaining 6%. These payments would be obligatory under law, though both doctors and patients would be free not to participate in the plan.

The fear that such a plan would "overload" the capacity of the health system to dispense services is not substantiated by the experiences of group practice plans (such as Group Health Insurance and Kaiser Permanente). Because these plans provide better health services, including preventive care, their enrollees spend considerably less time on the average in hospitals than enrollees in ordinary commercial plans. It has been shown that group practice can cut down on costs and improve service by increasing the effective use of specialists and cutting down on overlapping. The National Health Insurance Act would help the poor most of all by putting an end to the nightmare of waiting at clinics for treatment that is too little and often too late.

Perhaps the major legislative fight of the coming year will be between supporters of the National Health Insurance Act and the Nixon Plan. The fight will pose two ideological alternatives: a public approach which sees health care as a right of citizenship, and a private approach which sees it as a privilege for the affluent. Some kind of reform is bound to emerge, but if it resembles Nixon's watered down version of health insurance, the loss will be two fold. We will have been deprived of genuine national health insurance, and we will also have passed up an opportunity to bring about change. Such opportunities come along only rarely, and we must take advantage of them while we can.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
May 6, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The Supreme Court Turns Right

by Bayard Rustin

What had once been feared has now come to pass. President Nixon's nominations to the Supreme Court have turned it around from a liberal organ initiating change to a conservative bastion.

The change in the character of the Court, even the swiftness with which it has taken place, is not surprising. The Warren Court had only a narrow liberal majority, so that Mr. Nixon's nominations of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Harry A. Blackmun were enough to shift the majority to the conservative side. Today we are experiencing the far-reaching effects of this development.

Since the beginning of the Court's current term, it has reversed rulings of the Warren Court by narrowing the rights of welfare recipients and illigitimate children, and by making it possible for foreign-born Americans to lose their citizenship. It has also over-turned liberal Warren Court rulings on such diverse matters as police interrogation, double jeopardy, and longshoremen's injury claims.

More recently the Court voted unanimously to uphold the constitutionality of busing to further school integration in cases where dual systems prevail. This was one of the few cases where the Burger Court has taken a position different from the Nixon Administration whose lawyers argued for the preservation of the neighborhood school even where this slowed desegregation in the South.

The effect of this decision, however, is not likely to be as great as some have anticipated, because in a subsequent ruling the Court upheld state laws which give voters the right to block construction of low-income housing for the poor. The majority opinion held that race was not the issue in the matter, even though such referendum laws are becoming the chief means by which suburban communities are maintaining residential segregation. This ruling nullified the school busing decision in all cases except where Southern dual systems exist, particularly since the Court had made clear that the busing decision did not apply to Northern-style segregation based on residential patterns. The housing decision, it must be emphasized, will have a much greater long-term impact than the ruling on busing since the basis of school segregation in the future, in the South as well as in the North, will not be old-style dual systems but new style "dual communities."

The housing decision, which shocked many people, was soon followed by an even more shocking decision that gave juries the right to impose the death penalty. There is still a possibility that the Court will outlaw the death penalty in light of the Eighth Amendment's clause prohibiting "cruel and unusual punishment," a constitutional issue the current decision does not affect. But for the present the court seems bent on upholding the barbarity of capital punishment.

During the 1968 election, A. Philip Randolph warned that the greatest effect of a Nixon victory would be to give the conservatives the opportunity to alter the character of the Supreme Court. Now we have seen the truth of this prediction. Just as we cannot over-estimate the effect a liberal court had in giving momentum and legal support to the civil rights struggle, we cannot now minimize the implications of the present character of the Court. With just two nominations Mr. Nixon has engineered a counter-revolution. This is so despite the fact that the Senate voted down the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations in an unprecedented rebuke of the President. This only means that if the Senate had supported Haynesworth and Carswell, the situation would now be even worse. In fact, it can still get worse since Mr. Nixon will have the opportunity to make further nominations if Justices Douglas and Black, both of whom are not in good health, retire. This possibility should bring into sharper focus the profound necessity for a liberal victory in 1972.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
May 20, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Won't They Ever Learn?

by Bayard Rustin

Considering the history of the separation of the races in America, and considering also the mutual misunderstanding and fear that has accompanied such separation, it is not surprizing that the gross distortions of the past are carried into the present even by some of those who claim to be committed to racial justice and reconciliation.

In keeping with the mood of the times, the updating of old racial myths has taken the form of cults of one sort or another. There is always some "new" angle to the race problem, or some new gimmick that people latch onto in the hope of finding a short-cut solution. But easy answers always indulge in racial mythology because they must--if they are to be easy answers--obscure the depth of the race problem. Today's cultists are the natural descendents of the procreators of all our racial stereotypes.

One of the new cults is "black English." Recently, some 250 linquistics experts, teachers and students (most of them white) met to discuss "Black English: Myth or Reality?" According to a New York Times report, the "experts" seemed convinced that "black English" is very much a reality. ("black English," according to these "experts" is saying "where Charlie?" instead of "where is Charlie?") "Experts," the report noted, "now say that black English has an identity independent of white dialects of English." They also feel that it might be best to teach black children in their native tongue rather than force them into the difficult situation of using English.

There is already a course in "black English" being taught at Brooklyn College by a woman who heads a "language curriculum research project" that is financed by a $65,000 Ford Foundation grant.

No doubt the motives of some of these new "black linquistics experts" are sincere. They want to see black children learn, but do they want to prepare them for life outside the ghetto? Do they want to see them become first-class citizens? "Black English," after all, has nothing to do with blackness but derives from the conditions of lower-class life in the South (poor Southern whites also speak "black English"). Reinforcing this consequence of poverty will only perpetuate poverty since it will prevent black children from mastering the means of communication in an advanced technological society with a highly educated population.

I am sure there are some black proponents of "black English" who feel that we must retain our racial distinctiveness and avoid the self-negating process of assimilation. But this is really a false issue. Immigrants who were much more foreign to American culture than Negroes relized when they arrived in America that in order to succeed they had to master certain skills, and they did so while retaining their ethnic distinctiveness. The lesson of the last decade is that the "melting pot" is a myth, not because some ethnic groups have made it while others have not, but because even those at the same economic level retain distinctive characteristics. The problem with many "black cultists" is that they are willing to sacrifice economic advancement in the name of separate peoplehood without realizing that the unique history and character of black Americans will survive economic assimilation and the achievement of first-class citizenship.

Our long experience with Jim Crow should have told us by now that there are many people in America who are not sympathetic to our struggle for racial equality. The new coalition of "liberals" who romanticize the characteristics of black poverty and foundation executives who are looking for a cheap solution to racial injustice is just one more obstacle that we will have to fight.

A recent editorial in The Crisis, the publication of the NAACP, spoke forcefully and to the point about the cult of "black English".

"Black parents throughout this nation should rise up in unanimous condemnation of this insidious conspiracy to cripple their children permanently....

"Let the black voice of protest resound thunderously throughout the land!"

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
June 3, 1971

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

WHEN VICTIMS BECOME EXECUTIONERS

By Bayard Rustin

The brutal and senseless killing of two policemen in Harlem has shocked many people. But it was not entirely unexpected since for several years now small extremist groups have popularized the ideology of terrorism, and it was only a matter of time before ideas were translated into actions. Now we have to live with a new and terrifying reality.

The Harlem killings were not anti-white since one of the murdered policemen was black. The killings were strictly anti-police. In a more general sense they were anti-"law and order," though not in the sense that that term is so often used by demagogic white politicans. Rather, the killings constituted a threat to the preservation of social order which is essential to the existence of any society. Social order is especially important to blacks because they will be the first to suffer if it is destroyed.

A group called "The National Liberation Army" has claimed credit for a number of acts of anti-police terror. Could such acts in any way further the "liberation" of the black community? In what way does shooting a policemen from behind improve the conditions of life for blacks? The effect can only be to make life more dangerous and unbearable. The police could respond in two ways: with indiscriminate counter-terror or by withdrawing from the ghetto entirely. My own feeling is that the latter is the more likely possibility since there is a long tradition of white society turning its back on violence within the black community. As long as the violence doesn't spill over into the white community, as long as its "just"black against black, then it is tolerable and certainly preferable to sending policemen into ambushes.

There is only one group in the black community which could conceivably benefit from such a state of affairs: the criminals. The withdrawal of police protection from the ghetto would enable them to prey upon the community at will. Indeed, the criminals are the only people who could be "liberated" by the total destruction of "law and order" in the black community.

That is why all of the mass-based Negro organizations, such as the N.A.A.C.P., have always called for more police protection, not less. Blacks don't need statistics to know that black crime takes place primarily within the ghetto and that despite all the "law and order" rhetoric of certain whites, blacks have the greatest interest in the reduction of crime.

The issue is not, as some would have it, that the police have engaged in brutality against blacks. That they have done so is not disputed. The issue is that we cannot fight white irrationality if we do not stand up firmly against acts of brutality and violence in the black community. We must repudiate these acts as well as the people who engage in them.

There is also a moral issue involved which must not escape us. The black struggle for freedom has many dimensions, political and economic as well as social, cultural, and psychological. It also has a moral dimension since it is the struggle of an oppressed people for liberation. But what happens when the oppressed imitate the very worst deeds of their oppressors? What happens when the victims become the executioners? Can they any longer be said to be fighting for "liberation" if that word is to retain any humane and idealistic content? And what happens to the struggle in whose name they speak? Who will believe us when we say we are struggling for freedom and not just for a new form of bondage? We should not hesitate in our responses to these questions. For the sake of everything we have been struggling for, for all that Martin Luther King lived and died to achieve, we must repudiate terrorism, for in the end its main victims are not the police but ourselves.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
June 17, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE

by Bayard Rustin

Since the passage of the 1964 and 1965 civil rights acts, which dealt affectively with many of the legal aspects of discrimination against blacks, the movement for racial justice has been increasingly turning its attention to economic issues. This shift was demonstrated some weeks ago when over 40 black leaders (including such figures as A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Dorothy Height) signed a statement calling for an immediate increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour and to $2.25 one year later.

The primary concern of the signatories of the statement was the effect that inflation has had on the poorest paid workers, so many of who are black. These workers were in poverty before the recent inflationary push. At $1.60 an hour and working the standard 2000 hours a year, they could hope to earn only $3200 a year which is a good deal less than a family of four receives in welfare payments in New York City. Inflation made this meagre income even smaller. From 1965 to 1971 the average worker's income increased about 30% but his real income actually decreased because of inflation. Imagine the plight of an impoverished worker who received no increase at all in take-home pay during that period! An immediate increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour is actually a "minimum" demand since it would only raise the real income of the poor worker to what it was in 1966, the last time the minimum was increased. And it would do nothing at all for the 16 million workers who are not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Clearly, then, an increase in the minimum wage is demand as only a first step in the war on poverty. But it is an essential step. It is essential to those workers who perform the most menial and back-breaking jobs for poverty wages. And it is essential to the families which are supported by these workers. For these people an increased minimum wage may mean the difference between health and sickness and between a glimmer of hope and total despair.

The fact that black leaders signed the statement calling for an increased minimum wage underlines the disproportionate incidence of poverty among Negroes. 20% of the workers earning poverty wages are black, whereas Negroes comprise only 11% of the population. Blacks will not be the only ones to gain from an increased minimum wage, but they will gain the most.

The argument is often made by both liberal and conservative economists that increasing the minimum wage will harm many poor workers in that it will force employers to lay off part of their workforce in order to pay higher wages to those workers who are retained. The argument ignores the effect that increased wages will have on raising the purchasing power of the poor and, therefore, increasing sales and profits. But more fundamentally, it provides an academic rationale that can be used by those who want to fight the minimum wage increase. It amounts to telling a worker earning $3200 a year that he would be doing himself a disservice by demanding an $800 increase, and telling the employer that he is actually helping the poor by holding the minimum wage at its present level. My feeling is that at least in this instance the theoreticians would do well to leave the ivory tower where they make all of their "value-free," "objective" judgments based on "statistical evidence" and begin to get involved in the real world where the poor are engaged in urgent political struggles. If we are to have social justice in America, it will be as a result of these struggles and not because some social scientist has discovered that there is a relationship between supply and demand.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
June 30, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

SOVIET JEWS AND THE NEW ABOLITIONISTS

by Bayard Rustin

When I am asked why I, as a black American, speak out against the oppression of Soviet Jewry, my reply is that as a black person how can I not speak out, how can I not be sensitive to the oppression of a national minority.

Having experienced during slavery a brutal attempt to stamp out our freedom, our history, our language, and our identity, we can well understand the meaning of the spiritual death that accompanies oppression, and we can appreciate the overwhelming power of the rebirth of spirit that is part of the struggle against oppression. Black Americans, therefore, ought to be among the first to be concerned with the effort of the Soviet Union to destroy the identity of Soviet Jews and to crush their struggle for freedom.

It will be said, quite rightly, that there are other oppressed peoples (especially in the Soviet Union) besides Jews, and as a recent report on "Dissent in the Soviet Union" pointed out, "The problems with which Soviet Jews are faced are regarded...not as a question of _a_ people, but rather as a question of _all_ people who are deprived of their individual rights." But there is a special urgency to the problems of Soviet Jews which is ther result of several factors.

One of these factors is the Soviet Union's policy in the Middle East. The Soviet Union is completely committed to the enemies of Israel. It has already made an enormous investment in military and economic aide, personnel, and political prestige in the Arab world, and it now must justify that investment to the Soviet people.

It does this by painting a grotesque picture of tiny Israel as a giant enemy and also by playing upon anti-Semitic prejudice in order to make Soviet Jews who want to go to Israel seem the most dangerous enemies of the Soviet Union. This is the main reason behind the massive anti-Semitic campaign which the Moscow government is now sponsoring in Russia. A second factor which makes the problems of Soviet Jew especially urgent has to do with the increasing internal instability within the Soviet Union and also in the satellite nations dominated by Moscow. We have seen signs of this instability over the past few years in the protests of Russian intellectuals, nationality groups, and religious minorities and in the rebellions in Czechoslovakia and Poland which were so brutually put down. When the Soviet government branded the leaders of these rebellions "Zionists," it was not simply looking for a scapegoat on which to blame all its troubles. It was very clearly trying to direct the resentments of the people away from itself and onto a small minority which has traditionally been the object of scorn and persecution.

The greatest danger is that the anti-Semitic campaign now underway in the Soviet Union will get out of hand and the world will be confronted with a repetition of Hitler's crimes. This possibility makes more compelling than ever the desire of Soviet Jews to leave the Soviet Union.

Just as the white abolitionists fought for the liberation of black slaves before the civil war, people in the United States, Jewish and non-Jewish, white and black, should fight for the liberation of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Jews have their own Frederick Douglass' and Harriet Tubman's. What they need are more people like Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison--a new breed of abolitionists. The issue is not black or white, Jew or gentile, but man's responsibility to fight injustice, a fight in which blacks are in a unique position. As a result of the injustices that have been committed against us and our struggle against these injustices, we have gained a certain moral authority which can be effectively used to assist other oppressed groups in their own struggle for liberation. What we must do is to clearly and unequivocally make known our position on this issue. Far from detracting from our fight for racial equality,any efforts we make on behalf of Soviet Jewry will strengthen our movement by gracing it with a universal dimension. Nothing we could do would be more in keeping with the spirit of Martin Luther King who raised his voice on all issues involving basic human rights.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately,
July 15, 1971

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

WHERE THE NATIONAL INTEREST LIES

by Bayard Rustin

Speaking at the recent NAACP convention in Minneapolis, Andrew Brimmer, a leading economist and the single black member of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, pointed to a basic problem affecting black America in the cities: the division between the stable, reasonably affluent working and middle class segment of the black community and the black underclass. The first group has already made considerable economic progress and is in a position to take advantage of opportunities as they open up. The second group consists of blacks who live in the spiritually and physically oppressive world of the urban ghetto. They have few marketable skills and so little chance of moving ahead when opportunities arise, nor are they now in a position to acquire skills in the near future. A few exceptionally talented individuals may be fortunate enough to escape from the impoverished ghetto, but in the absence of a new and radical social commitment on the part of the government, most of them have little to look forward to that will be different from the past.

Summing up his fears about where we are moving, Dr. Brimmer said that "We may end up...in the black community with a large body of underclass people, sort of people on the fringes of things with no real opportunity to participate in what actually is going to be substantial economic expansion over the decade." The tragedy is not only that people are poor, but that they are unable to escape from their poverty. Moreover, they are receiving little help from the outside. Our government is more concerned with helping the rich than solving pressing social problems.

Last January, to cite just one example of government neglect, the Treasury Department, acting on an Administration proposal, ruled to reduce business taxes by an average of $3.9 billion over the next 10 years--a tax saving for business totalling $39 billion. The government claims that the tax cut for business will stimulate investment and production, but it is just as likely to increase business profits. Morever, there is no reason why the government, if it collected the $39 billion in tax revenues, could not use the money to rebuild our cities and provide for other basic social needs. In addition to stimulating the economy, such an approach would further the cause of social justice.

Writing in the June, 1971 issue of The Federationist, the monthly magazine of the AFL-CIO, economist Nat Goldfinger points out that the business tax cut was announced in January, "only weeks after the President vetoed a bill passed by both houses of Congress to provide federal funds for the creation of public service jobs for the long-term unemployed and seriously underemployed; it came only weeks after the President vetoed congressional appropriations for housing and urban development; and only weeks after he vetoed funds for education."

The unjust nature of the President's priorities is not all that is outrageous. His actions also run counter to any reasonable assessment of what is our national interest. We have come to see during the past decade that it is not in our national interest to permit our cities to decay to the point where they have become centers of poverty, segregation, crime, congestion, and pollution. Nor is it in our national interest to stand idly by while the black underclass, referred to by Dr. Brimmer, grows in size and provides a permanent source of despair and resentment that can be turned against the entire society.

Two years ago Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist, assessed the racial situation in the United States 25 years after his monumental work, An American Dilemma. After discussing the progress that had been made in a number of areas, he noted that one of his major miscalculations had been to assume that the United States would not permit its cities to deteriorate into their present condition. Coming from a society like Sweden, where social planning is a way of life, he found it incredible that the most affluent society in the world could not take the steps necessary preserve its own well-being.

The decade of the 1950's was a period of great complacency in the United States, even though the conditions were developing that were to produce the riots of the 1960's. Today we do not have the illusion that all is well, yet we are still doing nothing and the future is not bright. If our society can be compared to a volcano, it follows that those at the top are no less vulnerable to the consequences of an eruption than those at the bottom. The message to Mr. Nixon is that social justice is in the national interest.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
July 30, 1971

For further information, contact: Bayard Rustin

THE HOUSING DISASTER

by Bayard Rustin

Three problems are at the root of poverty and racial injustice in the United States: jobs, education, and housing. Of course there are other problems, but these are the basic ones that will have to be solved if we are to move forward toward a more equalitarian society.

And of these three problems, we are gradually becoming aware that housing may be the most basic problem of all. Residential patterns are certainly the primary source of racial segregation in our major cities, and segregation, in turn, is the greatest obstacle to equality in education. There is also an intimate relationship between employment and housing. Most of the new jobs today are in the suburbs, and blacks cannot get those jobs if they do not live near them. Moreover, we could drastically reduce unemployment if we were committed to building the housing that is required to provide each American with a decent home. We probably don't have enough construction manpower to build all the housing that is required, so that a massive national housing program would make it necessary to train people to fill new jobs.

Yet housing construction remains terribly inadequate. The rate of home-building is far below the goal set by the 1968 Housing Act, and the construction that is taking place is following the same segregated patterns of the past. A recent report by the United State Commission on Civil Rights charged the Federal Housing Administration with "Abdicating its responsibility" under a home-ownership program enacted in 1968. According to the Fair Housing Law of that year, a-l executive departments of the Federal government were obligated to administer Federally subsidized housing programs "in a manner affirmatively to further the purposes" of the law. The intent of the law was to prevent communities from discriminating against low-income housing where many of the residents would be from minority groups. Yet the Housing Administration has permitted the private housing industry to run the whole show, and to do so in a way that perpetuates segregation. The Housing Administration has done nothing to challenge the dual marketing system whereby new suburban homes are sold only to white buyers and dilapidated homes in the central city are reserved for blacks.

President Nixon did not help matters in his message on housing segregation last June when he drew an artificial distinction between racial and economic segregation. Like the Federal Housing Administration, President Nixon abdicated his responsibility by placing the major emphasis on local control. "This Administration," he said, "will not attempt to impose Federally assisted housing on any community." He recited the arguments that suburban communities invariably make to keep low-income housing out of their area: that it will "lower property values," that the poor residents would "contribute less in taxes than they consume in services," and that they would bring with them "a contagion of crime, violence, drugs." In conceding to local control, the President was in effect permitting local fears and prejudices to be the major factors determining housing patterns. In simpler terms, that means black cities and white suburbs. The President has subordinated his moral responsibility to his political ambitions.

The Administration's position confronts the civil rights movement with a major challenge. Just as a decade ago our objective was to abolish Jim Crow in the South, now our goal must be to break the patterns of segregation in the North. What is important is that we do not equivocate about this objective. There is always the possibility that certain elements in the black community who are legitimately frustrated about the pace of change will give up and resign themselves to segregation. Indeed, there has been a powerful tendency toward separatism during the last 5 years, though there are signs that this may now be changing. We cannot play Mr. Nixon's game. If we become confused and uncertain about our objectives, it will be impossible for us to break down the barriers that now stand in our way. And the major barrier is today what it has always been: the exclusion of blacks through segregation from equal access to the fruits of American society. Jim Crow is still the enemy that we must fight.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
August 12, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

In Memory of Jackie Robinson, Jr.

Several weeks ago I attended the funeral of Jackie Robinson Jr. who, as most of you well know, died in an automobile accident.

Jackie Senior and the Robinson family faced their tragedy with tremendous dignity and restraint. Jackie Jr.'s brother, David composed a prose-poem which he read as the family's part of the eulogy--it was such a moving experience that I asked his permission to print it in this column.

THE BAPTISM

by David Robinson

And he climbed high on the cliffs above the sea and stripped bare his shoulder, and raised his arms to the water, crying "I am a man," I live and breathe and bleed as a man. Give me my freedom so that I might dance naked in the moonlight and laugh with the stars as they play amongst the darkness in the sky and roll in the grass and drink the warmth of the sun and feel it sweet within my body. Give me my freedom so that I might fly.

But the armies of the sea continued to war with the beach, and the wind raced through the giants of stones which guard the coast and its howl mocked his cries, and the man fell to his knees and wept.

Then he rose and journeyed down the mountain to the valley and came upon a village. When the people saw him they scorned him for his naked shoulders and wild eyes and again he cried, "I am a man," and I seek the means of my freedom. But the people laughed at him saying, we see no chains on your arms, no weight on your feet. Go, you are free, fly, fly. And they called him mad and drove him from their village.

But his soul wept, for it knew the weight of chains, and tears fell like tiny stones into the vast well of his lonliness and his heart was empty as a giant hall is empty after a feast. And the man journeyed on until he came to the banks of a stream, and his eyes, red as the gladiator's sword, strained, for he saw an image dance across the stillness of that water and he recognized the figure though his eyes were now sunken with hunger, and his skin drawn tight around his body, and he stood fixed above the water's edge and began to weep, not from sorrow but from joy.

For he saw beauty in the water and he removed his clothing and stood naked before the world, and he rose to his full height and smiled as the sun kissed his body, and he moved to meet with the figure in the water, and the stream made love to his body, and his soul cried with the ecstacy of being one, and he sent the water flying up like a shower of diamonds to the sky, and he laughed, for he felt the strength of the stream flowing through his veins, and he cried, "I am a man," and the majesty of his voice echoed off the mountain tops and was heard above the roar of the sea and the howl of the wind, and he was free.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
August 26, 1971

For further information, contact: ~~Rustin Column~~

Nixon Economics--Nothing New For Blacks

by Bayard Rustin

President Nixon's "revolutionary" new economic policy contains nothing revolutionary or new for the Negro or the poor. The President's plan will neither increase the spending power of the poverty-stricken nor expand the job market for the poor, for minorities or the unskilled. The achievement of these goals are a necessary first step if there is to be economic justice for black people.

Nixon's promise to fulfill the laudable objective of full employment sounds good on television. But, by pursuing a strategy of rewarding corporations and industries while hoping some of the benefits filter down to the worker, the President has doomed his plan to failure.

The President and his economists believe that the reduction of taxes on businesses and industries will provide them with the incentive to invest in new equipment, expand production, and increase their work force.

There are several flaws in this theory. To begin with there is no guarantee that the tax bonanza will induce businesses to hire more workers. Indeed, it could have the opposite effect, encouraging industries to further automate their operations. This would in fact shrink the job market.

Even if the tax break does spur more hirings, it is doubtful that the unskilled worker will profit since the industries use the tax credit to purchase and develop new, and probably highly-automated equipment. It will be the college trained scientist and the skilled technician who will reap the fruits, not the person lacking in education and job skills.

The Nixon Administration could ease the plight of the unskilled by supporting a job training program on a scale massive enough to cope with the problems created by automation. But the President has resisted this type of program and it is improbable that he will change course now.

Another alternative would be the federal government's sponsorship of a massive public works effort. Here again Nixon failed to act, vetoing two job measures before finally assenting to a watered-down version.

In fact, the President has had the opportunity to create thousands of jobs for some months and ignored it. All that would have been necessary was a presidential directive to release the 12.5 billion which Congress has already appropriate for housing construction and public works, such as sewage treatment plants. Another, less obvious benefit would have been a hastening of the racial integration of the building and construction trades in a manner which would have avoided acrimonious divisions between the civil rights and the labor movement.

Not surprisingly, Nixon coupled the announcement of the wage-price freeze with the revelation that he will delay his welfare reform scheme. The President's welfare proposal, although it contained many shortcomings, did represent the one positive Nixon program that could have helped the economic underclass. The President's lack of commitment for helping the indigent, unskilled, and the undereducated has never been displayed more clearly in his selecting welfare reform as the first sacrifice to his economic program.

Nixon's approach to the whole question of economic reform is filled with cynicism. For thirty months he has rejected measures to create jobs, to build housing, to help schools. Among the measures he has proposed, he has given a higher priority to the appointment of Haynesworth and Carswell than to critically needed welfare reform.

Now he asks the country to support his program despite its many flaws and inequities. Those within our society--such as labor leaders--who give voice to their doubts, are labeled "out of step" or are said by the Administration to be working against the country's best interests. These are strange words indeed coming as they do from an administration which, by its own actions, has admitted that two-and-a-half years of economic policy have been a dismal failure.

###

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately
September 9, 1971

Rustin Column

WELFARE FRAUD

By Bayard Rustin

The exploitation of the politically powerless has become a tragic consequence of the recession. Because of the sickness of the economy reactionary politicians are able to take advantage of the defenselessness of the poor, uneducated and handicapped and call their actions "reform."

In the name of "reform," Wallace, Reagan and their ilk are pushing through reductions in already inadequate payments to welfare families by methods often unconstitutional and always inequitable. And even in states governed by moderates and liberals there are similar efforts to reduce payments, tighten eligibility requirements and prosecute fraud. Liberals reluctantly agree to the changes out of political necessity, faced as they are with the outcries of resentful taxpayers.

What has led us to/the situation where, for instance, an Alabama mother, who previously supported her three small children on $206 a month, must now get by on $130 because of Wallace-initiated welfare cut backs? Who is to blame?

First of all, it is unfair to reproach beleaguered taxpayers. True, the animosity with which working class people regard welfare is sometimes motivated by racial prejudice. But usually their indignation is based on economics, not race. They suffer because of inflation, and they suffer because of the government's efforts to curb inflation. Property taxes soar, and they feel their homes are jeopardized. Unemployment increases, bringing anxiety about lay offs. Feeling abandoned by government, they strike out at the most convenient target, the welfare family who, because of misleading and sensationalistic press accounts, they perceive as deceitful idlers.

Unfortunately, these myths are encouraged by cynical politicians. This approach is dishonest both to the poor and to the working class taxpayer, who is deceived into believing that the problem somehow rests with the character of the poor rather than with the conditions that created their poverty. It is these public officials who are committing the real welfare fraud.

While dishonest, this strategy does have political value. If reactionaries can convince workers that welfare families are by nature shiftless, immoral and devious they can drive a wedge between the alliance of workers and poor which has been a potent voting bloc for candidates who will fight for social and economic justice for all classes. It makes it increasingly difficult for liberals, who rely on the support of both the poor and workers, to pursue the struggle for economic and social reform.

Unconstitutional residency laws and massive investigations of welfare families will accomplish little beyond the soothing of a few conservative consciences. As many studies have shown, such measures will not result in any significant decrease in welfare roll since the overwhelming majority of those on relief are either too old to work, physically handicapped or mothers who must care for minor children.

More important, they will do nothing to eradicate the problems of poverty and ignorance which lead to bulging relief lists. Welfare in itself is nothing more than a system to permit a family to maintain an existence that is a daily struggle for survival. There is nothing in the welfare system which helps the poor break out of their cycle of poverty.

To make real gains against poverty will require a massive commitment by the federal government to improve education, job skills and health care. Poverty and welfare will only be eliminated when the unskilled are given the opportunity to train for decent paying jobs, when ghetto schools are improved and when the government ensures that there will be jobs available even for those lacking skills.

President Nixon has consistently demonstrated that the elimination of poverty occupies a low priority in his administration He has vetoed measures to create jobs, to provide more federal funds for schools and to improve health services.

Nixon's welfare reform bill, which might do some good, has also been given a low priority. But even that measure is far from an adequate answer to the problem of poverty. The poor will not cease to exist because the federal government, rather than the states, administers welfare, nor because an inadequate income is made a little less inadequate. The availability of a decent job, and the educational opportunity the job requires is the answer, not simply administrative reform.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 23, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

ATTICA--A DOUBLE TRAGEDY

by Bayard Rustin

There are two Attica tragedies. First, and most important, there are the deaths, the needless sacrifice of the lives of prisoners and guards. And second, there is the gnawing certainty that Attica will repeat itself, again and again, unless the American penal system is drastically reformed and humanized.

We grieve equally for the prisoners, slain in the midst of their final expression of frustration and rage, and for the guards, who were ultimately the unwitting victims of an inhuman system. At the same time we condemn those who feel that the killing of the inmates was justified, that these men were somehow due less than human consideration. It is the prevalence of this attitude which helped push the prisoners over the brink. Nor can we condone those who glorify the inhabitants of Attica as revolutionary martyrs or regard the guards as vehicles of repression whose deaths are to be applauded. This is the very rhetoric which will increase friction between prisoners and guards.

The amazing thing is that Attica did not occur earlier. Our prisons are filled with bitter, resentful men who are deprived of their dignity and manhood. They are filled with poor men and black men, men who are convinced and often quite rightly, that they would not be where they are if they were not poor or black. And they are filled with men who shouldn't be behind bars in the first place, men who were arrested for gambling and dope addiction which neither harm nor threaten the safety of others.

If the flames which are smoldering inside our prison walls are to be extinguished and future Atticas avoided, we must adopt entirely new thinking about the penal system. We must begin to act on what

w

we have learned from past experience. We know, for instance, that a great many prisons, far from reforming the convicted criminal, often intensify his grudge against society. Men who are jailed for some petty misdeed leave prison hardened, embittered, and psychologically shattered, and likely to break the law again.

Others, because they are psychologically unbalanced or have been raised in a hostile social environment, are truly menaces to society. They commit crimes of violence--rapes, muggings, murders--and should be incarcerated for the protection of society.

If the ultimate purpose of our system of criminal justice is the reduction of crime and the reform of the criminal, then society and government must begin to distinguish between violent and non-violent offenders and treat then differently. Those who break the law but do no harm to their fellow man should not be placed behind a prison wall. For these persons, a prison sentence would do more harm than good, and, considering the conditions within our penal institutions, would indeed represent cruel and unusual punishment.

Those criminals who pose a threat to society should be separated from society, but not in a prison atmosphere. They should rather be placed in hospitals, where there would be tight security, but where a doctor-patient, instead of guard-inmate relationship would exist.

Counseling and job training programs should be made available to those within the prison-hospitals and jobs should be provided when they are deemed ready to reenter society. The emphasis would be on rehabilitation of the criminal instead of discipline, regimentation and, ultimately, the extinction of the human spirit.

Such a program would undoubtedly cost many tax dollars. But the social benefits would far outweigh the short term financial sacrifice. There would be less crime. Minorities and the poor would gain a measure of confidence in the judicial system. And there would be no more Atticas.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
October 7, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

JUSTICE FOR DOMESTIC WORKERS

by Bayard Rustin

President Nixon's Labor Day address contained two messages: one to the working rich and a second, quite different message, to the working poor.

The rich heard the president extol the traditional American virtues--"the dignity of work, the value of achievement, the morality of self-reliance"--and approved. The man of wealth also applauded when the president commended "the willingness to make a personal sacrifice in pursuit of worthy goals of the man in the street, the worker on the job," knowing full well that he would be called on to make far fewer sacrifices than his less fortunate fellow man.

But the poor heard something far different from the man of good fortune. They heard the president ask those who could afford it least to sacrifice more. They also heard the president assert that "no job is menial if it leads to self-reliance, self-respect and individual dignity." For the working poor, these words had a hollow ring coming from a president whose administration has failed miserably to improve the conditions of the most impoverished and exploited of the work force.

One group who were left unimpressed by Nixon's rhetoric are the thousands of household workers in the nation. There are 140,000 domestics in New York State alone. Almost all are women, two-thirds are black. Nationally, the average full-time domestic earned $1,523 in 1968, about 80 cents an hour and less than one-half of the unrealistically low amount the federal government set as a poverty subsistence.

Domestics are not protected by the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, and are thus not guaranteed a minimum wage. Nor do they receive unemployment insurance, paid vacations, or paid sick leave, benefits even marginal factory workers enjoy. Unless they work for a large, reputable household-help agency, domestics never receive Social Security coverage.

There has recently begun a campaign to obtain for domestics the fruits of the progressive social legislation from which they have been excluded. New York, for instance, has enacted a bill which extends the state $1.85 an hour minimum wage to domestics. The measure was introduced by Bronx Assemblyman Seymour Posner and was co-sponsored by the entire Negro and Puerto Rican delegation. Posner, an organizer of and participant in many of the important civil rights demonstrations of the sixties, was motivated by a strong personal concern for household workers since his mother had died from the strain of having to do domestic work. Posner is now planning to introduce legislation to place domestics under the state's Labor Standards Act, which would give them the legal sanction to organize and bargain collectively with their employers.

By introducing this measure, Posner, who has participated in the campaigns to obtain union recognition for hospital workers, acknowledges the importance of the labor movement in providing both economic security and psychological fulfillment to the domestic.

The situation of the domestic once paralleled those of the hospital orderly, farm worker, and school para-professional. They earned poverty wages. They performed grimy tasks which required uncomfortable physical exertion. Large percentages of these workers came from minority groups.

The union movement has enabled the hospital worker, farm laborer and para-professional to overcome these conditions. Their unions have won for them decent wages. They cannot be fired at the whim of an unreasonable employer. They can refuse to work in an unsanitary and unsafe atmosphere. They are assured that when they are too sick to work, or too old to work, they will still receive an income.

For these workers, the "work ethic" which Nixon extols is becoming a reality.

It is, however, not becoming a reality because of the president. Cesar Chavez won recognition for his farm workers despite the opposition of those who most fervently supported Nixon in 1968. Farm workers and domestics have had to rely on liberal activists like Seymour Posner to achieve their rights.

Nixon will soon have an opportunity to demonstrate whether his Labor Day rhetoric had any real meaning. Congress is now considering measures which would extend the federal minimum wage to the millions of workers not presently covered. Organized labor is pushing hard for the bill's adoption. Thus far, it has received absolutely no encouragement from the Nixon Administration.

When Nixon assumed office in 1968, he asked the nation to judge his administration "not by what we say, but by what we do." Unless the president provides some measure of justice for domestics and the rest of the three million working poor he will indeed be deserving of harsh judgment.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: immediately
October 21, 1971

Rustin Column

For further information, contact:

THE DEMOCRATS AND MRS. HARRIS

By Bayard Rustin

The political future of American Negroes is becoming increasingly intertwined with the successes or failures of the Democratic Party. At a time when many American voters regard themselves as independents, the percentage of blacks who not only vote for Democratic candidates, but also choose to identify themselves with the Democratic Party has risen dramatically.

A decade ago, according to the Gallup Poll, slightly more than one-half of black voters considered themselves Democrats. Now nearly three out of every four blacks are Democrats while one of five labels himself as an independent and probably leans toward Democratic candidates.

For one reason or another, blacks believe that social, legal and economic equality can best be guaranteed through an alignment with the Democratic Party. Thus blacks are more likely to vote Democratic than are students, ethnic groups, or even white blue collar workers.

The Gallup Poll figures indicate that blacks, by their own choosing, have in effect made the Democratic Party an institution in their community, an institution through which they expect to achieve full social and economic emanciaption.

The Democratic Party will have to offer more than just legislative proposals and convention platforms if it is to retain its growing support in the black community. To become truly representative, Democrats have an obligation to permit those groups from which it draws support to participate in the government and management of the party itself. Blacks, who comprise between 15 and 20 per cent of all registered Democrats, certainly have a right to expect a strong voice in the operation of the party.

The recent election of Patricia Harris, a black lawyer, as temporary chairman of the credentials committee for the 1972 national convention is an important step in ensuring that the voices of black Democrats are heard within the inner councils of the party.

The credentials committee is an important part of the party framework since it plays a major role in determining whether a state delegation was selected properly and is truly representative of Democrats in the state.

At past conventions, blacks were often denied an equitable representation, particularly in southern states, which would handpick lily-white delegations or/select a few token Negro delegates whose votes were controlled. The party has now displayed a commitment to correct these past injustices. Reforms aimed at increasing the number of minority delegates have been adopted. And now Mrs. Harris has been elected to head the committee which will enforce these reforms.

Mrs. Harris did not win without a bitter fight with Senator Harold Hughes. The supporters of Hughes attempted--with the cooperation of much of the white press--to depict Mrs. Harris as somehow the product of old-line, bossism whose main purpose was to thwart the party's so-called reform faction. Their behind-the-scenes tactics bordered on the vicious. In one case, they threatened to cut off financial support for Charles Evers's gubernatorial campaign if he supported Mrs. Harris. Evers supported Mrs. Harris.

Among those who opposed Mrs. Harris were several black public figures and office holders. In this particular case, it can only be said that they were out of touch with the wishes of their constituents.

Those who criticize Mrs. Harris fail to take into account her past career and temperament. She has demonstrated, through her persistence in the face of the dual discriminations of race and sex, by high principles and by her recognized legal mind that she is eminently qualified for the post.

I would just like to cite two examples of Patricia Harris's commitment to her beliefs. In 1948, she risked federal charges and imprisonment when she served as an aide to A. Philip Randolph during the successful campaign to end discrimination in the armed services. Several years ago, she resigned as Dean of the Howard University law school rather than capitulate to the demonstrations and boycotts of student groups.

During the Howard incident, Mrs. Harris said something which I believe sums up the philosophy with which she will approach her position within the Democratic Party. The students had demanded a role in governing the school. Mrs. Harris responded that she could accept them on advisory committees. But when it came to running the school, Mrs. Harris said "the final decisions must be made by people who have a long-range commitment to the institution.' In the institution of the Democratic Party, no one has a greater commitment nor stronger dependence than blacks. The election of Mrs. Harris is at least a partial vindication of that commitment.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
November 4, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

A 19TH CENTURY VIEW OF THE VOTE

By Bayard Rustin

(Bayard Rustin wrote this column before suffering a heart attack from which he is now recovering.)

A cornerstone of 19th Century southern conservatism was the restriction of the franchise to the well-to-do, owners of property the so-called "enlightened" classes. To those who embraced this philosophy, democracy did not include those whose skins were dark or who spoke with a foreign accent.

America has rejected the concept of government by an educated or economic elite. The rhetoric of all our political leaders speaks approvingly of the need to extend participatory democracy.

Yet the Nixon Administration, in its opposition to an important political reform measure, proclaims sentiments which closely parallel those expressed by southern aristocrats in their successful campaign to deny the Negro his vote following Reconstruction.

The reform, which could have a significant effect on the political participation of blacks, is popularly known as universal voter registration. There are several versions being considered by Congress, but all have in common the intent to abolish voter enrollment regulations which many states have adopted to dilute the political influence of minorities and the poor.

The most far-reaching bill, introduced by Senator Gale McGee, would enable every voter in the U.S. to register by postcard and would set a nationwide residency requirement of 30 days, substantically less than some states which require six months or a year.

Two Republican Party leaders, Chairman Robert Dole and Robert Erickson, a Justice Department official, have already testified against universal registration. The administration's reasoning, as summed up in the comments of one party official, are interesting.

"Anytime you go out and drag people to vote," the official said, "you are getting a less well-informed electorate, and that can be dangerous in a democracy."

Compare this statement with those of spokesmen for the Old South who rationalized the disenfranchisement of the black man and you will discover striking similarities.

The defender of Jim Crow would often insist that he was not motivated by racial prejudice. The poll tax, literacy test and Grandfather Clause were not, it was asserted, designed to prevent the Negro from voting but only to ensure that control of the government did not fall into the hands of the ignorant and uneducated.

Senator Dole himself issued a statement which carried the harsh ring of the Old South mentality. Dole contended that apathy, rather than inability to register, was the underlying cause of failure to vote, a view which fits in well with the stereotype of the southern black as too shiftless to care about voting.

There is in fact a crying need for radical reform of our voting laws. Despite its high level of literacy, the United States has one of the worst voter participation records among western democracies. In the 1968 presidential election nearly one out of every three eligible voters did not vote. The 47 million Americans who did not vote exceeded by 16 million the number who voted for Richard Nixon.

Many who did not participate in 1968 would have liked to but were deterred by outmoded residency requirements or other obstacles While blatantly discriminatory laws--like literacy tests--have been struck down, other requirements which were deliberately imposed to restrict voting by the poor and minorities still remain.

It is no coincidence that states with low per capita incomes and above average illiteracy rates are the same states with the most stringent voter registration laws.

The Negro has a large stake in the passage of universal registration. Only 56 per cent of eligible blacks voted in 1968 compared to 69 per cent of whites. There is a clear need to remove the hurdles which impede the registration of blacks: the long distances to southern registration offices, the hostility and uncooperative attitudes of registration clerks, the limited registration hours.

The removal of these obstacles will facilitate the election of more black political officials. It will also allow blacks to play a larger part in the coalition of liberals, labor and minorities which has been the driving force behind progressive social change in America. The task which was initiated by the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Bill and the abolition of the poll tax must be completed if participatory democracy is to become a reality for the most disaffected elements in our society. Universal voter registration will go a long way towards completing that task.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
November 18, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

PHASE II: CORPORATE PROFITS OVER HUMAN NEEDS

(Bayard Rustin wrote this column while recuperating from a recent heart attack in Sharon, Connecticut Hospital.)

The American working man and the poor have once again been denied economic justice by the Nixon Administration. Policies discriminatory to workers, which were initiated when Nixon first assumed office and underscored during Phase I of the economic controls, have been reasserted just as forcefully by Phase II.

President Nixon, his supporters, and, for that matter, some liberal opponents of the Nixon Administration might take issue with labeling his economic policies "discriminatory." After all, Richard Nixon holds no personal prejudice against workers, nor does he feel vindictive towards them; indeed, he would dearly love to win their votes when he seeks re-election next year.

What Nixon displays, through his economic policies, is not personal animosity, but class bias. He is a disciple of a philosophy which holds that the function of government intervention in the economic process is to ensure that corporate interests and the wealthy continue to prosper. If some of the benefits which are supplied directly to the upper strata trickle down to the workers, that is fine. But when the welfare of the corporation is placed alongside the needs of humanity, the corporation comes first, even if human needs are critical.

Since his administration's inception Nixon has clung tenaciously to this philosophy. Inflation, he insisted, could be overcome by permitting unemployment to rise to an "acceptable" level. The result was unacceptable levels of both inflation and joblessness.

Controls were then introduced, and we were told that all segments of the economy would be asked to sacrifice. But when the details of Phase I and Phase II were announced we discovered that what was being proposed was a partially controlled economy. There was to be equality of sacrifice, only, to use George Orwell's terms, some would be more equal than others. The working man was to be burdened with rigid regulations and supervision, while corporations were allowed the latitude of the free enterprise market.

The failings of the administration's economic policies have fallen disproportionately upon the shoulders of black Americans. Black unemployment has reached 10.5 per cent, double the rate for whites, according to the latest government statistics. The jobless rate is the highest since 1963, and has wiped out many of the gains made possible by the equal opportunity programs during the late 1960s. Unemployment is even more severe among ghetto residents, having climbed to over 14 per cent.

The wage controls will work particular hardships on those with incomes at or near the poverty level. By applying the 5.5 per cent guideline to all workers, the president has destroyed the hopes that low income families have of moving up the economic ladder. Moreover, establishing an across-the-board percentage for all workers will mean that the laundry worker earning $4,000 will receive a much smaller wage increase than the executive earning four times as much. The impact of price increases on uncontrolled foodstuffs will fall just as heavily on the laundress as it will on the executive. At the same time the low income and often undereducated family will be more vulnerable to any illegal price increases. Vernon Jordan Jr., executive director-elect of the Urban League, has already urged that wage-earners making under $6,500 be exempted from future wage-price guidelines. Simple justice dictates the adoption of this proposal.

Unorganized workers, a grouping which includes many blacks, will feel a special oppression because they do not enjoy the protection of the labor movement.

This is an important point, for it has been the labor movement which has been the most vigorous,and at time the only institution which has defended the working man against the deficiencies of the controls. Had it not been for the militancy and determination of labor, the control apparatus might have been governed by the Nixon Administration and its supporters. A determined labor effort finally succeeded in achieving an autonomous board including equal representation of labor, business and the public to oversee wages.

In contrast to labor's resoluteness,many liberals remained silent or supported the President. Some of these are politicians who are fond of proclaiming grand formulas for "changing the system." But economic justice was never achieved by empty rhetoric. To successfully change the system requires an understanding of the type of society you want to create, the formulation of a program to win the changes, and the willingness to fight whatever threatens success. Labor has demonstrated, through its opposition to the inequities of Phase I and Phase II, that it is prepared to undertake the difficult, and often unpopular work which will eventually bring America a just and humane system.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
December 2, 1971

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Rehnquist: Another Carswell, Only Worse

By Bayard Rustin

By the time you read this, the Senate may have confirmed William Rehnquist as a justice of the Supreme Court. Nothing has occurred to indicate that a repeat of the Haynesworth and Carswell defeats will materialize; there have been no liberals confident enough to lead a fight against confirmation, indeed, some liberals suggest that they will vote for the Arizona attorney.

If Mr. Rehnquist is approved, the bleakest chapter in what has been an unremittingly sorry Nixon Administration race relations record will have been written. Neither the questionable ethics, of Clement Haynesworth nor Harrold Carswell's mediocrity represent the threat to social and economic equality, civil liberties and progressivism as does the right wing zealotry demonstrated by Rehnquist throughout his legal career.

But because his ethics are apparently impeccable, because he has avoided issuing blatantly racist statements, and, apparently, because he was an A student in law school, Rehnquist will succeed where Haynesworth and Carswell failed.

And yet if adherence to the doctrine that all men of all races are equal under the law is a prerequisite for a Supreme Court appointee, a man who once proclaimed that America is "no more dedicated to an integrated society than...to a segregated society" should be denied a place on our highest judicial tribunal.

One of the most telling arguments against Carswell was an article he had written over 20 years ago in an obscure deep south weekly newspaper expressing a segregationist philosophy. In William Rehnquist, we do not have the crude advocacy of racial separatism. But, although perhaps expressed in a more "thoughtful" and "rational" style, we are confronted with views on racial matters equally damning and certainly more up to date.

He has on several occasions vigorously criticized the decisions of the Warren Court, testified against a Phoenix city ordinance banning racial discrimination in public accommodations, written a letter to the editor in opposition to the accommodations ordinance, worked against a Phoenix school desegregation plan, harassed black voters and, according to the Arizona NAACP, "was the only person of major stature who opposed the Arizona civil rights bill."

This Supreme Court nomination represents another in a long list of instances where Richard Nixon's performance contrasts quite negatively with the rhetoric of his 1968 campaign. Nixon criticized the Supreme Court during that campaign, but not vindictively nor crudely, as did Wallace. Nixon did not assert that the high court had sold us out to the Communists or was the prime cause of lawlessness and violence. His was the voice of moderation; the court, he averred, had become too activist, particularly in its extension of rights to criminal defendants, and had lost the faith of the American people. His aim, Nixon insisted, was not to turn the court rightward, but to reduce its activism, moderate its tone, and return it to the institution of high public trust it once was.

Yet almost every action Nixon has taken in regard to the court has made a mockery of the high standards and lofty ideals which it represents. The list of persons he has considered for appointment has included racial reactionaries, activists of the conservative fringe and legal nonentities whose records were deemed unacceptable by labor, civil rights leaders, civil libertarians and bar associations.

He has rejected the time-honored notion that the court should be ethnically, religiously and racially diverse, but imposes geographical standards. He insists the court has become too political, and then uses the court as a vehicle for the implementation of his Southern Strategy.

A recent poll indicated that, while black Americans were fast losing faith in the nation's predominantly white institutions, their trust in the Supreme Court continued at a high level, although the court's credibility had diminished since Nixon took office. And no wonder. The list of those Nixon has attempted to appoint, or considered for appointment include a congressman who voted against every measure to extend the civil rights of minorities and advance the economic status of workers, an attorney who earned some $200,000 representing municipalities desiring to avoid or limit racial integration, a judge who placed himself squarely on record as dedicated to the doctrine of racial segregation, and a man whose active opposition to all civil rights measures has bordered on fanaticism.

A. Philip Randolph predicted in 1968 that the most serious consequence of Nixon's election would be its effect on the Supreme Court. His vision has proved all too accurate. If Richard Nixon is re-elected in 1972, I don't think that there is any doubt that we shall see more reactionary activists like Rehnquist on the court.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
December 16, 1971

Rustin Column

SPINGARN AND BUNCHE: MILITANTS IN THE FINEST SENSE

By Bayard Rustin

Like many aspects of society, the civil rights movement is subject to the snap judgments and inaccurate labeling which so typifies the press. There is no more illustrative example than the distortion of the word "militant."

The dictionary defines a militant as one who is "aggressively active" in the pursuit of a cause. But for many journalists and commentators who cover the black struggle, militant assumes a different shade of meaning; for them, one can be "aggressively active" on behalf of certain causes, those who believe otherwise, no matter how insistently, are termed "moderates." Thus one can be militant for separatism, but moderate for integration. Those who preach revolutionary cant are militants, while the advocates of non-violence are moderates.

Militancy has thus come to have negative connotations for many Americans: the term frightens uneasy whites while the majority of blacks perceive it as a symbol of unproductive and sometimes suicidal tactics. This is unfortunate, for militancy can represent many fine ideals: unswerving commitment to racial and economic justice, unyielding opposition to violence, and the refusal to adopt, no matter how fashionable, those philosophies one believes unjust and unwise.

Ralph Bunche and Arthur Spingarn were true militants, in the finest sense of the word. Their recent deaths have saddened all who have labored for peace, brotherhood and racial equality; our grief is tempered only by the knowledge that death came at the conclusion of full lives and productive careers.

The newspaper accounts which followed their deaths contained well deserved tributes to Dr. Bunche's accomplishments as a diplomat and to Arthur Spingarn's life as civil rights activist. These accounts, however, also devoted attention to those who had criticized Dr. Bunche and Mr. Spingarn for their supposed lack of militancy and commitment.

There is an irony to the situation where newspapers which 30 years ago were denouncing black activists and their white allies as subversives now go out of their way to provide a forum for those who dismiss their philosophies as out-dated or irrelevant.

The contents of newspapers are of course, dictated by fashion. But fashionability never influenced the actions of Ralph Bunche or Arthur Spingarn. Their ideals were shaped by learning and experience; their goals were accomplishment, not publicity.

There is no need to recount the well-known details of Dr. Bunche's career with the United Nations. His service to the world peace organization, however, overshadowed the tangible role he played in the civil rights struggle. It was his research, as an assistant to Gunnar Myrdal in the late 1930s, which helped provide the framework around which the civil rights movement shaped the goals which it achieved 20 and 30 years later. During the Protest Era, Dr. Bunche made many important, but quiet contributions to the movement, for which he sought neither thanks nor recognition. Although already in failing health, he was one of the key participants in the great marches on Washington and Montgomery.

Arthur Spingarn is best known for his over half century of service to the NAACP, with 26 years as president. Few recall how radical, even un-American, the NAACP was considered during its early existence. Few recall the danger of physical harm which threatened those, like Arthur Spingarn, who participated in picketing, demonstrations and other campaigns 40 and 50 years ago.

As a Jew, Arthur Spingarn certainly was personally acquainted with the prejudices which pervaded American society. As a Jew engaged in radical causes, he was doubly suspect. And as a white man, he later endured the hostility of black separatists who felt his usefulness to the movement had come to an end.

Ralph Bunche and Arthur Spingarn qualify as militants according to its dictionary definition, for they were throughout their long careers "aggressively active" on behalf of the causes in which they believed. But they were also militants in the higher sense: they respected a man's worth, not his rhetoric; they refused to compromise those ideals which were basic to their personal philosophies; they refused to hate, even when it might have been understandable and they understood the folly of violence, and never shirked from speaking aginst it.

Fittingly enough, the ideals which had served as ever-present beacons to Dr. Bunche and Arthur Spingarn have taken on a new relevance as the philosophies of the fringes have been discredited. We now recognize, as they did, that there are certain principles and objectives which are constant, no matter how elusive or distant they may appear. For Ralph Bunche and Arthur Spingarn, a society free from prejudice and discord often seemed far on the horizon, a dim light, flickering. Yet this light never extinguished, despite the many discouragements, and much of their patience and vision has been vindicated. For this, along with their accomplishments, they will be remembered, long after the names of their critics have been lost in the pages of history.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
December 30, 1971

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

The Social Disease of Segregation

by Bayard Rustin

Residential segregation is the most firmly rooted, and perhaps the most socially destructive pattern of racial bias in our culture. Upper class whites segregate themselves in their enclaves of affluence, working class whites cling tenaciously to their working class neighborhoods and blacks discriminated against by the economic system and socially ostracized, have been consigned to the ghetto.

This sordid pattern has been worked out through the written convenant and unwritten "gentlemen's agreement." It is as common to the north as to the south; in 1969 the two leading Republican candidates for governor in New Jersey were discovered to have once owned homes whose deeds contained racially restrictive clauses. Of all the significant civil rights laws enacted in the 1960s, open housing met with the least enthusiasm, even from liberals, and would likely not have passed had not Congress been shamed by the assassination on Dr. Martin Luther King.

We now see another chapter in the history of society's resistence to open housing acted out on the streets of Forest Hills, a middle class community in Queens, New York.

There residents have marched, picketed and demonstrated because of their opposition to a low income housing project now under construction. Their spokesmen assert that the overwhelmingly white community is not concerned with the possible influx of black tenants: they insist that the issues are the size of the project, its supposedly detrimental effects on the neighborhood's aesthetics, its impacts on schools, transit, and other municipal services, or the fact that the community "wasn't consulted" when the project was being planned.

But one must ask himself whether these issues alone are sufficient to have provoked the intense passions which the protestors have daily displayed at the project site. Indeed, would the structure's aesthetics and size have brought about nightly picketing in sub freezing temperatures had the project been slated for occupancy by upper income families.

Ironically, the Forest Hills project has also drawn the fire of a black economic self-help organization called NEGRO. Among other objections, NEGRO asserted that the concept of scattering low income housing in middle and upper income areas constituted "genocide" by removing families of ghetto communities.

Instead of erecting scatter site housing, NEGRO urged that the money slated for the project be spent to rehabilitate abandoned apartments in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

There is an essential contradication in NEGRO's proposal which more than anything in this tragic controversy dramatizes the need for integration. Those abandoned apartments did not become abandoned by chance; they were abandoned because the owners and tenants could no longer subject themselves and their families to the pitiless oppression of America's ghettoes. Far from islands of hope, our black slums are isolated enclaves of despair, the breeding ground for drug addiction, disease,infant mortality and crime.

The challenge is not to rebuild the ghetto, but to eliminate it. Separateness, we must remember, has never worked to the advantage of the black man; it has only benefited the whites.

And yet, as Roy Wilkins has pointed out, segregation ultimately imprisons the white in his own uneasy cell of fear and mistrust.

There are those who, while supporting integration, declare that it is wrong for the government to impose integration on a community. Integration, they contend, will come without bitterness as soon as Negroes are economically sufficient.

To this I have two responses. First, we continue to suffer discrimination; in many communities, it is next to impossible for a middle class Negro to move into a white neighborhood unless he is prepared to pay a substantially higher price than the home's market value. Second, by placing a limited number of housing projects in middle class neighborhoods and the suburbs, the government is only making a small gesture towards correcting those social mistakes which are directly due to past government policy.

We must have racial integrated neighborhoods, both economically and racially diverse, if we are to keep from permanently becoming two nations, separate and unequal. Only through true integration can we end the torment which the nation is enduring in order to racially balance its public schools. Only through integration can blacks escape the ghetto and its miseries. Only through integration can we narrow the gulf across which uneasy blacks and frightened whites view each other.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
January 13, 1972

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE PLIGHT OF CONGRESSIONAL LIBERALS

by Bayard Rustin

The conclusion of the first session of the 92nd Congress has come none too soon for those committed to civil rights and social reform. Here are a few of the highlights of this most discouraging year in Washington.

--William Rehnquist, who once asserted that America is "no more dedicated to an integrated society than to a segregated society," was confirmed for appointment to the Supreme Court.

--A landmark bill to help the nation's children, particularly those of working mothers, was vetoed by President Nixon.

--A bill to create thousands of public service jobs, desperately needed during a year in which joblessness climbed to its highest average level in a decade, was vetoed by President Nixon, who termed the measure "inflationary."

--Welfare reform became the first sacrificial victim to the President's new economic policy.

--The House of Representatives, with the open encouragement of the President, approved a series of measures which could eliminate busing as a means of school desegregation and penalize those school districts which have utilized busing successfully.

What we witnessed, in short, was a Congress immobilized partially by its own divisions and to a great extent by the threat, spoken or unspoken, that creative or progressive social legislation would be greeted by a presidential veto.

1971 was a particularly disheartening year for congressional liberals. On one hand, they were unable to mount any sustained legislative effort. At the same time liberals found themselves increasingly vulnerable on potentially explosive social issues like school busing.

The busing issue illustrates the weakness of liberals when confronted with a hostile White House. Many parents are opposed to busing, not so much out of racial antagonism, but because they cannot perceive that busing will improve the education of their children. At the same time, they are frustrated by the fact that the cost of busing will increase what are probably already steep property taxes.

An equitable approach to integration, and one which might win over many now currently hostile whites, would have the federal government assuming the costs of the purchasing and operation of the buses and, in addition, providing the school district with massive aid for the improvement of education in all schools. In this way, the alleged inconvenience of busing could be offset by innovative education programs, smaller class sizes, or the construction of new schools.

Yet this option is not open to Congress because of the attitude of the President. Liberals are left with an either-or situation with no middle ground from which to manuever. They can either support busing, and risk the wrath of white constituents, or oppose busing, thus alienating many Negro voters and violating their own principles.

For his part, Nixon will certainly attempt to exploit the busing issue, integration of the suburbs, and other controversial social issues to enhance his political position and weaken the liberal coalition. He understands that many voters are unlikely to blame him for his inadequate education program, but will blame liberalism for the social disruption, real or imagined, created by busing.

Nixon is also not likely to allow liberals to propose social and economic reforms without countering with proposals of his own. We can expect Nixon to denounce the liberal measures as "inflationary" or somehow "running counter to the American spirit" while proposing far from adequate plans of his own.

A good example is Nixon's pension reform bill, which would largely benefit doctors, lawyers and other well paid professionals while neglecting those with incomes of less than $10,000.

We are learning an important political lesson from the 92nd Congress. No matter how liberal its composition or well-intentioned its members, the legislative branch cannot by itself effect social change. Without the cooperation, support and guidance of the President we will never mount a sustained drive to eradicate slums, guarantee equal access to education and health care, protect the aged, and make any substantial headway in the fight for racial and economic integration. Because these are complex and difficult problems, the temptation exists for liberals to pursue other issues which promise instant, non-controversial solutions. But these problems, which are basic to human dignity and equality, will not be solved by neglect; they will only fester and grow, until they engulf us all, black and white, rich and poor.

In 1970 the coalition of liberals, labor and minorities--an alliance seemingly shattered in the tumult and chaos of 1968--reunited in the face of a concerted reactionary challenge.

The liberal majorities in the House and Senate were salvaged, despite formidable opposition, and those who had rung the death knell on liberlism were temporarily silenced.

We must continue to rebuild, strengthen and solidify the coalition in 1972 if the accomplishments of liberalism are to be anything more than a holding action against reaction. The problems confronting our society are too massive for liberals to be eternally preoccupied with plugging the holes in the dike. We must move ahead in our effort to insure social and economic equality to all Americans. But social progress can not be attained without political control. Our job in 1972 is to attain that control.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
January 27, 1972

Rustin Column

The Working Poor

by Bayard Rustin

The working poor, long the most invisible and neglected of the "Other America", have recently been discovered by conservative political strategists. From President Nixon on down, those on the right now regularly praise the millions of workers whose full time incomes hover near the poverty level for their adherence to the work ethic and offer vague promises that their sacrifices will not go unrewarded.

The President often speaks, and quite eloquently, of the essential dignity of the working poor, asserting that "no job is menial if it leads to self-reliance, self respect and individual dignity." These words are echoed by Senators and Congressmen far more unbending in their conservatism than the President.

We must ask what has occurred to prompt the concern of men who have resisted every legislative attempt to guarantee the poor a living wage, a safe and healthy working enviornment and job and retirement security? Have Senators who opposed raising the minimum wage, voted against a child care bill which would benefit working mothers, and denounced the unionization of farm workers suddenly acquired a social conscience?

Or is it rather that they believe that praising the working poor is an effective point of departure from which to launch into a demagogic attack on welfare families? I think that this is far more likely, and that we shall see between now and the election continuing efforts to play the working poor against the welfare recepient in a modified version of the 1968 southern strategy.

The essential dishonesty of this approach is not that it distorts the conditions of welfare families, since distortions of the welfare system have become so commonplace as to have become predictable. The essential dishonesty is that conservatives have in the past displayed no commitment to the poor--working or otherwise--and are unlikely to do so in the future. Their self-serving rhetoric has not been matched by a program.

The conservative answer to the very real problems confronting the working poor has been clearly demonstrated on two recent issues.

The first, a proposal to increase the federal minimum wage from its present $1.60 an hour to $2.00, has been greeted by an unenthusiastic silence from conservative congressmen. It has been left to congressional liberals, with the vigorous support of the labor movement, to press for its adoption and for the passage of measures to bring the approximately 17 million workers not covered by minimum wage laws under federal protection.

The White House has urged that its full implementation be delayed and has projected no enthusiasm for extending its coverage.

A new campaign, now being waged by labor, to further increase the minimum wage to $2.50 or $3 has been openly opposed.

The administration has given a similar response to the question of which workers will be exempted from wage controls. It is generally accepted that the working poor, who suffered most from inflation and who stand as the most likely victims of economic controls, should be given an opportunity to at least retain their tenuous economic footing.

The question, then, is who constitutes the working poor. According to the original recommendations of President Nixon's Cost of Living Council, only those workers earning $1.90 an hour and under would be exempt. This would mean that a worker, no matter how large his family or what the cost of living in his area, would be subject to wage controls if he earned over $4,000 a year. Families with whom the recession had dealt most harshly would find themselves strapped into an economic straitjacket with no foreseeable possibility of relief.

To the administration's unrealistically low figure the labor movement offered a counter proposal of between $3.35 and $3.70 an hour. In response to the prodding of labor, the Cost of Living Council relented and indicated that it will approve a ceiling somewhat above its initial recommendation.

The point is that it was not Nixon, nor congressional conservatives, nor, for that matter, the business representatives on the pay board (who were satisfied with the $1.90 level) that responded when the interest of the working poor were at stake. Once again it was the coalition of liberals, labor and minorities who represented the working man, and did so against conservative resistence.

A worker's dignity and self-esteem are not carved from platitudes and rhetorical flourishes. They will result from social legislation which enable the worker to extract from the ecomony a fair measure for what he has contributed in sweat and exertion. In the end, the working poor want not to be praised for being working poor; their ultimate hope is to one day escape their poverty.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
Feburary 10, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Labor, Blacks, Build A Program That Works

by Bayard Rustin

It has been ten years since the federal government launched its manpower development program (MDTA) as part of an effort to improve the economic state of the poor and blacks. Conceived in the high minded idealism of the New Frontier, manpower development was inaugurated in the hopes of providing job training to youths who would otherwise face a lifetime of depressing, dead end jobs because of their lack of education and skills.

The government approached the problem from a number of directions. And while there were some notable instances of success, the failures were more frequent. Programs with lengthy titles whose initials combined into impressive sounding slogans appeared like meteors and, unfortunately, extinguished just as quickly.

Some failed because they contained more rhetoric than substance; others because of poor planning and still others because their sponsors did not understand the realities of a changing employment market. But overshadowing the problems of planning and administration was a simple fact of economics; it is difficult, if not impossible, for any disadvantaged group to achieve upward mobility, no matter how extensively they are tutored and helped, during a period of recession and rising unemployment. And it is just such a situation we have had to cope with since the Nixon Administration took office.

In the light of this background, it is instructive to examine the one program which in the view of government officials, civil rights leaders and trade unionists has accomplished far more than its sponsors dreamed or its critics expected. I am referring to the outreach programs which place blacks and Spanish-speaking youths as apprentices with the building and construction trade unions.

One such program, the Joint Apprenticeship Program sponsored jointly by the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, recently held a conference which in my view symbolized both the magnificent past achievements of the struggle for racial equality and that struggle's equally profound accomplishments of the present.

To begin with, the conference symbolized our progress in breaking down the rigid legal codes of segregation. A few short years ago we would not have considered holding a predominantly black conference of several hundred persons in New Orleans. Yet this year we were welcomed at one of the city's leading hotels, and felt free to eat at any restaurant and enjoy the night life without fear of discrimination or insult.

But the conference implied more than our simply having surmounted discrimination in public accommodations. It was as moving an example as I have experienced of the evolution of what began as a struggle for basic human rights"has evolved"into a movement which has succeeded at significantly bettering the daily economic conditions of black people.

Since the outreach concept was initiated on a wide scale in 1967 some 13,000 youths have been placed in union apprenticeship programs through the efforts of the Joint Apprenticeship Program, the Urban League, the Building Trades Council and other organizations. They became apprentices during a time when the economy, and the construction industry in particular, was suffering from government policies which were intended to curb growth and increase joblessness.

Yet as joblessness annually reached ever larger peaks, and unemployment among Negroes spiraled to over 10 per cent, more and more apprentices were accepted by the unions. From 1960, when blacks comprised perhaps 1 per cent of building trades apprentices, we have reached the point where the percentage of minority apprentices' exceeds the black-white ratio of the general population.

The apprenticeship programs have also enabled us to overcome the mistrust and hostility which festered between two of the most progressive forces in our society--blacks and the union movement.

There were young blacks at the conference who several years ago undoubtably accepted the myth, fostered by liberals who should know better, that labor was anti-black. These youths now have an understanding/of and a feeling for the traditions and achievements of labor and will eventually serve as leaders within the union movement. The outreach programs have also forced union leaders to recognize that assuming a leadership role in the fight for racial equality goes deeper than the endorsement of legislation; it demands a conscious effort to bring blacks into the system even when this does not meet with universal approval from one's own constituency.

During the conference four young black men were honored as outstanding apprentices. All were ghetto youths--one a former narcotics addict--who were confronted with a life on the streets or poverty and frustration before they were taken into the outreach program. Instead they will become skilled construction journeymen, earning $6 to $10 an hour and doing socially useful, challenging work. To me, this is what the civil rights movement has been all about.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
February 24, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Busing, Part 1: On Richard Nixon and The South

by Bayard Rustin

Until this year the response of much of the South to the 1954 Supreme Court decision decreeing an end to segregated schools was typified by Jackson, Mississippi. For 15 years Jackson's school board and the community itself hid behind a self-erected wall of massive resistance, filing suit after suit against desegregation orders and employing every stalling technique at their disposal.

Then, last summer, the Jackson School Board designed a voluntary desegregation plan which was submitted to the federal courts and ultimately approved. Despite the fact that the formula called for extensive busing, the plan met with approval from both black and white leaders. There was a fundamental reason for its appeal to both races, for, in addition to busing, the plan called for the construction of two new, modern, educational parks, facilities needed by the community and clearly designed to enhance the educational enviornment of all children. Beyond this, Jackson officials were led to believe by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that the federal government would finance a large share of the busing.

The Jackson plan is an ambitious attempt not only to integrate the schools but to improve the learning atmosphere for both black and white students. As with all ambitious social plans, it costs money, more money, perhaps, than the city can afford without federal assistance.

Whether the Jackson plan or similar plans in Austin, Greensboro and many other cities can ever be completely implemented is now open to question. This summer, at President Nixon's prodding, the federal government announced that it was opposed to the allocation of federal funds for desegregation plans which involved busing and recent bills introduced in Congress almost ensure that no such aid will be available.

Instead of having integration presented as an attractive social objective which can improve the educational opportunities of both races, the South is in effect being told that integration will further impinge on the already weak financial resources of its cities.

The President has gone to great lengths to exploit busing during this election year. He has repudiated the judgments of Warren Burger, his own appointee as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who wrote the decision which affirmed the constitutionality of busing as one tool of integration.

He has overruled and embarrassed his own Department of Health, Education and Welfare and nullified much of the efforts to devise workable integration plans.

The President's actions have inspired anew those waiting in the wings to serve in the vanguard of any movement which hopes to thwart black aspirations.

And he has misled much of the public, including many who have sincere, deeply-felt reservations about busing, by denouncing "busing for busing's sake" when in fact no court has ever ordered busing except when it was the only means available to bring about integration.

The consequences of these actions are eloquently described by Jonathan Yardley, a southern journalist.

"He (Nixon) by implication, encourages the South in a disrespect for a law that had steadily waned in recent years," Yardley writes.

"The South has come, however slowly, to understand that the law must not be tampered with for political expediency, and it has committed itself to obeying it dutifully. For the President of the United States to imply that it can be evaded is unconscionable, and a disservice to every Southerner who is working earnestly for racial peace."

As this is written, President Nixon is visiting China. The President and his supporters like to boast that in the realm of foreign relations Nixon rises above partisan politics and takes on the mantle of statesmanship. The consequences of presidential guidance in this area are clear: China, once looked on as an implacable Cold War enemy, is now accepted as a member of the community of nations and is currently exerting an influence on everything from women's fashions to eating habits.

We witnessed the consequences of the same type of presidential leadership in the area of race relations during the 1960s. Black people made significant social and economic progress during this period, progress which was accepted by the majorit of whites. We will not enjoy the same type of progress until our leaders have the political courage to once again affirm their commitment to racial progress and social justice.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y.10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
March 9, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Economic Growth A Key To Equality

It hardly needs to be said that the struggle to reduce or eliminate the disparities in wealth and advantage between society's haves and have-nots is far from over. Despite the pasaage of civil rights laws there is still discrimination; despite important social welfare legislation there is still poverty in America.

One of every five families exists on an annual income of less than $5,000. Over one-half of American families live on less than $10,000, the minimum figure the federal government says is necessary to maintain a moderate standard of living. (This does not include welfare families or those who have dropped from the labor market.) Economic inequality is even more severe for blacks. Unemployment among blacks is double the jobless rate for white workers while the average income of a black family is only 60 per cent of the average earnings of whites.

With so formidable a job ahead, it is unthinkable that the struggle for an equal society, a struggle which has provided liberalism with a strategy and sense of mission, should be abandoned.

Yet the very validity of the struggle for equality is being channenged today not, ironically, from the right but from those who in all liklihood describe themselves as liberals. Their thesis is that economic growth, a cornerstone of liberal belief, is leading society to an environmental and spiritual holocaust. They paint a picture of an atmosphere choked with pollution, highways snarled with traffic, and a populace filled with hostility and alienation--and all because of rampant growth and unbridled technology. Mankind faces a certain Armageddon, they insist, unless government policy is reoriented to discourage, or prevent economic expansion and growth.

Among those who accept the non-growth doctrine are scientists and environmentalists who understand the ecological havoc wrought by the industrial society but have a none too clear vision of how to solve it.

Others, including some of the most vocal critics, denounce economic expansion from a standpoint that is reactionary to its very marrow. They see the emphasis on growth, particularly in the United States, as the spiritual and psychological assassin of western civilization.

Beneath their rhetoric of anguish, what they really object to is this: nature, the wilderness, the open skies, or whatever, is no longer the private domain of the affluent. Economic growth has enabled the working class family, who may once have looked upon an outing to a city park as a big event, to share in the pleasures of the country. Such an attitude is an regrettable feature of today's youth culture.

It has become commonplace for journalists to condemn "growth for growth's sake" a meaningless and misleading phrase when you realize that almost any economic expansion benefits someone in society, very often workers and the poor.

When approaching the question of economic growth, it is important to avoid the rhetorical excesses of its opponents. There is no question that some of our environmental problems have reached the crisis stage and require vigorous action to harnass and regulate the economy. They also require a massive effort on the part of government to clean up the ecological damage already committed, a task which, ironically, will require substantial growth in many areas of the economy.

Black people have experienced the benefits of a booming economy. We enjoyed our most dramatic advancements in the 1960's when the policies of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations created jobs for the unemployed and, for those with skills and education, opportunity for upward mobility.

We also know the consequences of a sluggish economy. The economic slowdown of the past three years has brought with it substantial increases in black unemployment, has nullified the effects of most manpower training programs, and has precluded advancement for thousands of talented, ambitious men and women.

There are those who, while advocating severe economic restriction propose special government initiatives to help minorities and the very poor. Such a philosophy is not only economically unsound gut politically naive. American workers, black and white, have progressed primarily because of the economy's ability to expand and grow. Government programs, such as manpower training and emergency employment legislation, have reached only a small percentage of those who most critically need them. From a political standpoint, any program aimed a benefitting only a narrow segment of the working class would immediately provoke the opposition of the substantial number of workers who are neither poor nor wealthy and whose financial problems are real, not psychological.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 23, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Black Links to Israel

How should black Americans view Israel? Is she, as some nationalists assert, an uninvited imperialist threatening African solidarity? And do her minorities suffer discrimination in law and custom similar to those with which Negroes here are so familiar.

Black people have in recent years been subjected to serious, often unanswered myth-making concerning Israel and her relationship with Arab and African neighbors. Unfortunately, a number of these myths were translated into an ill-conceived resolution to "dismantle" Israel adopted at the recent black political convention in Gary. By "dismantle" we assume that the resolution's sponsors would dissolve Israel as a nation and partition her territory and people among the surrounding states.

Before discussing the issues raised by the resolution, it should be emphasized that its contents did not reflect the thinking of the majority of delegates to say nothing of the majority of black people in this country It was passed because of the concerted efforts of a small group of nationalists who took advantage of a confused and disorganized convention floor to muffle the voices of saner minds. Subsequent to the convention a number of responsible black leaders, such as Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, and the Congressional Black Caucus, repudiated the anti-Israel resolution.

But the issue here is not an essentially meaningless convention document but the misrepresentations and distortions which enabled a conference of black people to even consider such a proposal.

One oft-repeated myth is that Israel is the enemy of black Africa. Historically, black nations were exploited, not by Hebraic peoples, but by the Moslem kingdoms that plundered the continent's wealth and enslaved and murdered its inhabitants well in advance of the European colonial expeditions. Nor have the racial and religious hostilities between Moslem ar black Africa disappeared with the passing years. During their recent civil strife with a Moslem majority, hundreds of thousands of black

Sudanese were slain and several hundred thousand others displaced or forced into exile.

Israel, in contrast, has established ambitious programs of cooperation with and assistance to Asian and African nations. Part of this help comes in the form of economic and military aid. Israel also maintains the Afro-Asian Institute, for labor and cooperative studies, a pioneer effort to open the lines of communication and mutual aid between the peoples of Africa and Asia.

The Institute brings together young people from some 80 African and Asian nations to study trade unionism, political development and various other aspects which contribute to a healthy, integrated society. Significantly, the Institute does not deal with the minority white ruling elites such as in South Africa, nor with colonial governments, as in Angola, but with the black liberation forces struggling for self determination.

Another widespread misconception is that racial and religious minorities enjoy equal status in Arab nations

while an Arab minority is persecuted in Israel. In Egypt, the Copts, a Christian denomination suffer severe persecution, as do the Kurds in Iraq and Syria. Nor have the Palestinians fared well under Hussein's government in Jordan.

While the conditions of the Arab minority in Israel are not ideal, they in fact enjoy a measurably higher standard of living than the people of Arab nations. They are permitted to vote, participate equally in a free labor movement and in fact enjoy more freedom than do Arabs in Arab lands.

There is no denying that the problems facing those Arabs displaced when Israel was formed some 25 years ago are still severe. A resolution calling for a just settlement of their plight might have been in order. This alternative , however, was never considered since the resolution sponsors were seeking, not justice, but a forum for the airing of anti-Israel prejudices. And to have introduced the question of refugees would have revealed that the Arab governments, anxious to keep the refugee issue alive, have been primarily responsible for the plight of the Palestinian refugees.

Finally, we must consider the fundamental issue of democracy. In the Middle East, Israel is a democratic society in a sea of feudal sheikdoms and military dictatorships.

Moreever, blacks must know that democracy, wherever it is, must be supported, because all minorities, including our own, need democracy in order to attain economic, political and social justice. Thus, rather than calling for the dismantling of Israel, black people all over the world should take an active interest in -securing Israel's survival.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
April 6, 1972

For further information, contact:
Rustin column

Educational Realities and The Myths of Busing

What are the myths and what are the facts about busing?

Have the courts ordered busing for integration on a "massive" scale, as President Nixon implied at least three times during his recent nationwide address? Will "hundreds of thousands" of school children be told by the courts that they cannot attend their neighborhood schools during the next school year unless the President's proposed moratorium on busing is enacted? Does the whole concept of busing represent no more than "some social planner's concept of what is considered to be the correct racial balance or what is called progressive social policy," as, once again, the President has declared?

Political figures, intellectuals and educators are right now discussing and debating important and valid questions which have been forced to the surface by the busing controversy. They are seeking answers to the philosophical and practical ramifications of busing and are trying to determine its political, social and educational implications.

The President's recent words have added nothing of substance to this debate. Assuming the mantle of moderation, the President has in fact reinforced with the considerable weight of his office those frequently uttered myths which have all but prevented rational discussion of this suddenly critical social issue.

It is important, therefore, to separate the myths, generalizations, and undocumented assumptions from the realities of the busing issue. If busing is both morally wrong and educationally unsound then we must accept the fact and seek new solutions. If busing divides blacks from whites to the degree which the President suggests we must also reevaluate our position.

But the critics of busing have offered little in the way of substantive evidence to support their assertions. Their arguments have been rhetorical, not factual. They have neither studied integration and its effects on American education nor experienced the successes, as well as the frustrations of changing from a segregated to an integrated school system.

Those educators and school officials who are personally familiar with the integration process generally support busing as one means of achieving desegregation, a fact which was brought out in a recent speech by Senator Walter Mondale. As chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Mondale heard several hundred educators during the past two years. His speech, I believe, is at once a forceful and logical defense of integrated education and an effective refutation of the critics of busing.

I think it is instructive to examine some of the points brought out by Mondale.

--Terms such as "massive busing" and "busing for busing's sake" have no grounding in fact. Of the 40 per cent of America's schoolchildren who ride buses to class, only three per cent, a majority of whom are black, are bused for desegregation purposes.

--The Supreme Court has never required that schools be racially balanced. In the one relevant decision, the court specifically stated that if a school district had taken all reasonable steps to desegregate-there still might be all black schools and all white schools. At the same time, the court made it clear that busing was one acceptable means of overcoming the results of officially approved school segregation.

--The most serious problem accompanying busing is not, as some would have it, the disruption of children's lives and an increase of racial hostilities, but the increased cost of maintaining an expanded transportation system.

--Integrated education has succeeded in many school districts when the community was committed to seeing that it worked. It is working in Berkeley, California, where the achievement rate of all youngsters of every racial and ethnic grouping has improved since the schools were fully integrated three years ago. It is working in Baldwin, Michigan, one of the poorest school systems in the state.. And it is working in Hoke County, North Carolina, where an integrated system replaced a triple system with separate schools for whites, blacks and Indians.

Why did Hoke County, in the rural south, succeed? Special programs were launched for low achieving children. No principals or teachers were dismissed or demoted because of integration. Parents and students were counseled and all extra-curricular activities were integrated. And while extensive busing was necessary to achieve integration, the focus of parents, students and schoolchildren was not on the bus ride, but on what happens at the end of the ride.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 20, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The Path To Political Growth

Black Americans will engage in an unprecedented level of political activity this year. More blacks will be seeking and winning elected office; Negroes will occupy more crucial posts within the Democratic and Republican parties than ever before; and more local and national elections will be determined by black votes.

Ever since we achieved the basic civil rights legislation in the mid-1960s black leaders have recognized the ultimate importance of increasing Negro involvement in electoral politics. But it is only now that we are beginning to fully understand the nature of politics--its complexity, demands and frustrations.

We are also beginning to recognize the profound, fundamental changes which can be won at the ballot box. We have, in the few short years since adoption of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, effected a total transformation of the way of conducting politics in the south. The ultimate victors in recent governor races in Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, Georgia and Louisiana have all placed themselves squarely on the side of racial fairness. Even Strom Thurmond, the personification of Dixiecrat racism, has hired a black aide and feels constrained to call himself a friend of the black man.

Do not imagine for one minute that Strom Thurmond has been stricken with a social conscience at this late stage in his career. He is reacting to political reality, not the call of conscience. This is an election year; more blacks are registered in South Carolina than ever before and in the most recent election made their presence felt by providing the margin of defeat for a rece-baiting gubernatorial candidate. The power of the ballot is a power no politician can ignore, not even the staunchest of segregationists.

Another reflection of black political growth is the dramatic increase in the number of elected black officials. In the past four years alone the number of black office-holders has jumped from 475 to nearly 1,900, with most of this growth coming in the former states of the Confederacy.

The political growth of southern blacks was not an instantaneous result of federal legislation. Legislation only pointed the way for political activists who possessed both a commitment to the democratic process and an understanding of the fundamentals of political organization. It was these activists who registered voters, conducted voter education drives, made certain the people got to the polling places, developed sophisticated strategies and forged intelligent alliances.

Nor did our political growth come from the endless repetition of irrelevant slogans, a form of consciousness raising which is no substitute for the hard, dry-as-dust work of organization. I mention this only because there has emerged into prominence certain individuals who characterize themselves as political leaders but who bring little of substance to the arena of black political development..These individuals have often in the past disdained electoral action as a vehicle for freedom, but now enbrace politics because it is the fashion. They will likely vanish from the scene as suddenly as they materialized.

Some 500 black political activists gathered recently in Houston, Texas, to share the common knowledge and experience they have gained from conducting political programs in their local communities. All are associated with the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and were attending the Institute's third national conference.

There was no rhetoric, slogans or meaningless resolutions in Houston. Only results. The delegates to the conference came from 80 communities where the Randolph Institute conducts voter registration drives. In the past two years alone, these local groups have, acting in concert with the Urban League, NAACP, and other organizations, succeeded in registering over 300,000 minority voters. As a majority of the Institute groups are headed by black trade unionists, they have also succeeded in solidfying the relationship between labor and blacks, two of the most progressive forces in American politics today.

Let me give just one illustration of what a commitment to political organization can accomplish. The Houston Institute affiliate has been operating since 1968. It has played a major role in increasing black registration and voter participation to their highest level ever. In the most recent municipal elections the first black city councilman in Houston's history was elected. Two blacks, a Chicano and several progressive white candidates were elected to the school board, changing the board's complexion to one more favorable to the city's minority groups.

In an election later this year, Houston will send four or five blacks to the state legislature and elect the first southern Negro to Congress since Reconstruction.

Without organization--registration, voter education, get-out-the-vote drives--the political atmosphere in Houston might be little different from the time of the poll tax and literacy test. But because there were individuals who were willing to assume the undramatic and seldom recognized tasks of organizational work, Houston blacks now have able spokesmen at every level of government. This is what community building is all about.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

An Answer to the Wallace Challenge

Immediately
May 4, 1972

Rustin column

George Wallace's performance in the presidential primaries has pointedly established that he, the issues he represents and the emotions he evokes are still capable of etching a formidable imprint in American politics. Despite the absence of the racial turmoil and mood of dislocation which conspired to catapult Wallace into prominence in 1968, the Alabama governor can still attract the support of sizeable segments of the electorate even in generally liberal states--such as Wisconsin and Pennsylvania--while mounting the most limited of campaigns.

Black Americans are justifiably concerned about Wallace's influence within the Democratic Party. For while he no longer brags of having stood in front of the schoolhouse door Wallace is still the candidate who most eagerly strains for the votes of backlash and reaction.

But it is important not to oversimplify the impulses which produce Wallace support. Many Wallace votes are not the product of racial prejudice, or even the volatile issue of bussing, on which Wallace is attempting so strenously to capitalize.

Many whites who have cast their ballots for Wallace are, in fact, motivated by problems quite similar to those which most profoundly disturb blacks. These include an increasingly inequitable tax burden, a soaring crime rate, exorbitant increases in such essential services as medical care, housing, and education, and a gnawing impression that mainstream politicians are incapable of resolving these problems.

We must be careful to distinguish between how some voters perceive Wallace and what he actually represents. Blacks know well that while Wallace may soften his rhetoric, scrub up his image and talk about tax reform, his essential message is the same as in 1964 and 1968. We also understand that while Wallace may promise tax reform , he has no program, and while he may speak of his concern for the working man, his political career has proven him anti-worker to the core.

It was this message which was used so effectively by the labor movement in 1968, when Wallace, running as a third party candidate, appeared to have captured considerable support from blue collar workers. As late as six weeks prior to the election the Gallup Poll showed Wallace with 21 per cent of the vote, with a sizeable portion coming from unionized workers. By election time, following a massive education campaign Wallace's support had been cut in half in most northern states.

Labor is repeating that message this year. By the end of the primaries up to 7 million pieces of literature will have been distributed to union members detailing the Wallace record and thousands will have viewed labor produced films on Wallace.

The message labor brings is simple: George Wallace, while masquerading as the ally of the working man, has done nothing for working people during two terms as governor while aligning himself with some of the most anti-worker elements in society. Alabama's per capita income is one of the lowest in the nation while its poverty rate is among the highest. Unemployment compensation benefits and workmen's compensation payments rival the nation's worst, as does per capita expenditure for education.

Labor has also demonstrated the hollowness of Wallace's claim as champion of law and order. Quoting grom federal statistics, labor points out that major crime--robberies, murders, rape, assaults--have risen in the three largest Alabama cities at a dramatically higher rate than has the national crime average.

Labor has, in effect, assumed an overwhelming share of the task of neutralizing Wallace. Labor does this because it knows that while Wallace may speak of tax reform, he is at the same time seeking support from those of the conservative fringes who have a vested stake in the economic status quo. Labor understands that it was Wallace and his fellow Dixiecrats who, by neglecting the poorest among them, produced the black migration which has created the miseries of the ghetto and a crumbling welfare system they so cynically denounce.

Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, perhaps summed up best labor's attitude towards the Wallace message: "Hearing George Wallace speak of the little man is like hearing the work 'love' from the mouth of a whore."

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
May 18, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Spokesmen For The Rich; Representatives of The Poor

The passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 was to have inaugurated a new era of political emancipation for southern blacks. No longer would literacy tests, grandfather clauses, or vigilante committees prevent qualified blacks from voting. Earlier another barrier to black suffrage, the poll tax, was outlawed by constitutional amendment, thus depriving the south of another weapon in its arsenal of discrimination.

The Voting Rights Act has already carved a considerable imprint on the political complexion of the south. While southerners were knowingly predicting that Negroes had little interest in politics, black registration leapt from 38 per cent of those eligible in 1964, a year prior to the law's enactment, to 66 per cent by 1970.

For a people suffering a century-old denial of basic democratic rights so profound a change had an incalculable psychological and emotional impact. Particularly for rural blacks, locked out of the governing process even when in the majority, the guarantee of a vote spelled freedom in a quite tangible way.

For them, the election of a black sheriff brought an end to racial prejudice as an implement of government policy. And when blacks gained representation on, or domination of a school board, Negro teachers and principals were assured of equitable treatment when integration replaced the dual school system.

Thus in two important senses--the spiritual elevation of southern blacks and the insuring of a measure of racial justice--we have already reaped significant benefits from the Voting Rights Act.

But while in no way minimizing the importance of these local advances, we cannot overlook their very limited effect on the impoverishment of the sharecropper, the urban ghetto dweller, and the small town southern Negro. Saying this requires no particular insight. A mayor, no matter how intense his commitment to the poor and well developed his sense of racial fairness, inherits too few powers to significantly uplift the economic conditions of a depressed area. He can place a few blacks in municipal jobs, ensure the unbiased enforcement of laws, and provide previously neglected neighborhoods with a fair share of municipal services. But the basic, crucial economic issues lie outside his control. Housing, employment, medical care--their solution lies in Washington, not Fayette, or Gary or Newark.

This is why our movement, moreso than any other, cannot afford to turn inward to concentrate on local objectives to the exclusion of all others. We could increase the number of black mayors five fold and yet children would still be suffering in near starvation in the Mississippi Delta and more receive inadequate education in New York City.

We must, therefore, retain our vision of national, as well as local goals. For instance, the year 1972 confronts us with an opportunity to begin a campaign which could eventually bring about a change in the ideological composition of the southern congressional delegation that would be truly revolutionary.

A recent study conducted by the Joint Center for Political Studies reveals there are 33 southern congressional districts, all currently represented by whites, where blacks comprise between 30 and 50 per cent of the population.

The overwhelming majority of these districts are represented by conservatives who have displayed scant concern for their black, or, for that matter, the not insignificant number of poor white donstituents. Many have served long years in Congress, acquiring influence which they have used to impede civil rights and social welfare legislation.

This past year they have been in the forefront of anti-busing legislation, advocated restrictions of the distribution of food stamps, and voted for reductions in job development and education programs. Their allies are the most reactionary of the affluent, even though they represent the most impoverished.

If only half were unseated and replaced by liberals we could dramatically alter the south's political atmosphere while strengthening the liberal forces in Congress.at a time when liberalism has suffered many important, but narrow defeats.

But to succeed will take discipline, strategy and professionalism. It will test whether our movement has grown in sophistication as it has in numbers and enthusiasm. It will require that we reject the notion that a political movement can be based solely on blackness, for we must be prepared to support a liberal alternative no matter what their race.

The ballot can be used many ways. We have already found that the vote can lift the shroud of fear and prejudice. We must reach beyond these elementary, though important gains. The ballot must be the vehicle for economic equality, equality of educational opportunity, equality of medical care. Until we do, the legacy of idealism and sacrifice which brought us the Voting Rights Act will be only partially fulfilled.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
June 1, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Social Reform, Not "Black" Solutions

by BAYARD RUSTIN

The National Association of Black Social Workers has recently issued a policy statement which could have detrimental implications for black Americans and for all who are concerned with social progress. The statement, made in the form of a resolution at the organization's national convention, denounced the placement of black orphans with white families for either adoption or foster care, calling the practice "a growing threat to the preservation of the black family."

I do not intend to dwell at length on the practical consequences of such a position. It is necessary to comment only that the adoption of this policy by child welfare agencies would deprive thousands of black orphans of any possibility of the benefits of a family environment

But the issue is important on another level for it reflects, in a fairly dramatic manner, a growing mood among black professionals to define the problems of the black poor as somehow separate and distinguishable from those ills which afflict the rest of society's impoverished and to seek solutions based on race, rather than economic or social reform. As if the problems of drug addiction, unemployment, illegitimacy and disease could be solved if everyone turned white overnight.

This philosophy has in turn led to the formation of separate black organizations in a growing list of professions--teachers, policemen, reporters and social workers to name just a few as well as black caucuses within trade unions.

The leaders of these organizations are often talented and ambitious. They are disturbed by the pace of black progress generally, but they are equally disturbed about their own professional status. They have incorrectly, I believe, mistaken their ambitions for the needs of the Negro masses. The result is to project solutions limited to a given discipline rather than an overhauling of the economic system.

They perceive, correctly, that society has failed and is failing the black child despite anti-discrimination laws and federal programs. But the crucial question for all black people is why has society failed? And is it only black children with whom society has dealt harshly?

I would suggest that society's shortcomings are not the result of an inherent, deeply-imbedded and oppressive racism, although prejudice and discrimination are still important problems to overcome. But poverty, and all the evils attached to it, is not due solely or even largely to racism, but to an economic system already weighted to those with wealth and power. And poverty, let us not forget, is color blind; it pursues the Appalachian farmer as relentlessly as the Alabama sharecropper, and the new immigrant to this country.

Can an all-black organization representing a minority within a profession contribute significantly to the solution of so massive a problem? Obviously they cannot. Their danger, however, is that the energies and idealism of their members will be channeled into endeavors ultimately futile and unnecessary.

Nor can the black professional combat racism if he is isolatedfrom those institutions where racism poses a challenge. There is no sense in black teachers passing resolutions and complaining to each other about the oppressive and racist nature of American schools just as there is no sense in white teachers passing resolutions and saying they cannot teach black children because of their home life and society. Teachers must join together to make the educational system work for white and black and poor children--they should not be spending their time fighting each other.

Separatist organizations are further weakened by their need to adopt unrealistic and sometimes irresponsible public positions in order to justify their existence.

This often takes the form of unsound criticism of their own profession, as, I believe, is the case of the adoption resolution. It is not interracial adoptions which threaten the stability of the black family but rather the absurdities of our welfare system and a black unemployment rate in excess of 10 per cent.

It is ironic that black professionals, who once felt the keen cutting edge of separatism, should now consider separatism as a legitimite alternative in the struggle for equality. The exclusionary policies of the American Medical Association and other societies had devastating practical consequences for black professionals: black doctors, for example, were denied the right to practice in the best hospitals, deprived of a policy-making voice, and isolated from the latest currents in research and experimentation.

It is true that there have been many separate, black professional societies in America, but it was discrimination which compelled blacks to form these organizations. Never were they looked on as an effective vehicle for the advancement of the black masses, for their members had too personal and painful a recollection of the telling effects of separatism.

Certainly today's black professional is not confronted with the severe handicaps with which his latter day colleague was forced to deal. But should he withdraw from the mainstream of his profession to pursue an elusive "black" answer to society's ills he could find himself as isolated and ineffective as those oppressed by outright exclusion.

There are important things to be said about the black experience in education, welfare, law enforcement, or whatever. But that which is unique about the black experience must, if it is to have an effect on social policy, be a part of the common arena and not hidden away from public view. Our particular knowledge and experiences mean nothing by themselves. They gain relevance when they are shared with all men and when they contribute to curing the sicknesses of the total society.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
June 15, 1972

Rustin Column

Benign Neglect By The Supreme Court

A recent Supreme Court decision may have temporarily marked an end to that institution's role as an instrument of civil rights progress and activism. In itself, the ruling is relatively unimportant, particularly when laid aside the momentous cases in which the court justifiably earned the reputation as a staunch and persistent defender of racial justice. It is significant, rather, as a symbol of the court's new conservative orientation on all social issues. And it is telling black Americans that, for the foreseeable future, they must look elsewhere if the social and economic inequities of society are to be rectified.

The particular ruling to which I refer upheld the right of a private club to bar Negroes from its dining and drinking facilities . By implication, the court also said that such private organizations could legally discriminate on the basis of race in the selection of members.

It is not my intention to discuss at length the merits of this decision, although I disagree with it on both legal and moral grounds. But I am compelled to comment, however briefly, on how such a ruling affects the whole concept of racial integration.

We are living in a time when many of the philosophies and ideals of the civil rights movement are being reexamined and when far too often both black and white are willing to capitulate on the most essential ideal of full integration.

Given this atmosphere, it is profoundly disturbing that the nation's highest court would legitimate discrimination with its stamp of approval.

Such a decision can only encourage young blacks who have demanded separate dormitories, separate courses, and separate social facilities at many campuses.

On the other hand there are many whites, including, I am certain, those who so self-righteously proclaim the right of their club to exclude blacks, who are all too willing to advise us to put our house in order, moderate our extremists and enter the mainstream. I find such an attitude not only repugnant, but eminently hypocritical, particularly when held by the business and political elite of a community who so often comprise the membership of fraternal organizations.

This decision also, I fear, augurs what could well be an era of racial "benign neglect" on the part of the courts which could extend well into the future.

This is no cause for rejoicing, for the court has for the past three decades been the black man's most reliable governmental ally. It was the court which responded to our specific needs when Congress and the President lacked the commitment to deal with the injustices which had become so deeply imbedded a part of our daily lives.

It was the court which, in a sense, inaugurated the civil rights era with the historic Brown decision. More recently, the court outlawed discrimination in the sale or rental of housing and provided an effective counter to the Nixon Administration's efforts to delay the integration of southern schools.

I do not wish to imply that the court has suddenly become an implement of racial reaction. Its members, including three of the four justices appointed by Richard Nixon, range from moderate to liberal on racial cases. The lone exception is Justice William Rehnquist, who once wrote that "we are no more committed to an integrated society than to a segregated society." It was, symbolically, Rehnquist who wrote the decision upholding discrimination on the part of private clubs.

There are many important cases pending before the court which could bear heavily on the future of blacks and on the economic condition of all society's impoverished.

Given the new bent of the court, we must prepare ourselves for decisions on many of these cases which are contrary to the best interests of the economically deprived, of those who continue to suffer racial discrimination, and of humanity in general.

This does not mean that we need passively accept what might appear to be a slackening of our movement's progress. If, in truth, we no longer can rely on the Supreme Court to redress the wrongs of our social environment, we must turn elsewhere for solutions. We must redouble our efforts at building political strength, both in and of itself and in alliance with other progressives, so that what we cannot accomplish in the courts we can win in Congress.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
June 29, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

Black Women and Women's Liberation

by Bayard Rustin

Contrary to popular impression the woman most discriminated against is not the white suburban housewife but the mother of a ghetto household.

People have argued that the relatively affluent suburbanite would be more vulnerable to the disaffection caused by her sexual role and more likely to embrace the issues raised by the modern feminist movement.

It is hardly difficult to reach such a conclusion, particularly if one's judgement is influenced by the conventional wisdom served by journalists and other opinion molders. For it was the same sort of simplistic analysis, myth making and stereotyping which convinced many people that working people are the most conservative force in society, when in fact conservative and reactionary attitudes are far more prevalent among the wealthy.

Black women, in reality, hear the drumroll of the movement for female equality much more loudly than do whites. And, contrary to popular myth, poor women respond to a majority of the issues of the feminist movement more fervently and in greater numbers than do the middle class housewives and professionals who comprise the core of strength of women's activist groups.

But while endorsing the broad aims of feminists, black women differ sharply over which issues they consider most fundamental to equality. While white women find it difficult to define and quantify equality, black women see equality as a less elusive ideal. For black women believe that equality to a large degree can still be measured by more jobs, more and better quality low and moderate income housing, improved public education, quality health care and programs to help the poor and elderly.

I do not mean to infer that feminism's psychological implications do not concern black women. Black women are in fact more dissatisfied with their social roles. More deeply than whites they are distressed that their sexual role may have limited their chances for self fulfillment, are convinced that doors to success which are open to men are shut for women, and often consider their years of schooling wasted.

These are not subjective evaluations· they are the innermost sentiments of black women as expressed in polls and studies. Yet to accept their validity is to raise significant questions about the course of the women's liberation movement today. For black women, no matter how profoundly their sympathy for the issues of feminist equality, have largely ignored the women's liberation movement.

When women's liberation rose to prominence several years ago there were those who warned that should it fail to alter the essentially middle class nature of its appeal it would be unable to win the support of Negroes and white working class women.

And while some feminist leaders have acknowledged this weakness we still find that black women, poor women and working women, discriminated against and alienated as they are, remain unenthusiastic and occasionally antagonistic to women's liberation.

Too often they find that women's liberation is concerned with rhetoric and consciousness raising to the neglect of social change. Sometimes Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan and other leaders of women's rights groups focus on issues so irrelevant to the personal lives of working people as to appear dilettantish.

But there is a more basic reason for black disenchantment. Black people, because they have lived with discrimination and struggled to overcome built in prejudice, cannot relate to a cause which separates and isolates social problems on the basis of sex. They understand from personal experience that discrimination, poverty, and the miseries they bring are not sexually exclusive.

Thus while black women have remained conscious of the special problems they encounter as women, they are also cognizant that discrimination is essentially a matter of class and race.

This is reflected in their choice of social activism. In past years black women played important roles in the civil rights movement. They were the first to respond to Dr. King when he organized the Montgomery bus boycott and assumed leadership positions in this and many other campaigns.

More recently blacks have branched into other areas; organizing domestic workers, hospital workers and school paraprofessionals, long the most impoverished and exploited of the female work force.

Thus in the most important areas of social activism--civil rights campaigns, labor organization, tenant rights groups and the like--black women have carved remarkable records of accomplishment. Their leadership has been constructive and responsible; their militancy indisputable. And they bear with them the conviction that what they are doing is important not only in itself but also within the context of the larger movements for human dignity and sexual, racial, and social equality.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release Immediately
July 13, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

BLACKS AND THE CONVENTION

by Bayard Rustin

Miami Beach--Should anyone have doubted it, the Democratic Party national convention convincingly demonstrated that Black Americans have come of age politically.

There were more blackdelegates than at any previous national political gathering and the influence they exerted was both highly visible and profound. They helped assemble a socially and politically progressive platform and played significant leadership roles in the convention's administration.

In cataloguing black accomplishment at Miami Beach, I do not mean to infer that we "proved" anything. There is no need for blacks to prove anything of a political nature to ourselves, to the Democratic or Republican parties, or to the nation. We have more than earned our niche in the political scheme of things through vigorous, effective and, in contrast to elements of both right and left, responsible activism and organization.

Yet the integral, constructive role we played carries important implications during a year when, we are often told, a fundamental transformation of black political behavior is taking place.

I do not agree that we are somehow experiencing a political revolution. What we are undergoing is the continuation of the growth of our influence and a normalization of our participation in the electoral process, a trend which has been going on for a decade. The magnitude of our convention role is a reflection of that progress.

One of the accomplishments of the convention, however, was to puncture two unwarranted and potentially damaging myths about black politics.

The first is that blacks need a system of guaranteed quotas to ensure that they will be fairly represented within the major political parties. The second is that our political outlook is shaped primarily and overwhelmingly by race; that the mere fact of our being black overrides differences in ideology, economic background, and the political tradition in which each individual was nurtured.

Our role in the Democratic Party went much deeper than the election of delegates. It includes the appointment of many blacks to key convention committees and the selection of Patricia Harris as credentials chairman, Yvonne Brathwaite as co-chairman of the convention and Kenneth Gibson as chairman of the platform committee.

As for the idea of unity based on race, I think the convention clearly showed that Negro political activists are motivated by factors other than blackness. There were black delegates and black strategists and aides within the campaigns of each of the major liberal candidates. There were blacks committed to the labor movement and its objectives; there were those who come from the civil rights movement; there were those representing activist organizations, and there were those who have risen through the ranks of urban political organizations.

Each represented their particular constituency, be they sharecroppers or ghetto dwellers, as well as the candidate to whom they were committed.

As black people, we are unified by past discrimination, by institutional bias that remains, by a shared history of deprivation and by the present day consequences of all of these. Only in this sense was there a black unity at the convention. It exerted itself by insisting that the party's presidential nominee would be running on a platform uncompromisingly and openly dedicated to racial fairness. There unity ended.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 27, 1972

Rustin column

SUPPORT THE FARAH STRIKE

Each movement for social justice and civil rights has its vanguards: activists and workers who, by dint of personal sacrifice and selfless commitment open the doors to equality so that thousands of others may enter. More often than not the --vanguard is comprised of those common people--workers, their wives, the poor--who make up for their lack of schooling with an extraordinary courage, born of a lifetime of deprivation and exploitation.

Many of the crucial civil rights campaigns could not have been won had it not been for the fortitude and resolution of simple church women who fiercely believed in the cause for which they fought, and just as earnestly adhered to the practice of non-violence. And the job of organizing the south's poverty-stricken workers, so often a discouraging and embittering experience, has been made less arduous because of the awe-inspiring persistence of Memphis sanitationmen and hospital workers in Charleston.

Some 3,000 meagerly paid, under-educated workers are playing just such a vanguard role in the summer heat of Texas and New Mexico. For the past three months they have struck the Farah Manufacturing Co., one of the nation's largest makers of men's pants, in an effort to achieve the most elemental right of working people --the right to representation by a union without intimidation and coercion.

The strike was triggered by the arbitrary dismissal of workers active in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. But the Farah workers are confronted by far more than an intractable and hostile management.

Because they are Mexican-Americans, they face prejudice differing little in degree from the prejudice black people experienced and continue to experience in the deep south. And because of the unyielding anti-labor bias which permeates southwest law and custom, they must also deal with the active opposition of law enforcement and political officials.

Thus Farah sought and was able to obtain a court order placing unusually harsh restrictions on the right to picket. And despite picketing that was peaceful and orderly, some 600 strikers have been arrested, at times in their homes during the night. Local judges set bail at levels considerably higher than for those arrested for trivial offenses: the strikers were, in effect, treated as dangerous radicals rather than as workers seeking no more than basic economic and social justice.

I single out the Farah strikers as representatives of a social vanguard because they symbolize the plight of millions of exploited factory workers in our southern and southwestern states and in those non-south areas where anti-labor sentiment persists.

Should the strike succeed, it would bring an awakening of hope for those who labor in frustration in the anonymous mills and factories throughout the nation. Its failure would strengthen the resolve of the most reactionary anti-worker forces in society: those who would cripple the power of organized labor while themselves preying on society's most powerless.

The Farah strike has won broad support from liberals and organized labor. A citizens committee to help ensure justice for the Farah workers, headed by Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson, has been formed and a nationwide boycott against Farah products has been launched.

The strike deserves the unflinching support of the black community. Because we have been so often victimized, we must support other victims of an unfair economic structure.

But we have more than a moral responsibility to back the Farah strike. For the Chicanos who march in the picket line under scorching Texas sun are saying the same things we have been saying and demanding those same rights we have so often demanded.

They are saying that they will no longer be treated as a lower caste because their skin is dark, because they speak with an accent, observe different traditions and pursue a different life style.

They are demanding a livable wage, job security, the right to protest unhealthy job conditions and freedom from work practices which exact a harsh penance from the body and tax the nerves to the breaking point.

We have had the support of many allies in the struggle for black dignity. Thus we cannot turn our backs when others seek to lift the millstone of economic oppressions from their necks. A victory for the Farah workers will be a victory shared by all working people, as was the victory of the grape workers and the hospital orderlies. Should those workers in Texas lose, we shall surely all feel in the defeat.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
August 10, 1972

For further information, contact:
Rustin column

BUSING AND INTEGRATION

There is a strong chance that we will witness the passage of stringent legislative curbs on busing during this election year. Should this occur, the challenge of desegregating our public schools, already a delicate and complex process, will be made even more arduous.

But more than that, it would represent the first successful congressional attempt to impede by legislation the cause of racial equality in a half century, the last time this occurred having been laws segregating public facilities in Washington, D. C. during Woodrow Wilson's administration.

What are the implications for the civil rights movement?

Some are convinced that the adoption of any of the proposed anti-busing bills--three are pending before the House--will inaugurate an era of civil rights reaction which would cripple future liberal initiatives and endanger much of the progress for which so many have sacrificed. They perceive anti-busing legislation as signaling the end of a period known as the Second Reconstruction just as the first Reconstruction was doomed by the federal government's abandonment of the freedman's cause.

I do not necessarily adhere to so cataclysmic a view since busing is an issue which has aroused such deeply-felt and widespread passions among persons of all ideological persuasions. But I nonetheless believe that they do represent a distinct danger to the progress of civil rights. And I am convinced that their defeat is essential if we are to proceed unhindered to the ultimate goal of a racially ideal society.

My most profound fear is that the momentum generated by the anti-busing campaign will inspire anew those forces who have consistently and destructively opposed the aspirations of black Americans. For while a measure of liberal support for busing curbs is undeniable, (support based on political practicality rather than moral conviction) it has been the most racially unenlightened, those who said "Never!" and applauded when others stood in the schoolhouse door who most zealously pursue this legislation.

A victory on busing might be followed by efforts to emasculate the Voting Rights Act, which, moreso than any single law, has weakened the power of southern conservatism. For those who dismiss this as unlikely it would do well to recall that an enfeeblement of the Voting Rights Act was a cornerstone in the Nixon Administration's Southern Strategy.

Or we could see a campaign to restrain the federal government from employing its social welfare programs to encourage integration or to penalize communities which continue to discriminate against blacks and other minorities.

The bills before the House include a constitutional amendment prohibiting all busing; a bill, supported by the Nixon Administration, which would impose severe restrictions on busing and a second Nixon-backed measure which would set a moratorium on court-ordered busing until next July.

In their fervor to see this legislation passed, its supporters have resorted to the same tactics which were so successfully employed to thwart lynching bills and other civil rights measures for decades. Influential southern congressmen with years of accumulated seniority are exerting every bit of power even if in so doing they violate congressional tradition.

Even those blacks who have reservations about busing recognize the forces who are supporting this legislation as their traditional enemies. Thus all blacks and those many white Americans who are morally committed to integrated education have a stake in the outcome of the drama now being played out in the House, and would do well to let their congressman or Senator know how they feel on this issue.

The passage of a busing curb will not destroy the civil rights movement. Our movement has survived more serious challenges, and lived to flourish despite more disheartening setbacks. But we cannot gain substantial progress--both in integrating society and securing basic economic dignity--if our attention is perpetually occupied by issues which are marginal to social progress. This is why we must turn back the assault on integration, no matter what form it takes or how rhetorically cloaked, so that we can proceed beyond symbolic issues to those which touch the essence of an equal and just society.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
August 24, 1972

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

The New Hustlers

by Bayard Rustin

The black community is well acquainted with the hustler. A predatory creature, he has been living quite well off the ghetto's poverty and dislocation for decades, selling non-existent insurance policies, promoting phantom business ventures and operating any number of enterprises to swindle the meager earnings of blacks.

Now we are witnessing the appearance of a new type of hustler. Capitalizing on the emergence of an expanded black consciousness, he exploits feelings of racial identity to appease his own appetite for influence and wealth. He has disrupted local anti-poverty agencies, claiming to represent the black community, but willing to settle for a job for himself and his friends.

He has severely crippled what scant chances school decentralization had to succeed with hysterical campaigns aimed at placing himself and likeminded friends in power, from where they can divide the spoils of patronage.

The hustler's most recent target is the labor movement. And, just as he has provoked a devastating reaction to the war on poverty, so now does he stand as a threat to the relationship between Negroes and trade unions.

Separatist unions, unaffiliated with the AFL-CIO or any other recognized labor body, have been formed in several cities, most notably Detroit and New York. Their leaders cloak their undertakings with noble rhetoric: they will provide an alternative to "discriminatory" white-dominated unions, train young blacks as apprentices and ensure that profits from ghetto projects remain in the ghetto.

In reality, however, separatist unions have pursued quite different objectives and employed radically different tactics than their public statements might suggest.

In Detroit, the head and a chief aide of Local 124, United Construction and Trades Union have been convicted of extorting money from a black builder. They and five other union officials have also been indicted by a federal grand jury for demanding money from contractors, including blacks, under threat of violence.

Ironically, the union was quite willing to permit white workers to fill ghetto job slots if the contractor paid a fee "for the right to work in the inner city." But when Local 124 would replace AFL-CIO unions, it was often other black workers who were being deprived of jobs.

Another branch of Local 124 is now engaged in a similar operation in New York. The local has been supplying its workers to replace members of a painters' union who are doing work in a public housing project.

Like its Detroit counterpart, the New York local purports to represent black workers. Yet, like its Detroit counterpart, it has been known to "scab" on projects which employed blacks: in the case of the housing project, a majority of the unionized painters were black or Puerto Rican. They were earning the standard union scale of around $8 an hour; their non-union replacements often were paid less than one-half of this amount.

There is no justification for this situation. District Council 9 of the Painters' Union, an AFL-CIO affiliate, has forged an exemplary record of encouraging minority advancement. One-sixth of District Nine's working members are black or Spanish-speaking; 70 per cent of its apprentices are minority members and the union operates a pre-apprenticeship program for disadvantaged youths to help them qualify for apprenticeships.

But even were the union all black it would make little difference to those who seek to supplant it, since they are motivated by a commitment to their own self-enrichment rather than unselfish commitment to the black community.

We are not undergoing a unique experience today. Since Emancipation we have witnessed a procession of individuals who devoted themselves to dividing blacks from labor. More sophisticated than the leaders of Local 124, they still sought, perhaps unconsciously, the same result--self-gain at the expense of black progress.

They were corporate barons, employing blacks as a wedge to drive down wages and Post-Reconstruction southern politicians, fearing the consequences of an alliance between Negroes and poor whites. Today champions of right-to-work laws assure blacks that anti-labor legislation is in their best interest.

No one, except these people themselves, has ever suggested that reactionary southerners or conservative businessmen ever represented black people. Nor do separatist unions speak for blacks

For nearly a century blacks were outside the labor movement, and suffered because of it. Now we are assuming our rightful place within recognized, integrated trade unions, enjoying union benefits and protection, and increasingly taking leadership roles within labor. We are not about to turn back the clock to a previous age. If we are to proceed with the unfinished agenda of economic equality, we must oppose those who act against our best interest, whether they be white paternalists or black hustlers.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
September 7, 1972

Rustin Column

THE CHANGING ROLE OF BLACK YOUTH

by Bayard Rustin

The present generation of young blacks is approaching maturity in the midst of an era troubled by persisting and deeply-felt social wrongs, injustices which are deepened by our expanded personal expectations for self-fulfillment.

The most burdensome affliction of the young is unemployment. The scarcity of jobs has spread like an epidemic through our cities, exacting a destructive toll from ghetto youth, drawing out their resentment and anguish. The jobless rate among returning Vietnam veterans is scandalous; nearly one of five cannot find work. The factory where they planned to work may have relocated to the suburbs or pursued the profit margin to Taiwan or South America, where its owners can capitalize on a cheap labor supply.

However the outlook for black youth is not entirely as somber as the picture I have described. Despite a relentless unemployment problem we have moved ahead; despite our impoverishment the successes of our young are not only notable but numerous.

Partially, we can attribute this to the increasing educational opportunities which were opened up by the programs of the Johnson Administration. Black college enrollment, which lagged so far behind the rest of the population, now nearly equals that of whites, with nearly one half of the most recent black high school graduates attending college.

This is a remarkable achievement; the thought of attending college was almost inconceivable before the past decade--we lacked the money and, it was assumed, the learning background to be accomplished students.

But those young students whose commitment and determination overcame backgrounds of poverty have matured into successful, and oftimes brilliant professionals engaged in scientific and medical research, education, scholarly pursuit, government service and politics.

The accomplishments of the young are not limited to the college educated and professional. Thousands of young blacks, for example, have entered the building trades, doing skilled and sometimes dangerous work, and often earning $10 an hour or more.

In so doing, they not only surmounted ingrained prejudices and suspicions of white workers, but turned these attitudes around, advancing interracial relations, dispeling adverse stereotypes and bringing together societal forces that could easily have become antagonists.

These fledgling carpenters, electricians and sheet metal workers were often raised in an atmosphere of deprivation and came from broken homes. The streets where they played were ridden with violent crime and infested with drug addiction: perhaps they themselves at one time suffered from a narcotics habit.

The young have always marched in the front ranks of the civil rights movement. When our cause was lonely, when popular sentiment opposed our aspirations, it was the indomitable spirit of youth which kept our movement alive. Young blacks, risking jail, beatings, or death fearlessly served in the vanguard of those campaigns so crucial to our movement: the freedom rides, sit-ins, voter registration campaigns.

Now the course of the struggle for black progress is changing. Our goal is to seek a regular, normalized place in society and to do this in a firmly interracial framework. Black youth--students, young workers, professionals, scholars--are now accomplishing this, not simply by filling a slot in an organization, but by excelling in their chosen occupation. Generations to come will find that the commitment and perseverance of these young people has done a great deal to remove discrimination from the institutions of American society and to erase prejudice from the hearts and minds of American people.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
September 21, 1972

For further information, contact:
Rustin column

BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT: A NATIONAL SCANDAL

There is a good deal of irony in the reaction toward the persisting high level of unemployment.

We find, for instance, considerable outrage over jobless scientists, engineers and teachers as the college educated find themselves nearly as insecure as the blue collar worker. In response, political office seekers of every ideological hue advance proposals to deal with unemployment for technicians and professionals and other specialized fields.

Blacks might be excused for looking on this with a high degree of cynicism. We know well the anxieties and frustrations of being without a job and we know only too well how few voices have been raised in our behalf; how little moral outrage has been expressed; how little commitment there is to ensuring a job for everyone.

For a social wrong not to be recognized as a social wrong until it affects whites, particularly the more affluent and well-educated, is an old story. The issues change but the response doesn't. Drug addiction was ignored until it spread from Harlem to Scarsdale; medical care was fine until the financial burden of a week's hospital stay became intolerable for even the middle class.

To label such attitudes as merely the reflections of a hopelessly racist society is simplistic and inaccurate. Nor does it solve any problems. We are not confronted with a white power structure which prefers that blacks remain without jobs, but with a society which has forgotten what it means in terms of human suffering to be without a job. Until, of course, the problem spills over from the ghetto.

Right now there are 700,000 blacks out of work, according to an Urban League estimate. Many of these aren't counted by the federal government's surveys; they have dropped out of the labor market, spiritually and psychologically beaten.

There are those who insist that blacks shouldn't be so particular; there are jobs to be filled, they point out; our aspirations should not be set too high. Again, we are judged by a double standard. Since when has the unemployed aerospace engineer been advised to hire out as a dishwasher or warehouseman? It is assumed, quite rightly, that he should hold out for a job which offers him a salary and personal fulfillment approximating that of his former position. The same holds true for the black skilled factory operative earning $6 an hour.

The impact of high unemployment--particularly among working people and the poor--is not limited to the spiritual destruction of an individual. High unemployment spawns many other evils, particularly in the ghetto, where there is an obvious relationship between crime, drug addiction and scarcity of jobs.

And if it is true that young blacks are growing increasingly impatient with and alienated from American institutions and traditions, it is in large measure due to the heavy unemployment burden they must bear. The federal government, which regularly underestimates unemployment levels, says that one of every three young blacks is out of work. And the inability of government to ensure jobs for returning black Vietnam veterans has reached scandalous proportions.

Jobs have traditionally been an important element in the liberal program for social and racial progress. We now find, however, that some liberals have abandoned full employment as a social ideal. Thus we have a conservative president who sacrifices jobs in an ineffectual fight against inflation and a vocal segment of liberalism which is openly hostile to the concept of increased economic growth.

They proclaim themselves as staunch supporters of racial equality but dismiss the most compelling problem of the ghetto. They define racial progress in their own terms, and these terms too often have scant relevance to our day to day existence.

Unemployment is not limited by geography or type of occupation it is pervasive, striking at the young, at women, at older workers. It calls for massive efforts by government not limited to one area, one ailing industry or corporation, or, for that matter, one race. The campaign for a full employment economy should enervate all liberals and those who are committed to racial advancement. Those who are wondering where the civil rights movement is today need look no further.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
October 5, 1972

Rustin column

Irrelevant Schools or Irrelevant Critics?

Are schools relevant? Is education, as traditionally structured, a legitimite means for the exploited to escape their deprivation or an institution which the Establishment manipulates to control the masses? Is our faith in education justified, or are schools reinforcing a rigid status quo in which blacks exist as a permanent underclass?

Criticism of American education has reached an intensity never perhaps equaled since society accepted the notion that all children--regardless of class--had the right to attend school.

And certainly much of what is being said is warranted. Our schools have failed to cope with the changes brought about by the technological revolution: thousands of students graduate from ghetto schools unable to read and write and are thus condemned to lifetimes of monotony and impoverishment. This is a severe shortcoming at a time when those few chances for an illiterate to find personal and financial fulfillment are rapidly giving way to automation.

Unfortunately, much recent criticism has not been directed at such substantive problems as the reading deficiencies of black youngsters. Instead, we have a new group of critics who seem intent on proving that educational reforms initiated during the past 15 years have failed to produce positive improvement.

Some of this criticism comes from conservatives, who are suspicious of innovation and hostile to spending public money for the schools. But serious misgivings have also been voiced by those who call themselves liberals, or even radicals.

Thus we are told that programs like Head Start are ineffectual and a waste of the taxpayer's money. Integration has been ineffective and not worth the social dislocation, no matter how temporary, it produces. Some go further, attacking the whole concept of compulsory education.

All this has important implications for blacks. For it was the civil rights movement which first raised the issue that all children have the right to an equal education. In response, many of those reforms which are now being criticized were developed specifically to deal with the special problems of ghetto schools.

It is therefore imperative that black people and all those who believe in education as an instrument of social progress examine what these critics are saying.

I find many of their arguments superficial, unconvincing and, in many cases, profoundly reactionary. To insist, as some have, that the schools have totally failed the black child is more than simply inaccurate; it makes the attainment of true reform that much more difficult. To begin with, the schools have not totally failed the black child, although in many instances the schools have fallen seriously short of providing decent education. The fact is that between 1965 and 1970, during the times when many innovative programs were introduced, black college enrollment nearly doubled. This is not total failure.

Nevertheless the critics have had their effect. An administration which is ideologically opposed to spending the money necessary to overhaul the schools has justified much of its inaction by citing studies which downgrade innovative program integration and other reforms. It has also affected a public which has demonstrated an increasing reluctance to pay for better schools.

I have never believed that education was the only, or even the most essential means of bringing blacks into a regular place in society. But it is crucial in a society which values credentials and exerts harsh penalties from the spirits of the uneducated.

One of the important functions of the civil rights movement was to simply raise the issue of equality. The struggle to attain this ideal, which has continued ever since, has proved much more painful than ever anticipated. Now we find that the very institutions which can make equality a reality are under attack by people who call themselves our friends. We can see this most clearly in the proposals to abolish compulsory education. No matter how fervently they deny it, those who make such proposals have in fact abandoned the goal of a racially and socially equal society.

Our advancement will only come through reform of these institutions, reform sometimes radical in nature, but reform that still has as its basic premise the ideal of equality. Those who, in the guise of progress, would cripple these institutions--be it government, labor, or education--are only destroying our chance to enter society in a complete and uncomplicated way. From our point of view, we may soon find that it is not the schools, but their misguided critics who are irrelevant.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
October 19

Rustin column

COALITION POLITICS IN THE SOUTH

Seventy one years have elapsed since a southern black sat in Congress. The last to serve, George White of North Carolina, declined to seek reelection knowing full well he could not prevail over the Jim Crow laws and hooded terrorists which together destroyed the political power of the freedmen.

When he left Washington, White spoke prophetically to the nation: "This is perhaps the Negro's temporary farewell to the American Congress; but let me say, Phoenix-like, we will rise up some day and come again. These parting words are in behalf of an outraged, heart-broken, bruised and bleeding people, faithful, industrious and loyal people--full of potential force."

Phrased with an eloquence bred of disappointment, yet tempered with hope, White's words take on a special meaning as this year's election draws upon us. For southern blacks, who endured a longer and more oppressive yoke of discrimination than White ever foresaw,stand on the threshold of realizing that "potential force" of which he spoke.

At least one, and perhaps as many as three blacks will be elected to Congress from the former states of the Confederacy on November 7. Barbara Jordan, a Texas State Senator, is expected to win easily in a new congressional district in Houston; Andrew Young, a former aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, is running a strong race in Atlanta; J. O. Patterson, who survived a difficult primary struggle to win the Democratic Party nomination, faces a Republican incumbent in Memphis.

That blacks have made impressive political gains in the south is no particular revelation. The percentage of black registration approaches that of whites; some 900 blacks have won elective office; the whole atmosphere of political campaigning has changed as realistic white candidates seek out the black vote.

While these three congressional races on one level simply represent a continuation of this process, they achieve a special, symbolic relevance of their own as a reflection of our maturity.

To begin with, the work and organization which went into the primary campaigns and which are now going into the general election is particularly heartening in a year which has been something of an ordeal for those with either an ideological commitment to or personal stake in progressive politics.

While much of liberalism has been bitterly divided or apathetic southern blacks have continued and accelerated building, organizing, widening bases of support and cementing alliances with progressive whites.

The congressional elections are also important because they pose a much more complex and arduous challenge than most of our previous elections in the south. Up until now, many of the elections involved candidates who were certain to win because of their overwhelmingly black constituency. But Jordan, Young and Patterson will need white as well as black support if they are to win election and it is this challenge, of building a truly interracial political movement, which makes these three elections so important.

Whether they succeed or fail, all three have made significant progress in molding the kind of alliance which will bring blacks much greater political gains in the south. They have won the strong backing of organized labor and of liberals: the success of this coalition on any wide scale could dramatically change the face of the southern political terrain.

They represent, on a narrow level, an attempt to rebuild the type of coalition we will need nationally if liberalism is to reassert itself as the predominant force it was in the mid-1960's.

And they demonstrate that much of what has been written and said about black political objectives is mere myth;; that blacks realize that they cannot achieve, or even find desirable a political movement based on "blackness"; that blacks recognize the futility of separatism--of viewing politics as black versus white scrapping to secure a narrow turf.

One of the resolutions adopted at the National Black Political Convention in Gary called for a constitutional guarantee of black congressional representation in proportion to black presence in the population to be elected, if necessary "at-large by the black community." Leaving aside its irrational aspects, I suggest that what is happening in Atlanta, Houston and Memphis is far more significant than this resolution or anything else that went on in Gary.

For we are saying that we can run on our own merits, projecting our own ideas and beliefs, offering all working people an alternative to conservatism and reaction. And we are saying that we reject the notion that blacks can only represent blacks and whites can only speak for whites.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
November 2, 1972

Rustin Column

CANARSIE AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

New York City's latest school crisis is a painful and unsettling illustration of how government is forfeiting the will to build a racially integrated society. Long the citadel of liberalism, New York is now compared to Little Rock of 1957. While the nation watches, black children are escorted to class past a jeering mob by policemen. White parents boycott the school. Local officials are unwilling, unable, or afraid to assert firm leadership.

The details of the controversy in Brooklyn's Canarsie section are these. Thirty-one black students were reassigned from a practically all-black school to Junior High School 211, which is integrated. The parents of 211 resisted, finally occupying the school and blockading its entrance. School officials wavered, at first capitulating to white parents and assigning the children to another school; then deciding they must go to 211. The boycott, demonstrations and polarization followed.

The pattern is a familiar one in New York, and the blame must be shared by self-appointed "community spokesmen" and by the city's political leadership, particularly Mayor John Lindsay. We should not be deluded into believing that Canarsie is a spontaneous outpouring of white sentiment. The boycotts and demonstrations are well-organized; they are directed by petty demagogues who see personal profit in the exploitation of prejudice. This occurred in the controversy over the location of a low-income housing project in Forest Hills earlier this year and it is happening in Canarsie.

Lindsay, for his part, has wavered, changed positions and, finally, declined to exert any form of leadership in these disputes. He has encouraged the Jerry Birbachs (leader of the white protesters in Forest Hills) by recognizing them as community spokesmen, permitting them to ignite local passions and then asking them to calm the situation.

The victims are of course the students. Daily they run a gauntlet of taunts and curses. They have already endured a lifetime's worth of anguish and suffering; their psychological scars will be permanent and incalculably deep.

But the issues raised by Canarsie run much deeper than mere race hatred. They involve whether society will continue to respect due process and protect the legitimite, constitutional rights of the minority against the tyranny of the majority. And they quite pointedly raise the question of whether community control, originally conceived to enlarge the influence of blacks, is in fact hindering our chances for social progress.

It comes as no surprise that the white parents who first blockaded, and then boycotted Junior High School 211 cite community control as a justification for their action. This, it should be stressed, is no isolated incident; it is part of an alarming pattern whereby urban whites invoke community control to justify extremist rhetoric and an increasing willingness to take their grievances to the street.

No doubt community control will be invoked in the future. For community control is fast coming to symbolize the very opposite of a system to guarantee social justice. In its rawest, most elemental expression, community control represents an unbending status quo. It is an expression of a New Tribalism, whereby any group--white or black, but most often and most successfully whites--fortify their own narrow, racially-defined turf from the advance of all others.

Ironically, those few of us who four years ago prophesied that this might be the case were vilified by both blacks and white liberals. Black opponents of community control were branded sell-outs; whites were characterized as racists.

No one was subjected to more bitter and hysterical abuse than Albert Shanker, president of the teachers' union. Today Shanker maintains his critical support of community control while continuing to speak out for integration and social justice. And it is Shanker, alone among the educational establishment, who has unequivocally supported the rights of these 31 Black children.

Black people have not made advancements because of the benevolence of local communities. In the 1950s and 1960s we marched, sat-in, and went to jail because we wanted the federal government to make the desegregation of society the highest priority of national policy. And we weren't fooled when Orval Faubus or Ross Barnett insisted that state's rights came before the most basic human rights.

Why then should we deceive ourselves today? At its best, efforts at total community control on the part of blacks can elicit only the most token sort of concessions from society. But when whites, who comprise the majority, invoke community control, it can only bring about a hardening of resistance to the legitimate aspirations of black people. And this, essentially, is what we are confronted with in Canarsie.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
November 10, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column
SPECIAL

The Election And Liberalism's Future

There are two ways blacks can react to the election results. We can condemn those whites who gave Richard Nixon his overwhelming victory for having voted their fears and prejudices and for forsaking liberalism when the need for social progress is so essential. A "racist majority vote" is how one black congressman has already described Nixon's victory: others speak in similar or even harsher terms.

Or we can attempt to learn from the errors of this year, analyze what went wrong, and proceed about the business of reestablishing liberalism as the dominant force in the scheme of things.

The re-election of Richard Nixon bodes ill for all black people, particularly for the poor, working people, the unemployed and the young. Mr. Nixon reacted to the miseries of the impoverished and helpless with callousness and indifference during his first term.

As unpleasant as the immediate future may be, however, we must not permit ourselves to become demoralized. Nor, and this cannot be stressed enough, can we allow ourselves to engage in sweeping, shallow blame-placing and labeling: the election was not a total disaster: nor did it revolve on racism and fear.

What it did hinge on was the failure of the Democratic Presidential ticket to bring together the coalition of liberals, labor and minorities which had brought the party majority status for 40 years. There are those who advocate the "New Politics" who contend that coalition politics is irrelevant. This election proved, to the contrary, that coalition politics is not only still possible but necessary if we are to have social progress.

Those who insist that coalition politics is dead should take a close look at the congressional and senatorial results. Voters who were electing Richard Nixon were also choosing liberals like Senator Walter Mondale. They were increasing the Democratic majorities in the Senate and in governorships, and rejecting numerous candidates who made blatantt attempts to exploit racial animosities.

And they were electing Andrew Young, a former aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, to a congressional seat in an Atlanta District which was 62 per cent white. Young's victory was one of the inspirations of this election. He won in the Deep South; he stimulated and unified the black community: and he won sizeable white support without which he could not have overcome strong Republican opposition.

There is a strong temptation to place the blame for the presidential campaign on the shoulders of George McGovern: many of the Senator's admirers are already explaining the results in terms of his temperament and style.

Such explanations are both superficial and self-serving: they are advanced by those who will not admit that the problem lay not with McGovern, but with his supporters and the changes they made in the Democratic Party.

For what we witnessed, during the primaries and at the Miami Beach convention, was the transformation of the Democrats from a party which appealed to and represented the wants of a broad range of working people to a narrow movement of professional suburbanites and students.

It is ironic that the most vocal of the New Politics advocate who believe that they have attained a pinnacle of morality and idealism which regular Democrats and labor unionists could never reach, have produced by virtue of intolerance and downright snobbery results that can scarcely be called moral in terms of what they mean for poor people.

It is true that many well- intentioned but unthinking black office holders responded with enthusiasm to the New Politics appeal. Many are now discovering that a political movement cannot be built around Watts, Berkeley and Beverly Hills: it must also draw the support of the millions of working people who have provided the Democratic Party with its traditional base of support.

Our task in the years ahead is to help in the rebuilding of this alliance. Because our economic burden is the most severe, we have a responsibility not only to participate but to assume a leadership role in the reshaping and broadening of liberalism.

For it will not be the party elites--the professors and well-heeled students--whose jobs will be jeopardized by Nixon's policies or whose children will go hungry because social programs are cut back. It is we who will suffer. That is why we must demand, in the strongest possible terms, that the Democratic Party enlarge its base, forget about the fads and narrow causes--and get down to the business of electing a government which will respond to our basic, every day needs.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release Immediately
November 16, 1972

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The Ultimate In Courage

(JACKIE ROBINSON'S DEATH HAS SADDENED ALL BLACK PEOPLE, BOTH THOSE WHO KNEW HIM PERSONALLY AND THOSE WHO FOLLOWED AND IDENTIFIED WITH HIS CAREER AS ATHLETE AND AS SPOKESMAN FOR BLACK RIGHTS. THE FOLLOWING TRIBUTE WAS WRITTEN BY MARION B. LOGAN, A CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND COMMUNITY LEADER IN NEW YORK WHO WAS A CLOSE FRIEND TO JACKIE. IT IS, I FEEL, AN ELOQUENT AND MOVING STATEMENT WHICH CAPTURES THE ESSENCE OF JACKIE ROBINSON"S CHARACTER. B.R.)

BY Marion B. Logan

He, like the mythical great Greek Gods, had his Achilles heel through no fault of his own; he had to bear the burden of all black men. When he ran, he had to run for all blacks, thus for all humanity; when he hit the ball, it was for all the poor; he caught for all the dispossessed.

He played the game for all the downtrodden; he went to bat for all the neglected; his home runs were for all mankind and his victories were for all humanity.

Under the greatest pressure he assumed responsibility with dignity and grace. He managed to maintain the ultimate manhood so difficult for any black man. Yet he made his blackness, his manhood, his integrity, his commitment and dedication symbols of which we can all be proud. We who knew him loved him; those who were deprived of personal contact are enriched by the legacy he left: a heritage to all, old, young, rich, poor, black, brown, yellow, white; Catholic, Protestant, Muslim and Jew. He was a man of the world - a gift to the people - a hope to the "least of these," a blessing to the human race.

We had too little time with him and he with us - but we had a time of which few generations can boast: a giant walked, not just among us, but with us every step of his time.

We all carry some infirmity in us - Jack carried and wore his like a badge of honor: Proudly, eagerly, gracefully, stylishly, lovingly and with great dignity. He represented the ultimate in courage. He was gentle, a fighter yet without bitterness, with kindness, understanding, tenderness, concern, thoughtfulness, a sense of humor.

The world is far better for his presence; our lives greatly enriched through his friendship. He is deeply embedded in our hearts and indelibly etched in our minds.

Even when that great heart and the body which housed it became weakened and ravaged with pain, and the agony of seeing some dreams shattered, he "kept on keeping on." So must we to whom he's passed the challenge, the flame of perseverance, of courage and faith with which he imbued us all.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
November 30, 1972

Rustin column

FATHER HESBURGH'S DISMISSAL AND THE NEXT FOUR YEARS

Will a second Nixon term devote the same type of creative leadership to Watts and Harlem as some feel the first term brought to relations with Peking and Moscow? I would very much like the answer to that question to be yes. But the dismissal of the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh as chairman of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, a move taken while the ink on the ballots had scarcely dried, leaves me deeply pessimistic about the President's intentions for the next four years.

That Father Hesburgh's dismissal comes as no surprise does not make it any less distressing. Father Hesburgh's differences with the President were profound and basic. He believed it was the most essential duty of government to assert a vigorous and humane role to ensure that oppressed minorities enjoy the social and political rights that laws and a humanitarian moral order dictate.

But Father Hesburgh was non-partisan: he helped prepare studies critical of the past four presidents and he never shied from pointing out when presidential rhetoric fell short of performance.

And while he was a liberal, his liberalism was a special kind: principled, visionary, yet with a firm conception of how to translate ideals into programs. In this sense he embodied the spirit of conviction and pragmatism which has made the civil rights commission one of our most powerful voices for minority rights. Since its inception in 1957, the commission has been an influential force in securing the passage of every significant civil rights bill.

Its research documented the devastating effects--on both black and white children--of racial isolation in the public schools. The imposing growth of black political power, so forcefully demonstrated in the past election, would not have been possible without the commission's study of voting discrimination and political exclusion in the south, a study which ultimately led to the adoption of the Voting Rights Act. Nor would we have won the passage of the Open Housing law without the work of the commission.

It is precisely because the commission has made such an invaluable contribution to social progress that the President's action carries with it such ominous overtones. Some are convinced he plans to "gut" the commission, replacing Father Hesburgh and other like-minded members with political appointees with no particular feelings for and even less commitment to racial justice.

Considering the commission's telling impact on civil rights policy and its heretofore independent-mindedness, a politicizing move would have intolerable consequences for all minorities, particularly since the commission is currently probing the special problems of Indians, Spanish-speaking people and other groups who experience discrimination.

On a personal level, I found that Father Hesburgh would not capitulate on a matter of moral principle even when to do so might have eased the situation for him. Upon my appointment to the board of trustees of Notre Dame University, where Father Hesburgh is president, I became subject to an outpouring of shrill, McCarthy-like attacks because I was supposed to be a "radical." Yet the publicity and pressure did not move Father Hesburgh: he stood by his judgement and what he knew of me and refused to concede to hysteria and rumor.

It was this trait which ultimately led to the dismissal. Father Hesburgh simply would not buckle under on the busing issue, and as the President's rhetoric grew louder and more misleading, Father Hesburgh's criticism rose in intensity. At the height of the busing furor, when even many liberals were giving in, he said something about race relations which bears repeating in an era when progress is measured in slow, tortured inches.

"One can argue about the costs of equality in America today. God knows we have known the costs of inequality--wasted talents, frustration, poverty piled on poverty, generation after generation. Laws have been grudgingly passed and more grudgingly obeyed, with every possible legal evasion tested. If we are ever to emerge from our present state of inequality, it will not be by insisting on minimum compliance with minimum laws. Generosity, magnanimity and human understanding will alone allow us to transcend, in our day, our dismal histroy of racial inequality."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
December 14, 1972

Rustin column

WHICH WAY FOR THE NEW SOUTH

Has the New South arrived? And, if so, what is its shape? Will it be governed by progressives, determined to rise above its past of Jim Crow and lynch law; ready to accept organized labor as a natural and constructive part of the social order and committed to the betterment of the education, health and economic status of its millions of impoverished? Or will the New South differ little from the old, with conservative Republicans replacing Dixiecrats as the predominant element of a reactionary, anti-worker, anti-black ruling establishment?

Southern blacks might be excused for casting a dubious eye on those who celebrate the New South considering the results of the past election. For the first time in history a Republican presidential candidate won every state in the south, and won them by overwhelming margins. For the first time since Reconstruction the Republicans won at least one congressional seat in every southern state. Republican conservatives defeated moderate Democrats in two Senate races while two other GOP incumbent Senators breezed to re-election.

Obviously, a rightward turn of such magnitude must be seen as a setback for those who have a stake in the emergence of a majority liberal movement in the South. But there is a strong chance that what happend in 1972 was only a temporary faltering. Like so many other things in this confused election, Republican advances in the south may in fact reflect not so much the reemergence of hard-nosed conservatism, but is a convincing demonstration of the misjudgements of liberals.

We cannot, for example, dismiss the very significant gains of blacks. The election to Congress of Andrew Young and Barbara Jordan was important not only for symbolic value, but also showed that white southerners will vote for blacks who offer a progressive program that cuts across racial boundaries. In state legislative races, blacks either retained their previous strength or improved their position, sometimes dramatically. In Texas blacks now hold nine seats in the state legislature: prior to the election they held three.

In Arkansas, where no blacks had served in the state legislature since Reconstruction, four Negroes were victorious. Smaller gains were also recorded in other states as well as in elections for local office.

But we must also consider the larger question of what the election results imply for the building of a bi-racial political movement which can draw the support of a majority of southerners. And while Richard Nixon's landslide support is certainly no cause for optimism, neither can it be said to represent an accurate reflection of southern sentiment.

This was a year in which fifty year old loyalities were shattered; when the split ticket was the rule and nearly half the voters simply stayed home. It was a year when the Democratic Party was perceived by many as a party of the perimeter, raising issues and espousing causes which many Democrats found irrelevant or hostile to their experience.

There are those who say the most important of these issues was race. But I disagree. Just two years ago southern voters were electing moderate to liberal governors in Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida and North and South Carolina. They campaigned on racial fairness and economic advancement for the poor. On the other hand, the most vocal racists, with the exception of Wallace, were emphatically rejected.

I am not inferring that race was not an issue this year. It was, both in the south and in every other area. But it was not the predominant issue. This election was one of the most complicated in history, much too complex to justify the surface judgements to which we have been subjected.

Those who insist that race was the cutting edge are entering into dangerous territory, for they are implying that any effort to construct a vibrant interracial political party is doomed before it starts by the prejudices of whites. The logical alternative, according to this reasoning, is to write off the south or, for that matter, any other area where race tensions exist.

We cannot afford such defeatist attitudes. One of the long range goals of the civil rights movement was the transformation of the south from politically backwardness to interracial cooperation and progress. Despite this year's setback, that vision is still legitimite. Its increased black political participation and sophistication, its emerging working class, its very poverty--all give hope that liberal change may yet become a reality in the south.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
December 27, 1972

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

AN ALL-EMBRACING STRUGGLE

(The results of the 1972 elections are prompting progressive-minded people to reevaluate the assumptions and strategies which dominated liberalism for the past several years. This period of rethinking will also involve those committed to the struggle for racial equality. The following, an excerpt from a recent speech by Senator Hubert Humphrey, represents an important statement of where the civil rights movement needs to look for the next four years: Bayard Rustin).

By Senator Hubert Humphrey

We are, it seems to me, in a peculiar but vitally important period of our national life, where our lack of direction in the civil rights arena is no greater than our lack of direction generally. The American people and their elected leaders are deeply confused and ambivalent about where we should be heading as a nation and, consequently, deeply divided about our shorter-range objectives.

This is certainly true about the Democratic Party itself, long the nation's principal source of vision and initiative. What is the Democratic Party? Why the Democratic Party? These are not easy questions to answer.

The 1972 elections did little to clarify this situation. It is regrettable but nonetheless true that many people voted against Senator McGovern or against President Nixon, rather than for either candidate. And an alarmingly large number of eligible voters didn't vote at all. The issues of the campaign become hopelessly muddled and many people voted against positions that neither candidate actually advocated. Thus we emerge from this presidential election no better informed about our future than when the campaign began more than a year ago.

But I think this much can be said: drawing from the election returns and our knowledge of current public attitudes, it seems clear that any political appeal that appears, rightly or wrongly, as favoring one group or class of people over another is going to be rejected by a majority of the American electorate.

The Democratic Party got into trouble when its internal reforms came to be perceived as establishing specific quotas that favored young people, women and blacks over the more traditional elements of the party, particularly ethnic Americans, blue collar workers, the elderly and elected Democratic officials.

And, by the same token, I would argue that the civil rights movement got into trouble when more and more people came to see it as an effort to give blacks a special break that was afforded no other group in American society. We know this perception is wrong. But it exists, whether we like it or not.

I would argue, however, that it is within our power to break out of this impasse and to begin the mobilization of political resources that can restore the positive momentum of the 1960's, not only for civil rights but for the nation generally.

As I see it, we must identify the struggle for civil rights as an all-embracing struggle for the rights, privileges, and duties of all Americans.

In the political arena, there just aren't enough blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and Puerto Ricans to form an electoral majority. Overemphasis on the needs of these identifiable groups can be and has been counterproductive.

What is needed is the creation of a climate of identity between the needs -- the hopes and fears -- of the minorities and the needs -- the hopes and fears -- of the majority.

For example, we ought to be emphasizing that the important new dimension of civil rights is the right of every American to an opportunity to use his or her talents, to develop his or her abilities and capacities, to make a constructive contribution to society.

In plain simple language, this means identifying the cause of civil rights with quality education for all children.

Early next year the Potomac Associates will release a study that will show that blacks expressed just about as much sense of personal progress from the past to the present as whites, but that blacks are more optimistic than whites about their personal futures. These findings at least raise questions about the notion that members of the black community are overwhelmed by feelings of personal frustration and hopelessness.

I do not cite these results to suggest, in any way, that what we have achieved in the past is adequate or that we have been truly responsive to the problems that remain. I cite them only to suggest that blacks, and I believe most other minority group members, have not given up on this country.

If those who have suffered most have not given up, then I fail to see how those of us who have suffered least can even contemplate such a course.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately Rustin column
January 11, 1973

HARRY TRUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Black Americans remember Harry Truman as the President who, after much prodding from A. Philip Randolph, abolished segregation in the military. But Truman meant much more to our cause. Through personal and political courage in the face of considerable opposition, he set a precedent of presidential leadership in race relations which few have equaled. It is hardly necessary for me to add that we have never been more aware of the quality of leadership Harry Truman embodied than now, in its absence.

To fully understand Truman's role in the civil rights movement we must keep in mind that not one president or, for that matter, presidential candidate since the Reconstruction period had addressed himself to the issue of racial discrimination. There was a conspiracy of silence among the political leadership of both parties. Even Franklin Roosevelt, no matter what his personal sentiments may have been, found it expedient to shunt anti-lynching bills aside despite the massive support he received from black voters.

Thus Truman became the first president to set down, in concrete legislative terms, a program to deal with segregation, discrimination, terrorism and other issues of basic human justice.

The civil rights program he proposed in 1948 lay the foundation for the landmark legislation of the 1960s. He became the first president to endorse anti-lynching legislation, something the NAACP had sought vainly for 40 years. In a broadened form this legislation was eventually employed to prosecute southern terrorist who murdered and harassed civil rights workers engaged in voter registration and organizing work. Truman asked for a voting rights bill and a ban on segregation in interstate travel. He also urged the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission, a Civil Rights Commission and a civil rights division within the Justice Department.

There was no national mandate for black rights in 1948. There was, in fact hard-bitten opposition to any gesture to the Negro from a considerable section of Truman's own party. Even with solid southern support Truman was not expected to survive the election; without it, most assumed that his political career was doomed. Because he did brave the political consequences, his contribution is all the more meaningful.

Truman did not preside over the enaction of his civil rights package, though he did live to see his vision of elemental human fairness fulfilled. In the absence of congressional support, however, Truman took upon his own shoulders the responsibility of ending discrimination in the armed services and of abolishing hiring bias among companies who had contracts with the federal government.

He took these actions without going to Congress, where he would surely have met defeat, because he believed that the President must provide moral leadership in human affairs. Congress, he knew, could not be expected to support the Negro's cause if the President himself paid only lip service to civil rights.

Today, we remember Harry Truman because of what he accomplished, the momentum our struggle derived from his initiative, and because we miss his kind of leadership so dearly. Like Harry Truman, President Nixon acts on his own, apart from Congress, on matters of social & human policy. Nixon, however, has done all within his power to halt, and even roll back the momentum toward equality. His actions since the election speak much more eloquently than his rhetoric of the "work ethnic." Nixon has dismissed Father Hesburgh, refused to spend funds for desperately needed social programs and, most recently, announced a halt in the construction of public housing.

In less measurable terms, Truman, by his words, his programs and personal example helped create a climate favorable to racial progress. Truman told the American people that it was wrong for black soldiers to risk their lives abroad only to find their rights denied at home. He said that it was in the most sanctified of American traditions for government to act against injustice, no matter where it might occur; that it was un-American to ignore the open denials of liberty which blacks experienced daily throughout the south.

President Nixon is also responsible for a national climate, but it is one which polarizes the races, which sets worker against welfare mother, which tells Americans that social progress is neither valid nor necessary.

Black people have never known progress without a president who believed in their cause. Harry Truman believed in equality, and for this we remember him. But most of all, we miss the leadership he and others like him provided.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
January 25, 1973

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

LBJ--His Accomplishments And Social Vision

The sudden, heartbreaking death of Lyndon Johnson carries a very personal poignancy for black people. Not since Lincoln has a president contributed so much to the struggle for racial equality. Important as they were, the accomplishments of Roosevelt and Truman pale beside those of Johnson. And where John Kennedy recognized the validity of our struggle, Lyndon Johnson embraced it, made it his own.

Ironically, Johnson was a southerner and was initially chosen as Vice President to win southern votes. Yet he never failed black people. Like Harry Truman, his origins were among working people. He always enjoyed the trust and support of working people, even in his early days as a Texas congressman when his basic constituency was the Mexican-Americans in his district.

His Cabinet, the finest ever assembled, included the first Negro of Cabinet rank, Robert Weaver. His appointments to the Supreme Court were uniformly progressive and included the first black, Thurgood Marshall. And, in his selection of Hubert Humphrey as Vice President, he chose the one man who throughout his political life had been the most closely identified with civil rights when other, less controversial figures were available.

It is in his civil rights legislation that the Johnson legacy is most enduring and indispensable. Yet even here his detractors often accuse him of achieving no more than the fulfillment of the Kennedy program.

And while it is true that some Great Society Legislation represented an extension of those programs formulated during Kennedy's administration, it is also true that Lyndon Johnson's vision extended well past the New Frontier

His successes were often the result of his political skills. Johnson was able,, perhaps more successfully than any other president, to fashion an alliance between those sharing common interests and common principles. And he did it not by appealing to fear, but by an ennobling campaign which evoked a national sense of mission to correct centuries of racial wrongs and respond to the plight of the impoverished.

He perceived that it was not enough to guarantee minorities the right to purchase a home or eat in a restaurant unless the immense economic gulf between black and white closed. This realization produced the fundamental Great Society programs, an agenda to make jobs plentiful, housing affordable and education attainable.

Much of the Great Society succeeded. Countless blacks found entrance into jobs that, because of discrimination or lack of training, had been foreclosed. The percentage of Negroes enrolled in universities exceeded all expectations. Negroes made significant political advances in the South.

Yet the tragedy of Lyndon Johnson, if there is such a thing, is that his remarkable successes are passed over while the failures magnified. For the most essential point about Lyndon Johnson, a point so often missed, is that he never lost the will to bring about social progress. Even during times of shattering social convulsion his vision remained steady, while those of his critics so often faltered.

Some have suggested that the Vietnam War obscured Johnson's social initiatives. I cannot disagree more strongly. Four presidents--Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon--have supported intervention in Southeast Asia : if blame must be placed, all should share in it.

Nor can we forget that many of those who hold Johnson's foreign policies responsible for domestic shortcomings have long since abandoned the struggle for racial justice for other, less complex, less painful causes.

Lyndon Johnson never surrendered to reaction, even when urban turmoil cost him desperately needed support. That is why we grieved when he left the White House,for we recognized that we might never again experience his rare quality of leadership. Now, for the same reason, we mourn his passing, a death which robs a nation of a man of unquestioned stature and black people of a trusted friend and ally.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
February 8, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE BUDGET--A RETURN TO STATES' RIGHTS

The budget proposed by the Nixon Administration carries implications well beyond the reductions and dismantling of what remains of the Great Society agenda. Should President Nixon succeed in his primary goals, we would in fact be confronted with a federal government which no longer believes in equality as an ideal for society.

Considered by itself, the budget is a matter of serious enough concern. For it is precisely those areas where blacks suffer most severely from an unequal society that cut backs will be most drastic.

The moratorium on federal housing projects signifies an abandonment of any effort to save the cities. Without federal assistance new housing for the urban poor cannot be built. Cities will increasingly evolve into islands of high rise affluence surrounded by the ghetto. There will be less construction jobs open to anyone--black or white.

The chronic unemployment of the ghetto will continue unchecked. Nixon has proposed the termination of a program of public service employment which provided jobs for several hundred thousand workers. He is also proposing to reduce the scope of manpower training programs, many of which were conceived as a means of assisting blacks whose lack of education left them without the skills to earn a decent living in a technological society. A number of successful educational programs will be cut back or abolished. The Office of Economic Opportunity may be abolished altogether.

Aside from the abolition of important programs, authority over a number of other programs is being shifted from the federal government to states and local governments. The President calls this decentralization and a redistribution of the powers of government. What he really means is a dismantling of the Great Society and a reduction of government responsibility.

The civil rights and civil liberties of black people have never thrived under decentralization, or, as it was formerly known, states' rights.

The federal government has always been the most responsive agent for change. It took the Supreme Court, a liberal Congress and a President committed to equality to wipe out the legal sanctions of segregation. More relevant to today's situation, it took federal action to bring about the economic reforms we now take for granted: minimum wage legislation, Social Security, unemployment compensation, housing and education programs. Many southern workers are today receiving wages that are near the poverty level because the laws guaranteeing the right to organize into a union have been left to the states.

I am not inferring that revenue sharing, which is the Nixon approach to decentralization, threatens such basic programs as minimum wage and Social Security. What it represents, rather, is the beginning of a move, a turning away from the previous trend of government as the instrument of progressive social reform.

Ironically, the one program aimed essentially at blacks which Nixon plans to expand is aid to minority businesses--black capitalism. Black capitalism has not only been an acknowledged disappointment, but, even if it were to achieve the results of its proponents, would mean nothing in the way of economic advancement for the overwhelming proportion of blacks.

The Administration justifies what it is doing by citing the failures among liberal social programs. Certainly there were efforts that were poorly conceived, which failed to substantively benefit the poor and which alienated some people from the war against poverty.

No one is, of course, suggesting that government should continue to spend money for programs that do not succeed. What we insist is that programs that have reduced unemployment, built new, affordable housing, and made schools more effective should be continued and expanded.

Our task is both immediate and long range. We must mobilize right now to fight the proposed budget reductions so that the Administration's conservative policies do not gather momentum. At the same time we must guard against the efforts to reduce the authority of the federal government

For if we fail here, we face not simply the abolition of a few programs, but a shift to the type of government that would make the struggle for equality much more difficult and complex than it already is.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
February 22, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE MYTH OF THE RACIST VOTER

George McGovern, in an interview following the election, analyzed his defeat this way: "He (Nixon) really tapped the seeds of racism, the fear of change, of the young, of the black. I came to represent all those things...you have to remember that in various times in history the forces of irrationalism and fear have temporarily triumphed."

What Senator McGovern has given us is an unwitting commentary on the condition of liberalism, rather than an insight into the motivations of the voters. Liberals are often accused of being out of touch with the people. And to the extent that liberals explain the presidential election in terms of race, such criticism is valid.

Certainly racial fears and prejudices played a role in the election, just as they have influenced every election since the Dixiecrats abandoned the Democratic Party in 1948. But racism was not the pervasive force that many liberals and black political figures have suggested. Nor were racial issues as important as in 1968, when Hubert Humphrey campaigned in the wake of a summer of riot and disorder. Busing and quotas--the issues which plagued McGovern, pale by comparison.

The liberal tradition of support for equal rights was in fact reaffirmed in the congressional elections. In the Senate, the Democrats increased their majority by two seats as those who stood firm in the face of the anti-busing hysteria were easily re-elected. And of the 64 congressmen with perfect civil rights records only one met defeat, and his loss was largely attributed to redistricting.

A further point is that while many liberals saw the election as what Julian Bond referred to as a "referendum on what's going to be done to black people," black voters themselves were disillusioned with both candidates. Despite the passage of the Voting Rights Act, despite the concerted and highly successful registration campaigns and despite the current emphasis on political action black voter turnout was the lowest since 1960. In cities with substantial black communities, only 58 per cent of registered blacks voted, compared with 87 per cent four years earlier. And in Washington, D. C. only about one of every four people bothered to vote.

I do not, let me emphasize, evaluate this as an expression of disaffection with the political process. Black voters were rather registering their disapproval with candidates who did not seem to be addressing their interests and problems. And while nationally the turnout of Negroes was disappointing, there were many encouraging signs, such as the elections of Andrew Young, Barbara Jordan and over 600 local black officials in the South.

This is not in any way an effort to exonerate the campaign tactics of Nixon. The Republicans strategy was one designed to exploit the baser instincts of man and to raise to the surface latent racial hostilities. But the consequences of this approach have been overemphasized: busing, quotas and welfare do not add up to 62 per cent. Nor does the theory of election as racial confrontation make sense in the light of public opinion polls which indicate that racial attitudes are steadily improving; that whites are more willing to acknowledge the existence of discrimination and blacks more ready to concede that discrimination has lessened.

The question still remains, then, as how we--liberals, minority spokesman, intellectuals--respond to the past election. Do we emulate Senator McGovern, and suggest that the American voter capitulated to "irrationalism and fear," thus condemning them as moral incompetents? Or do we take the position that Nixon manipulated their votes, thus raising questions of their intelligence?

Either response, I propose, is unthinkable for those who expect to assume leadership in the rebuilding of liberalism. Our ability to formulate new strategies and programs in great part depends on our avoiding the mistaken assumptions of the past--the notion, for instance, of an inherent kinship between those who supported McGovern and those who voted for Wallace. A failure to look beyond the superficial will lead us only to the same erroneous assumptions and, ultimately, to the same disastrous consequences. To whatever extent racism figured in the past election, we must look, not to the voters or Nixon, but to ourselves.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 8, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WHAT ABOUT THE GREAT SOCIETY

Did the Great Society succeed in making our society more equal--in providing the poor with better housing, quality schooling, improved medical care and other services? Or was the Great Society a highly touted, well meaning, but expensive failure?

The Nixon Administration is currently engaged in a high pressure campaign to persuade Americans that the liberal social legislation of the Johnson Administration accomplished little beyond wasting the taxpayers' money. For instance, the President said in one recent speech: "America is still recovering from years of extravagant, hastily passed measures, designed by central planners and costing billions of dollars--but producing few results." Nixon concluded that "the high-cost, no result boondoggling by the federal government must end."

Criticism of the Great Society is not limited to conservatives; some liberals question whether Johnson's social programs accomplished anything more than raising the expectations of the poor, without fulfulling their needs.

But it is Nixon who is most bent on discrediting the programs of liberalism. He devoted each recent speech to an attack on this or that program which, he asserts, turned "the federal government into a nationwide slumlord" and gave the poor "little but broken promises."

Whatever its shortcomings, the Great Society was not a failure. It disappointed the expectations of many; some of its programs were poorly conceived; others were never adequately funded.

But the successes of the Great Society were notable. The federal housing program did not make the government a "slumlord," it rather provided the only decent alternative for thousands of low income families who are unable to afford anything else but the most deplorable slums. Federal education programs have played a significant role in reducing the previously wide gap between the schooling of whites and blacks. In great part because of the Great Society, black high school graduates now attend college in about the same proportion as their white classmates.

The weakness of the Great Society was not that it tried to do too much, but that in too many cases it did not go far enough.

Federal efforts to build housing, and to stimulate the building industry, for instance, produced a housing supply averaging one-twentieth of the annual need, a situation which creates nearly as many problems as it solves.

Some of the programs were misdirected. There was too much emphasis on reforming marginal institutions in an effort to correct a "culture of poverty," a concept for which we still lack adequate definition. We would have been better off to provide the poor with, first, an adequate standard of living in the form of a guaranteed annual income, and, second, the services which bear most directly on day-to-day life--jobs, medical care, housing, and the like.

Another problem was that some programs were formulated to give the poor a sense of psychological comfort rather than to advance their economic status. The anti-poverty program particularly suffered because of the unwillingness to attack, head-on, the basic causes of impoverishment.

President Nixon has not bothered to criticize these aspects of the Great Society. He has, rather, tried to depict the Great Society as dominated by a distant bureaucracy, dictating its wishes to local communities, with little interest in, or understanding of, local needs.

The truth is that the Great Society took a compassionate and profoundly humane view of social problems. And, more important, it proved significantly more effective at resolving these problems than local governments could ever hope to be.

President Nixon may assert that the poor received "little more than broken promises." The poor, however, have a different view. When Lyndon Johnson died, the black community responded in a practically unanimous voice: Johnson had been, they said, the most deeply concerned and strongly committed president of this century. They did not say this simply because he once said "we shall overcome," in a nationwide address, although Johnson's moral leadership in the area of civil rights was important. Lyndon Johnson evoked the praise of black people because he, above all others, accomplished something during the five years of his presidency. No matter how hard he may try, this is a fact that Richard Nixon cannot change.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
March 22, 1973

Rustin Column

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

(Editor's Note: The following is a review of "A. Philip Randolph--A Biographical Portrait", written by Jervis Anderson. The original, hardcover edition of the book, which sells at bookstores for $12.50, can be purchased from the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010, at the special price of $10.00.)

It is ironic that the black struggle, despite its transforming influence on society, has produced such a scarcity of worthwhile literature. Most that has been written about the civil rights movement, or about the figures who shaped that movement, is exploitative and sensationalistic--the more angry and anti-white, the higher the profits.

The publication of "A. Philip Randolph--A Biographical Portrait" stands in marked contrast to the intellectual wasteland that passes for race relations literature. Its author, Jervis Anderson, has written both an important account of social and racial struggle, and a perceptive portrait of the man I consider the most important figure in the past 50 years of black struggle.

This is not an authorized biography, but rather an objective, honest recounting of Randolph's life. But the author's objectivity, combined with his thoroughness and craftsmanship, gives the work strength.

I have known, worked with and admired A. Philip Randolph for 36 years. Many of my beliefs were first imparted to me by Mr. Randolph--the use of non-violent civil disobedience, the importance of the labor movement as an instrument for racial equality, the necessity to seek change that will directly benefit working people, and the importance of mass actions--demonstrations, marches, strikes--as a tactic of protest.

There are many lessons to be learned from Mr. Randolph's life, but perhaps none more important than the lesson of what it was like to be a Negro, in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's, and to be engaged in protest.

The description of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is to me one of the most moving chapters in the whole panorama of the campaign for equality. The Brotherhood's lonely fight for recognition was not aided by nationwide boycotts of Pullmna cars. Even the black community was, at least initially, unmoved by the Brotherhood's cause. With the exception of two black newspapers and a handful of churches, there was little support forthcoming from Negro institutions of the period. There was only Randolph, and a few porters, or, as often was the case, ex-porters who had been fired for their union activities. Those who, having just entered the struggle for reform, grow despondent after a few failures, should keep in mind that it took the Brotherhood 12 years to gain recognition, years in which it often seemed as if there was no money, support, or hope.

Because Randolph believed that social movements must be of and for workingmen, he came to break from the views of three of the most influential figures in black thought--Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, and Marcus Garvey.

Washington advised Negroes to accept social segregation and hope that the largesse of white society would one day bring economic emancipation; DuBois said progress would come from the development of a "Talented Tenth"--an enlightened and educated elite; Garvey preached a crude form of black capitalism and a cruder form of race consciousness.

None of the three, however, had a program to deal with the chronic poverty, unemployment, and economic discrimination which were the daily experiences of the vast majority of black Americans. Nor did Washington, DuBois (whom Randolph respected in many ways) or Garvey challenge the basic institutions that discriminated against working people and the poor.

To give even a partial list of Randolph's accomplishments in a paragraph would be to evoke disbelief from most people. He founded the Messenger, one of the most important black journals of the 1920's; he founded the Brotherhood; he was the first head of the National Negro Congress; he prodded President Roose Roosevelt to sign the order banning discrimination in defense industries; he fought, and won, a fight for the abolition of Jim Crow in the millitary; he was instrumental in transforming the labor movement to an institution that has welcomed the participation and championed the rights of minorities.

The culmination of his career as activist was, of course, the 1963 March on Washington, the largest, most effective mass peaceful demonstration in American history. It is altogether fitting that the publication of this biography comes during the tenth anniversary of the March.

Mr. Randolph, at 84, is now in retirement. But he can look back on his career and feel that the principles he refused to betray have been vindicated and that many of the goals for which he sacrificed have been achieved. Today we are in a time of stalemate, when progress is measured in inches, or, sometimes, as simply having held the dike firm against the torrents of reaction. At a time such as this, when many are tempted to give it up, embracing outmoded formulas of black nationalism, or retreating behind a shell of race consciousness, nothing could be more soul reviving than to read, and reflect on--for a long time--the life of A. Philip Randolph.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 5, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE MYTHS OF BLACK EDUCATION

Of the institutions that have experienced transforming effects of black advancement, none have felt the impulse for change more noticeably than education. Some might argue whether black demands have resulted in substantive improvement in learning; none, however, would deny that the civil rights movement and all that came with it has forever altered our way of looking at educational policy.

And while we have profited from most of what has happened (black high school graduates, for instance, are now as likely as their white classmates to enroll in college), there have also been serious mistakes made in the name of black educational progress.

Thomas Sowell, a black professor of economics, tells of many of these failures in a recent book, "Black Education: Myths and Tragedies." The myths of which he writes are the myths of what constitute "relevant" education. The tragedies occur when the myths become public policy.

Perhaps the most damaging myth is that of the middle class black. College officials, Sowell points out, no longer define the "middle class" black by the usual measurements of income and standard of living.

Instead, Sowell says, a black student "may be defined as middle class without any real knowledge of his circumstances, which may be as bad as (or worse than) those of his less able neighbors in the ghetto. He may be labeled as middle class simply because he had such 'old fashioned' traits as perseverance, hard work, responsibility, and a desire to be judged as an individual."

That attitudes, rather than income, determine a student's class label has profound effects on educational policy, since admissions policies and the awarding of scholarships and other grants very often revolve on a student's background.

Thus, using the new formula for judging the middle class, a student whose parents work as domestics or laborers might be labeled "middle class" by a college even though the family income was near the poverty level.

Instead of seeking students with strong academic records, or promising potential, Sowell contends that many colleges seek out "authentic ghetto types." In determining who is and who isn't an "authentic ghetto type," such factors as political outlook, alienation and attitude are considered more important than the student's grades or test scores.

Ultimately, black students, both the qualified and unqualified, suffer the consequences.

Black students with outstanding high school records are often denied admission or financial aid (and, in effect, admission) by good colleges. The psychological impact is often no less severe than if they were the victims of outright discrimination.

On the other hand, black students with poor or average high school achievement, but whose appearance, attitudes and politics are in vogue, are caught in an atmosphere which is alien to them. Sowell says that "few students go through such anguish for so little education." The anguish and isolation which afflict these students has led them to reject the mainstream of campus life, and to seek separatist dormitories, organizations and eating halls.

The policy of rejecting those uniquely defined as middle class black students has had another effect--that of reinforcing the stereotype that blacks are less intelligent than whites. Colleges, students, and the public see experiments to increase the black enrollment founder, and basically irrelevant courses created for black students, and conclude that blacks do not learn as easily as the rest of society.

The tragedy is that this pattern is so unnecessary: according to Sowell, who has done extensive work in recruiting black students, there are literally thousands of gifted black students who are passed over because of their "middle class" outlook.

The issues raised by Thomas Sowell are terribly important today. Black people have retained, since slavery, a basic faith that progress comes through education. But changing education so that it serves a people who have known centuries of discrimination cannot be accomplished, in Sowell's words, by efforts to "atone, experiment, express noblesse oblige, seek emotional experiences, lash out at enemies, or to bask in the spotlight of attention.

"More than anything else, it requires that those who are to be educated must be seen as important in and of themselves--not as clay to be molded, not as exhibits of one's own goodness, or the world's badness, or cannon fodder for various movements and causes. If the future is to be different from the past, it will have to be recognized that worthwhile education is a full-time commitment and an overriding priority."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately Rustin Column
April 19, 1973

NIXON CUT-BACKS AND DEMOCRATIC DEFAULT

Two recent polls demonstrate the shallowness of President Nixon's contention that he speaks for a "New American Majority". The first poll, by Gallup, points out that Democratic Party registration is as strong today as it was before the election; there is, in other words, no national shift to the conservatism embodied in the Republican Party. The second poll shows a convincing majority of Americans rejecting the President's domestic policies and his handling of the economy; people just aren't buying cutbacks in social programs or ineffective and unfair economic controls.

The message that comes across--that Nixon's re-election was not accompanied by a mandate for conservatism--comes as no surprise; the surprising, and disturbing thing is that this message has apparently escaped the eyes of the Democratic Party.

The Democrats have in fact seemingly surrendered their responsibility to serve as the representative of blacks, the poor, and working people in the face of Nixon's program of retrenchment. Only the Watergate case has prompted any kind of militancy from the party leadership. One might consider the preoccupation with Watergate a proper response to a moral issue. But moral leadership, we should not forget, entails more than honesty in government; it is inextricably tied to the responsibility of liberalism to defend the rights and living conditions of common people, particularly when those rights and conditions are endangered, as they are now.

One does not have to expect the passage of the kind of legislation that marked the 1960s to ask for a more effective response from the Democrats. Black people cannot afford the defeatism that seems to pervade Congress, personified in Senate Majority Leader Mansfield's statement that "the President is in the driver's seat, at least for now."

If anything, the past election was a mandate for liberals. On one hand, liberalism was asked to offer candidates and programs that working people could relate to. On the other, liberals were given a mandate, in the congressional elections, to resist the conservative economic policies of the Nixon administration. For if the voters wanted a turn to the Right, they would have given Nixon the majority in the Senate and House that he asked for.

Blacks have an important, quite personal stake in what's going on in Washington. Economic controls which permit outrageous food prices hurt poor and working people, and thus blacks, much more severely than they do the more affluent. That is why the decision of the House to permit the President to carry out the same inequitable controls program is so discouraging.

Liberals have also failed to come up with an alternative to revenue sharing, even though the principle on which revenue sharing is based--local autonomy--is philosophically the opposite of the traditional ideals of the Left. This is a program that is, once again, of particular concern to blacks, for it is less likely that the cities and states, which under revenue sharing will determine where funds are to be spent, will be as responsive to minority needs as was the federal government. Once again, there is no popular demand for the revenue sharing concept, but the President will likely succeed because of the confusion of the Democratic opposition.

Blacks will also be inordinately affected by the proposed budget cutbacks. The Emergency Employment Act, which the President is determined to curtail, provided decent paying jobs for 100,000 previously unemployed minority workers. Housing, education and day care programs were also important to black families and black children.

The most basic failing of the Democrats, however, is that they do not have a program. During the 1960s the Democratic Party did have a program, flawed in some respects and not comprehensive enough, but a program which benefited working people and around which working people could rally. The Republicans were then referred to as a "me-too" party because they would go along with the Democratic program. Today the Democrats find themselves struggling against the "me-too" image. If they are to avoid this, however, they must have a broad program, and a strategy to deal with the immediate agenda of salvaging as much as possible from the Nixon cutbacks. If Richard Nixon does not indeed represent a new majority, there is no reason why his program of conservatism and social hardness should be instituted by default.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
May 3, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

SUPPORT THE ONEITA STRIKE

The strike against Oneita Knitting Mills of South Carolina deserves the strongest support of the black community.

The issues are basic and uncomplicated. A year-and-a-half ago, workers at the company's two plants chose the Textile Workers Union to represent them. Since then, Oneita has refused to participate in serious negotiations. The owners insist that they and only they can determine what's good for its workers.

What's good for the workers, according to the Oneita definition, is unconscionably low wages, intolerable working conditions, and the right to hire and fire on a whim. The right, in other words, to discriminate against its employees, the majority of whom are black women.

In one of the Oneita plants, the average hourly earnings is $1.65. The base rate is about twenty cents higher in the second plant. The workers, in other words, must raise families on salaries well under $4,000, an intolerable and imhumane wage for full-time work.

These women do not have a background of trade union militance, but they know what discrimination and poverty is. Williamsburg County, where they live and work, is one of the nation's most poverty-stricken areas. Low wages are coupled with deplorable housing: unpainted, frame shacks, pot-bellied stoves for heat and plastic sheets instead of window panes.

They live very much in the Old South of semi-slave wages and unyielding anti-unionism. Keeping the union out has always been an important cause for the South, as important as keeping black children out of all-white schools. To the legitimate demands for collective bargaining, the South has responded with a chorus of "Never!" and it mattered little if the demands came from black or white workers.

"Never", however, is a term that black workers increasingly do not understand. In 1968, few can forget the Memphis sanitation workers, undaunted men who fought and won a struggle for basic human rights after the assassination of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. Now we have these black women, beautiful in their commitment and militance, determined to win despite the odds.

The importance of this strike extends beyond the tattered environs of Williamsburg County. Thousands of southern workers--black and white--suffer the same poverty and exploitation as do the Oneita workers. The Textile Workers Union, under the leadership of its president, Sol Stetin, is engaged in a vigorous organizing effort throughout the South. A victory at Oneita would mean a reawakening of hope in the mills and factories.

There is little that people not directly involved in the strike can do to help the Oneita workers. But black people can, and should do something.

First, boycott Oneita products. Oneita manufacturessmen's and boy's underwear. They are not sold under the Oneita label, but under the brand name of the store in which they are sold. Most Oneita garments are sold in large chain stores: Kresge, Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward and J. C. Penney. To honor the boycott simply do not buy underwear from any of these four stores.

Second, march in informational picket lines that may be established in front of these stores in your community.

Third, write these department stores and tell them of your outrage that they are helping to subsidize what comes close to being slave labor, and of your support for the boycott. Tell them it is a disgrace that they are profiting from subhuman wage made goods.

The Oneita strike is one of the most important social struggles today. The phenomenon known as the New South has come about largely because of the readiness of black working people to free themselves of centuries-old discrimination. Discrimination, of course, take many forms, and what is going on in the mills of South Carolina is one of its most virulent forms. A victory for the Textile Workers Union and the black women it represents would mark an important chapter in the continued remaking of the South.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
May 17, 1973

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

REMEMBERING MEDGAR EVERS

Medgar Evers was a quiet, unassuming man who avoided the glare of publicity. Yet his character was unforgettable. Fearless without bravado, he was devoted to organizing blacks in a forbidding hate-impelled state that systematically snuffed out any potential of black leadership. When he died by an assassin's bullet ten years ago this June 12, Evers and a handful of home-grown activists had already set in motion a movement that was to have a transforming influence on the political landscape of the South and particularly, Mississippi.

Evers succeeded because his faith was firmly rooted in principle. Although having experienced from birth the ugliness of race hatred and having witnessed mindless, officially-sanctioned brutality, Evers pressed ahead, nourished by a belief in integration, civil rights, the ultimate importance of the vote, and the moral as well as the strategic necessity of non-violence.

As Mississippi Field Secretary for the NAACP, Evers was coordinating a voter registration drive when he was shot down in front of his home in Jackson. Voter registration campaigns had already cost the lives of at least three Mississippi Negroes--the Rev. George W. Lee, Lamar Smith and Herbert Lee--and would result in other deaths.

It is tragic that martyrdom was required to spur an embarrassed government into writing an end to the legal foundations of segregation. But the 1964 Omnibus Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and other landmark civil rights bills were not simply the consequences of national chagrin; they stand as a tribute to the common struggle of black people, to the ideals which motivated men like Medgar Evers.

In the early 1960s less than five per cent of black Mississippians were registered; today two out of three are registered. And instead of the scattered handful of a decade ago, nearly 150 blacks

If this progress suggests a fitting memorial to Medgar Evers, there are other, less encouraging developments that remind us of a continuing agenda which, unless completed, leaves Evers's vision unfufilled.

Blacks still find the way to the polling place impeded, not, as some would have it, by apathy and alienation, but by baffling administrative procedures, uncooperative officials, and discriminatory laws. Capable, qualified blacks are kept from public office by gerrymandering. Those who in an earlier era said "Never!" now resort to more subtle tactics to thwart black political participation.

A disturbing aspect of all this is the attitude of the federal government. One of the Nixon Administration's first acts was a transparent effort to weaken the Voting Rights Act; when the Senate refused to accede, the Justice Department simply adopted a policy of looking the other way as southern states built, piece by piece, a mosaic of obstruction.

In the last decade, when Medgar Evers was organizing a strong NAACP in a state too fearful to support any Negro institutions, oppressed blacks had no other recourse save the boycott, sit-in, or other tactics of protest.

Now the picket line has been replaced by the ballot box, and the uncompleted agenda can only be resolved through political action. The Senate right now is considering a bill that would establish a simplified national voter registration system, putting an end to the outright bias that flourishes in the South while reforming the archaic procedures that inhibit voting in the non-South. This measure, introduced by Sen. Gale McGee, has won widespread support because, like so many issues initially raised by the civil rights movement, it is all-embracing, cutting across racial boundaries to enhance the freedom of all people. And, again like many of the original civil rights issues, it is opposed by a determined minority --those who fear the increasing political power of black people and those who, while disclaiming prejudice, believe voting to be a privilege rather than a right.

Today, on the anniversary of Medgar Evers death, there is no need for sentimentality; more positive action would be appropriate. The adoption of the McGee bill, for example, would clearly demonstrate America's faith in the principle of equal political participation while it would also serve as a profound tribute to

Page missing in original

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: | For further information, contact:

Immediately
May 31, 1973

Rustin column

THE MEANING OF THE BRADLEY ELECTION

Of the many undeserved setbacks aspiring blacks have endured, few have been as painful and disillusioning as the one suffered by Thomas Bradley in 1969. The campaign of demagogy and radical-baiting that deprived him of the mayoralty election in Los Angeles was a discouraging blow to the political hopes of blacks; Sam Yorty's ultimate victory was enough to convince those who wanted to believe it that the passions of racism and fear were the dominant impulses of American political life.

Thus Bradley's recent victory over Yorty is a profoundly satisfying personal vindication as well as a genuine reflection of an improved racial atmosphere. That Yorty resorted to the same racist tactics, and failed, is further evidence that politics is becoming less and less a conflict between black rage and white fear.

To conclude that what happened in Los Angeles represents the final triumph of reason over intolerance would be premature, just as in 1969 it was premature to assert that America was irredeemably prejudiced. There are, however, some lessons for the future.

Just because the campuses are no longer revolutionary battlegrounds and because the Black Panthers have checked in their guns doesn't mean that there is a "new urban mood." While this may partially explain the election, it is superficial and incomplete.

Perhaps the most important lesson is that permanent political success requires the unheroic work of organization. Black Americans are often compared to other immigrant groups who have somehow--so the myth goes--"made it" on their own. Time does not permit me to dwell on the shallowness of this line of reasoning as it is generally applied to blacks. But there are important parallels between how the Irish and Italians approached politics, when they were down and out, and how blacks look at politics today. These groups had the most to gain or lose from politics--the stakes were quite personal.

Because of this, they responded by organizing. They registered voters, and mobilized voters and made certain that if they did lose it was not because they failed to exercise their democratic freedoms to the fullest extent.

The recognition of the importance of organization was one of the reasons Thomas Bradley won this year. Four years ago he mounted no substantial voter registration effort; this year over 100,000 black voters were registered between January and May. This massive effort to maximize the black political voice may in fact have been the crucial element in the election since Bradley ultimately won by slightly less than 100,000 votes.

Bradley was also successful at piecing together the mosaic of a broad, majority political coalition that cut across racial lines. He was supported by nearly half the white electorate; in 1969 the white vote had gone decidedly for Yorty. Mexican-Americans, who, although sharing a common poverty, had often looked on blacks as rivals, voted for Bradley. They, too, had succumbed to Yorty's tactics four years earlier. Large segments of the white working class vote, which Yorty had hoped to monopolize, rejected the incumbent's hysteria.

There are those who insist that the coalition of minorities, labor and liberals that has dominated urban politics since the New Deal is a relic of the political past. Conservatives tell us that as blacks take on more leadership of urban political organizations, whites will increasingly look to the Right. Certainly President Nixon's anti-busing campaign--a major part of the attempt to move the Southern Strategy to the North--is rooted in this assumption. From the other extreme, some ill-advised liberals insist that white workers are too prejudiced to join with blacks; they urge us to look elsewhere for allies.

I do not think that the election of Thomas Bradley will automatically signal the end of racial competition and political division. But it does suggest that polarization is decreasing. Moreover, it is a clear rebuff to those whose political strategies are rooted in the hope of perpetual strife between the races.

# \# \#

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
June 14, 1973

Rustin column

THE IMPLICATIONS OF WATERGATE

Black Americans view the expanding Watergate scandal with a certain amount of irony. Like most Americans, they are thoroughly disillusioned by the deceit of the Nixon Administration and find everything surrounding the Watergate incident totally reprehensible.

But blacks do not find it surprising that this administration would resort to bugging, spying and fabrication--and then lie to the American people about it. They do not feel--like Senator Goldwater--that the trust placed in Mr. Nixon has been betrayed. Nor would blacks agree with those liberals who proclaim that the fault is not so much with Mr. Nixon as it is with an all-too-powerful office of the Presidency.

The truth is that blacks have heard a stream of lies and misrepresentations during the four-and-a-half years that this administration has been in office. While the President was assuring the nation that all was well with the economy, the number of unemployed blacks rose from 600,000 to nearly one million. As the President was boasting of having spent more money for human needs than ever spent before, the number of blacks living in poverty increased for the first time in a dozen years. The President has preached of the "work ethic" in one breath and sought the curtailment of job programs in the next; distorted the busing issue and unilaterally declared that the urban crisis is over as an absurd justification for the dismantlement of essential housing programs.

Thus it should amaze no one that blacks do not feel that their trust was betrayed; they had no reason to trust the President in the first place.

Blacks also find it ironic that many people--particularly the President's supporters--say that the blame rests with Nixon's having isolated himself from the country. For the President has gone beyond the point of merely isolating himself from blacks; he sees minorities as faceless entities to be manipulated and set apart from the rest of society for political gain.

Blacks do have a special and personal concern, however, with the grand design of the President's political staff to sabotage the election campaigns of his opponents. It is not mere coincidence that the Democrats who were the victims of this strategy were those candidates with broad support among minority groups.

For when public officials consider themselves above the law--when fraud and coercion are introduced into politics--it is always the most powerless who suffer. The poor have certainly never benefited from the favors the administration has granted ITT, the milk industry and other corporate interests.

Thus we have a profound stake in whatever good comes out of Watergate. We should be pressing for a broad reform of campaign spending laws, so that never again will the forces of privilege exert the seemingly limitless influence as they did in 1972.

We must also fully recognize the relationship between how the administration deals with minorities, the poor, and working people when it determines social priorities, and how it deals with common ordinary people in the political arena. For if the administration lacks a basic faith in the people's ability to make a democratic choice free from manipulation it can scarcely be expected to formulate social policy with any commitment to the democratic needs of the majority.

And because our needs are so deep and immediate, we should view Watergate as a means of gaining momentum over the course of social policy, rather than worrying about which former Nixon official is pointing a finger at his colleagues.

Rather than wallowing in the details of the scandal, or engaging in excessive moralizing, or initiating premature efforts at impeachment, we should be mobilizing all progressive forces against the budget cuts and domestic retrenchment the President so confidently proposed just a few months ago. What I am suggesting is not just exploiting the weakness of the President; it is rather that we should begin to take the initiative from an administration that can no more be believed about inflation, unemployment, busing and welfare than it can be believed about its conduct in the political arena.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
June 28, 1973

For further information, contact:
Rustin column

About CORE

The Congress of Racial Equality was once part of the vanguard of the civil rights movement. It was founded in 1942 on the principles of integration, non-violence and democracy and quickly established itself as one of the leading activist organizations engaged in Negro struggle.

CORE was always considered a "militant" group; to utter its name was to provoke instantaneous anger in southern white bigots. Where black people were marching in protest, CORE could be found; where progressive forces were challenging the basic institutions of discrimination, CORE was in the front ranks. It acquired its notoriety largely because its youthful activists pioneered the tactics of direct, non-violent action as a means of protesting unremitting discrimination. CORE members were among the first to engage in the lunch counter sit-ins, freedom rides, and picket lines that brought the civil rights movement some of its most important victories and which had a great deal to do with arousing national indignation over the oppressive conditions of black Americans.

Since 1968, however, CORE has abandoned two of its original values: it no longer believes in integration and it excludes whites as members.

Those who were once a part of CORE--I served as its first field secretary-- see an irony and a great deal of the tragic in the contrasts between what was once a powerful Congress of Racial Equality and the futility of today's vehicle of separatism.

Whereas CORE once inspired fear and hatred among the racist south, now its National Director, Roy Innis, confers with arch-segregationists, like former Georgia Governor Lester Maddox, to formulate schemes to resegregate southern schools.

Where it once mobilized massive campaigns against institutional bias, today CORE promotes narrow, limited schemes of black capitalism.

And where CORE once employed protest tactics to transform a racially divided society, today it uses the courts in an effort to reintroduce those divisions.

Recently, CORE filed a friend of the court brief opposing a plan to desegregate the school system in Richmond, Virginia. The plan, which was struck down by the Supreme Court, called for the merger of the Richmond city school district with two suburban districts.

In a press release issued following the Supreme Court's decision, CORE described the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, which had drawn up the merger formula, as "racist". The statement further accused the Fund of having "for years been trying to ram its bankrupt integrationist policies down the throats of black people."

The Legal Defense Fund does not need my support; its achievements outweigh anything I could say on its behalf. It should be pointed out, however, that were it not for the work of the Fund, CORE would not have the opportunity to concern itself with a misdirected struggle to secure black control of urban schools. Schools, along with most other basic institutions would meet at least some of the requirements of the separatist dogma; that is, they would be segregated. But blacks would not control anything worth controlling; southern society would be run by the same white oligarchy that held power during Jim Crow.

And while CORE asserts it does not condone racism, Roy Innis has recently praised as the most courageous black man of the century Uganda's chief of state, Idi Amin, who drove an entire ethnic group from his country and once remarked that, to paraphrase his words: "Hitler didn't go far enough" in his extermination of the Jews.

The black masses have never embraced separatism. They have demonstrated their support for integration by voting for political candidates that come from the ingegrationist tradition of the civil rights movement, once maintained by CORE. Perhaps the greatest tragedy of CORE is that where just a decade ago it represented an influential force for major change, it is today essentially irrelevant to what's going on in the black community.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
July 12, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE WHITE HOUSE AND ITS ENEMIES

(Editor's Note: Bayard Rustin was included on the list of White House enemies made public during the Senate Watergate hearings. The following is Mr. Rustin's reaction.)

Since he took office in 1969 I have persistently criticized President Nixon because, among other things, his policies were disastrous for black people. These policies have doubled black unemployment, increased the number of blacks living in poverty, and accelerated the deterioration of our cities.

But the conduct of this Administration as revealed in the Watergate hearings raises other issues that are important to black Americans.

We find, for example, that those who were active in planning illegal acts, obstructing justice, destroying evidence, bugging, and wiretapping and break-ins are the very same people who have helped formulate the domestic programs of the Administration. John Ehrlichman, strongly implicated in the sordid affair, was also the President's chief domestic adviser. One wonders whether Mr. Ehrlichman helped devise the Administration's anti-busing strategy, or proposed the dismantlment of the OEO, the retrenchment in housing programs or any of the other hard, callous policies the Administration attempted to implement.

One also wonders how far this Administration might have gone to subvert the democratic process. John Mitchell, once the nation's chief law enforcement official, has already said publicly that the re-election of Richard Nixon was more important than making a clean breast of criminal acts. How far would the Administration have gone if, instead of enjoying a commanding lead over its opponent, it faced a close race last fall?

What becomes evident is that the Administration abandoned the concept of democratic competition. Political opponents were looked on as enemies rather than as a loyal opposition.

Any means, legal or otherwise, was justified in their minds to ensure victory.

And while there has been no proof of President Nixon's direct involvement, his responsibility is clear.

Throughout his political career Richard Nixon has employed the tactics which have set the pattern for Watergate. He used the Communist issue against Jerry Voorhis in his first congressional campaign despite the fact that Voorhis was anti-Communist. The same tactics were used against Helen Gahagan Douglas, in Nixon's Senate campaign.

Even had he nothing to do with Watergate, Nixon already set an example which his subordinates have tried, and apparently succeeded, in living up to.

Thus I do not believe that Watergate is merely an example of the same sort of tactic other Administrations have employed--as conservatives assert. Nor do I agree with those liberals who see Watergate as the result of an all-too powerful office of the President.

Some have characterized the mentality of this Administration as paranoiac. I disagree. Paranoia implies unreason, and I think that those who formulated plans for surveillance, harassment of Democratic politicians, and income tax audits of opponents knew precisely what they were doing, however inept they may have been in carrying out their plans.

This was, rather, an Administration whose mentality bordered on the totalitarian. This is a strong term; I do not apply it loosely. In the Soviet Union dissenters are not tolerated; they are consigned to mental institutions or imprisoned. The Nixon Administration, like the Soviets, did not tolerate dissent, or even legitimite political opposition. They used tax audits, spying, harassment and character assassination. And when discovered, they do not acknowledge the undemocratic nature of their acts, but insist that it was all "part of the game" or justify it on the grounds that "everyone else was doing it."

Let me add that I do not believe that this nation is faced with incipient fascism. The Senate hearings, the indictments, the continuing investigations are all proof of our strength. And despite the Republican efforts to manipulate last year's election, I believe it was decided on how the majority of Americans saw the issues.

When public officials take the law into their own hands, it is black people and working people who suffer. And certainly those not blessed by wealth or privilege have suffered under this Administration. The list which John Dean supplied the Ervin committee symbolically demonstrated how the Administration looks on the ordinary working people who comprise the majority.

The "enemies" include a distinguished list of those who have spent lifetimes working for racial equality or who have devoted themselves to the causes of working people. Thus I certainly do not consider my inclusion on such a list as a disgrace. On the contrary, I feel honored to stand with labor leaders like Lane Kirkland and Al Barkan, or with Patricia Harris and Frederick O'Neal, both of whom have made immeasurable contributions to the civil rights movement.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 26, 1973

Rustin column

BLACK PROGRESS OR REGRESS?

The controversy over how little or how much progress blacks have made has been obscured by absurdities.

President Nixon, for example, has announced the resolution of the urban crisis, and presumably the racial crisis as well. This is, of course, ridiculous, and demonstrates that the President's efforts to cover up his domestic failures are equally as feeble as his Administration's attempts to conceal its complicity in the Watergate scandals.

There are some liberals, however, who rival the President for inaccuracy by proclaiming that the civil rights laws and social programs of the 1960s were meaningless, and that blacks are as bad or worse off today as ever.

Reality lies somewhere between the President's assurances that all is well and the pessimism and negativism of liberals. The social, economic and political progress of blacks during the 1960's was substantial and incontestable; furthermore much of that progress has persisted in the face of Nixon's abysmal, incoherent policies.

A recent study by Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, published in Commentary magazine, documents many of these gains. This article has provoked considerable criticism from black leaders largely because of the authors' assertion that the rate of progress has been sufficient to elevate the majority of blacks into the middle class.

The argument over whether most blacks have entered the middle class is largely irrelevant, although I feel it would be more accurate to say that most blacks are now part of what we generally consider the working class. I also feel Scammon and Wattenberg neglected two important points: the revolution of aspirations in the black community and the fact that for those blacks who were bypassed by the progress so many others enjoyed, poverty and the cruelty of ghetto life have become both materially and psychologically more intolerable.

Nevertheless I consider the Scammon-Wattenberg article of considerable importance, particularly as it points out the importance of acknowledging the racial advancements of the '60s and understanding how this progress came about. Their point is simple, and has incalculable implications for the civil rights movement. They believe that by insisting that the policies of liberalism have failed -- that the housing programs, education programs, manpower efforts and expansionary economic policies have been unable to help those they were intended to help-- liberals risk total public repudiation. To quote the authors, it is as if liberals were saying: "We have failed; let us continue."

A recent census report reinforces the conclusion of Scammon and Wattenberg that black progress is largely the result of liberal programs. Taken together, the Scammon-Wattenberg article and census studies reveal a pattern of steady advancement during the period between 1961 and 1969--when Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in office--and social stagnation in the years since the election of Richard Nixon.

Between 1959 and 1969 there was a substantial decrease in the racial earnings gap. Where black median income was 51 per cent of white income at the beginning of this decade, it stood at 61 per cent by the decade's conclusion. Since 1969, however, the earnings gap has actually increased to the point where the median black family income is only 59 per cent of that of whites.

In 1962 12 million blacks, 56 per cent of all Negroes, lived below the federal poverty level; by 1969 the abolition of Jim Crow, expanding social programs, and economic policies that created thousands of jobs reduced the number of black impoverished to 7.6 million or 31 per cent. Now, four years later, at least 100,000 more blacks live in poverty.

One might put forward numerous reasons for the blunting of black gains; the answer, however, follows directly from the job policies of the Nixon Administration. There is a historical correlation between black advancement and periods of high employment. The years after World War 11 was one such period; the 1960s was another. An umemployment figure of 12.4 per cent in 1961 was cut in half by 1969; today black joblessness hovers around 10 per cent, and the situation is more depressing for teenagers, veterans and ghetto-dwellers.

The programs of the Johnson Administration were no panacea; they did not go far enough or reach enough people to satisfy the justifiably accelerating aspirations of black Americans.

But if we are to press ahead with the struggle for a society that is equal and just, we must fully understand what enabled thousands to escape poverty. If it is true that the programs of the 1960s contained flaws, it is also true that they contributed to a reduction of black unemployment of 400,000 workers and helped lift

Liberals have made mistakes; their rhetoric often outstrips their record. But the liberal program, from Roosevelt on down to Johnson, has brought a massive change in the condition of working people--black and white. By reminding us of this, Scammon and Wattenberg have made an important contribution to the future of social struggle.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
August 9, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WATERGATE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

All eyes are focused on the political scandals of the Nixon Administration. The testimony before the Senate Committee has revealed an Administration with little understanding of or regard for basic democratic principles; certainly the "ends justify the means" philosophy of high-ranking officials differs little from the thinking that prevails in totalitarian states.

But if the Administration has played fast and loose with the democratic process, it has also treated its citizens--particularly its 20 million black citizens, with contempt and disdain. And as the Senate investigation continues to probe into the motives and mentality of those around President Nixon, one is struck by how many of those most deeply involved in Watergate were also responsible for developing and implementing policies which have done incalculable harm to black people.

The same John Ehrlichman who justified political spying also played significant roles in devising every anti-black policy implemented by the Administration. For Ehrlichman, the issue was never one of social justice, or putting the government at the disposal of those who most desperately needed its services. The issue, as he once remarked to an HEW official, was simply that "the blacks aren't where our votes are."

One can only add that Ehrlichman's actions were consistent with his philosophy. As the President's chief domestic policy adviser, he advocated policies which broke the pattern of civil rights advancement, increased the numbers of the poor and unemployed, and divided the races.

It was Ehrlichman, for instance, who fought his own Department of Health, Education and Welfare when it tried to enforce school desegregation guidelines in the South.

When the Department of Housing and Urban Development devised a number of innovative housing programs, it was Ehrlichman who vetoed the proposals. He also helped coordinate the Administration's strategies of exploiting the school, busing controversy, the impoundment of funds appropriated for housing and schools and the wholesale cut-back of social programs.

Another official who has appeared before the committee, Robert Mardian, played an important role in the Administration's effort to weaken desegregation guidelines during his term as general counsel to HEW. He was an ardent spokesman for the "Southern Strategy", arguing constantly for a slowdown in the enforcement of desegregation orders and urging concessions to the South.

Attorney General John Mitchell, who has already been indicted, was a key figure in the Administration's efforts to compromise with discrimination. He placed the Justice Department on the side of southern segregationists who were attempting to slow the pace of school desegregation. He was at least partially responsible for Haynesworth and Carswell. And he tried, and nearly succeeded, in destroying the Voting Rights Act.

The Ehrlichmans, Mardians and Mitchells did not comprise the entire Administration. Some Cabinet members and lower-echelon officials displayed an understanding for the struggle of black people. Most of these officials, however, are gone, having either been fired or resigned in frustration.

Watergate is not an isolated incident. The political espionage, the betrayals of the democratic system--all are inextricably tied to domestic policies of scarcity and polarization. Those who were plotting campaigns of political subversion without any thought of its broader implications watched racial progress grind to a halt without remorse or compassion.

I do not believe that the central issue of the Watergate scandal is whether Nixon was aware of the break-in plans or whether he was involved in the cover-up. The responsibility is Nixon's for having set a pattern of political behavior he has adhered to from his first campaign for elective office.

The same holds true for domestic policies. It is significant that those connected with Watergate were the most zealous advocates of reaction and social hardness. Their attitudes, however, only mirrored the attitudes of their boss. President Nixon condoned and approved of what John Ehrlichman and John Mitchell were doing--he made them two of his closest advisers.

We must not forget that this Administration has from the start favored the most privileged, at the expense of those least able to help themselves. If history determines that the Nixon Presidency was infamous, it should record that the neglect of and disdain for the social and economic needs of poor and working people was as infamous as its scorn for democracy.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
August 23, 1973

Rustin Column

TEN YEARS AFTER THE MARCH

Ten years have come and gone since the March on Washington awakened America's moral consciousness to the cause of racial equality. A quarter of a million people participated in a demonstration which would be copied, but never duplicated, in later years. Other millions listened while Martin Luther King told of his dream, and found themselves no longer ambivalent about the Negro's right to be "free at last."

The March was a fulfillment of the social vision of A. Philip Randolph, a man capable, as no other civil rights leader was capable, of reconciling high idealism with pragmatic accomplishment. Twenty-two years earlier, as America lurched from depression to war-time preparation, Randolph proposed that Negroes march on Washington to demand that a nation which asked them to risk their lives guarantee their access to an expanding economy as well. The original march was ultimately called off, but not until President Roosevelt had issued the Executive Order establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission for the defense industry, a move which effectively brought the Negro into industrial America.

By 1963 Randolph believed it was time to broaden the Negro agenda to include demands for basic social and economic rights. To the demand for freedom, he joined a specific program for economic justice. Thus the March ultimately came to be known as a march for "Jobs and Freedom."

Randolph saw the Negro as the vanguard of a movement to remake and democratize the nation's economic structure. "The sanctity of private property," he told those assembled at the Lincoln Memorial, "takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality. It falls to the Negro to reassert this priority of values, because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls on us to demand full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits."

Those who detract from the March contend that the soaring rhetoric and high hopes of the day have not been matched by racial progress. The intervening years, they say in retrospect, have left blacks little better off than in the days of Jim Crow that preceeded the March.

Certainly the pace of progress has not been sufficient to satisfy a legitimately revolutionary rise in expectations. And it is important for blacks and their allies to press ahead with the struggle for economic and social equality, and not fall victim to disillusionment when progress is slow.

But we must also recognize the considerable progress blacks have made in the years since the March. The passage of three civil rights bills--the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and open housing--have destroyed the legal institutions of segregation and discrimination. Black voter registration in the South has increased by two million, and the shrill racism of Ross Barnett has been replaced by more moderate voices.

There is no more sitting in the back of the bus; the vast majority of public accommodations serve blacks and whites on an equal basis. Negroes are no longer automatically consigned to the worst jobs; they are increasingly visible as skilled tradesmen, professionals, factory operatives, and in government.

High school students are less likely to drop out; the black graduate is in fact as likely as his white classmate to enroll in college. The black worker is much more likely to belong to a union, and to enjoy the wages, benefits and security of union contracts.

The March by itself was not responsible for the passage of laws or the economic and social progress of the past decade. No single demonstration and no individual civil rights leader could have been.

But the March offered a national forum for the demands which were to shape the civil rights movement and the liberal agenda for the years ahead.

It was a program which addressed itself to all poor people, calling for a massive job training program, full employment, a decent minimum wage, and the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to embrace all workers.

Not all the demands of the March have been met, of course, particularly those addressed to basic economic change. There is still widespread poverty and unemployment, and we still have economic policies which permit raging inflation to eat away at the living conditions of poor and working people.

But the program enunciated at the March remains the only valid program to remake America, and the symbolic unity of blacks, labor and mainstream liberals remains the only viable political means to make this program work.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 6, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE AGENDA BEFORE US

The nation has recently focused its attention on the legacy of the 1963 March on Washington. With the passage of ten complex, difficult years many feel an understandable nostalgia for a time when a more nearly united civil rights movement was pushing ahead, scoring victories in the courts and in Congress, and reaching the best impulses of America's moral consciousness. Many recall the March as the ultimate expression of a cause that has expired; in the meantime they have moved to other, less formidable arenas which do not require the level of militant responsibility demanded by the struggle for racial equality.

These people fail to place the March in its proper context. While the March served to dramatize the demands of the civil rights movement, the exhortations of Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and others did not produce all the legislation that we asked. Nor did the presence of a quarter of a million people. Our program, which we insisted was basic to a just and humane social order, was enacted in the Congress, and not beneath the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial.

The program enunciated at the March has yet to be completed. While the issues may not be as precisely defined as they were ten years ago, they remain issues basic to an equal society. And their attainment, moreover, depends today on our political strength moreso than at any previous time.

The continuity of the civil rights movement is in fact reflected in its growing political awareness. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which played an important role in securing the adoption of the early, landmark civil rights bills, today functions as one of the most important advocates for liberal social legislation.

The Leadership Conference is comprised of nearly 140 organizations. These organizations represent the forces that came together at the March on Washington--there are labor groups, civil rights organizations speaking for a variety of minority groups, liberal organizations and organizations representing religious denominations.

The work of the Leadership Conference has attained even more importance since the election of Richard Nixon. The Conference's two chief lobbyists, Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP and Andrew Biemiller of the AFL-CIO have been instrumental in the struggle against anti-busing legislation, the efforts to destroy the Voting Rights Act, and the appointments of Haynesworth and Carswell.

And as Congress reconvenes they are engaged in a fight to determine the course of social legislation during the remainder of the Nixon Administration.

During the March on Washington the civil rights movement demanded "a national minimum wage bill that will give all Americans a decent standard of living." That demand is still valid, particularly with the President planning to veto a minimum wage bill that represents the most important piece of social legislation this year.

Another of the demands called for "a massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers--Negro and white--in meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages." Right now Congress is debating whether to continue the Emergency Employment Act. While this program falls far short of bringing about full employment, it does provide funds for 180,000 jobs, with a substantial portion going to blacks.

Congress will also consider legislation that would limit the President's authority to impound funds appropriated for social programs, a bill to fund programs for the Office of Economic Opportunity, housing and education legislation, and the McGee Bill, which would simplify voter registration procedures for federal elections.

Taken together, this legislation will have profound consequences on the shape of black economic progress in coming years. A bill which adds 60 cents to the hourly wages of the lowest paid workers would have a direct affect on the material well-being of millions of black workers. The creation of jobs by the federal government would help reduce the persistent, scandalous rate of black unemployment.

There is nothing wrong with indulging in reflection. The March on Washington was a great event in itself, and it helped generate the most important social progress of our time. But it is more important to recognize that those who marched in 1963 are still struggling today to secure the ideal society asked by the March.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
September 20, 1973

For further information, contact:
Rustin column

THE MINIMUM WAGE VETO--AN OUTRAGE TO BLACKS

The President's recent veto of the minimum wage bill is an outrage to all black Americans and a tragic blow to the working poor.

It is particularly galling that the President acts against the minimum wage at a time when his own policies have made a shambles of the economy, with the poor as the main victims. Food prices alone have risen by 38% since 1968; the current minimum wage, $1.60 an hour, forces a family of four to devote half its budget to food. For many families this means that macaroni replaces meat at dinner.

Nor is this a fact of life for just a handful of Americans, as is widely believed. There are nearly 15 million workers earning less than $2 an hour. They are domestics, farm workers, garment workers, and even employees of government.

Ironically, the level of welfare payments in nearly half the states is higher than the federal minimum wage. Thus to increase the minimum wage to $2.20 an hour--as is proposed--would have the effect of trimming welfare rolls, an objective sought by liberals and conservatives alike.

There is a lesson in all this for blacks. That lesson is that while the revelations of widespread scandal and deceit within the Nixon Administration may tarnish the President's image, they are not likely to influence the course of social policy.

The President is as determinedly conservative as he was before Watergate broke into the public. He may not be as zealous in pressing ahead with the dismantlement of social programs, but he is using the veto whenever possible to cut back on liberal initiatives.

I do not mean to minimize the importance of Watergate, for Watergate may lead to campaign reforms that would substantially democratize the electoral process. But we cannot depend on the nation's moral outrage over Watergate to create more jobs, raise the living standards of the poor, and bring justice to working people. Basic economic and social change will only come through political organization.

Our most immediate goal is to elect candidates committed to social change to Congress next year. The House of Representatives failed by 23 votes to override the minimum wage veto. Thus a minimum goal should be the election of 23 candidates who would have supported the minimum wage bill to replace those who opposed it.

Blacks can play a pivotal role here. Many of those who opposed the minimum wage are southerners, representing districts with sizeable numbers of black voters. If blacks register to vote, and then join with the labor movement and other progressive forces to support liberal candidates, the process of remaking southern politics could be immeasurably enhanced.

The vote on the minimum wage bill, while certainly no triumph, did suggest that the influence of the black voter has already been felt in the South. Many southern congressmen voted to override the President. A few years ago, when blacks were disenfranchised and politically quiescent, some of them probably would have supported the President. They can no longer do this with the assurance of the past because of the presence of black voters and because of the increasing political consciousness displayed by blacks.

Thus I do not see the recent series of presidential vetoes as cause for despair. There are clear opportunities for political gain--because of Watergate, because of the economy, because of the growing lack of confidence in the policies of the Nixon Administration.

The sentiment of the nation is not, as some say, opposed to the programs which blacks need. There is strong congressional support for the minimum wage, for health care measures, for housing and education legislation and other measures which would benefit blacks disproportionate to other segments of society. Our job is to make certain the nation understands that the moral failings of the Nixon Administration embrace poverty and economic injustice, as well as political scandal.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
October 4, 1973

For further information, contact:

Rustin column

THE ROLE OF THE BLACK UNIONISTS

(Editor's Note: This week's column is an excerpt from a speech delivered by Norman Hill, Associate Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, at the Institute's Fourth Annual Conference. Hill has been political, civil rights and labor organizer during an extensive career devoted to the struggle for racial justice. In this speech he deals with the unique role of the black trade unionist, a subject of importance, not only to the labor movement, but to the black community as well. B.R.)

By Norman Hill

The emergence of Watergate as a major issue has obscured the fact that, during the most recent period, the political situation has not been encouraging for blacks and their allies. On the local level, of course, we have witnessed unprecedented advances as, each year, blacks make further inroads into the political system.

But on a national scale, we find that we are not defining the issues which determine the thrust of social policy. Those issues, rather, are being defined by the likes of Spiro Agnew and George Wallace.

Thus in the 1972 presidential election busing was a central issue, but not quality education. Both candidates spent plenty of time denying they favored employment quotas when the real issue, about which we heard almost nothing, was developing a program to ensure decent jobs for everyone. And while crime and violence affect minorities and poor people more severely than anyone else, once again our forces were not defining the issue--Agnew was.

It is small confort that Agnew has suffered a fall from grace, and Wallace has apparently muted his rhetoric. For no matter how crippled the President may appear to be, he still retains the strength to veto minimum wage legislation, education bills, health care bills, and other essential measures.

The challenge to the black community is to take these issues and make them our issues, so that we can offer a broad program that appeals to the majority of Americans who are not affluent.

And if we are going to formulate a program that draws the support of all working people, and help build a movement that can take the initiative from the Nixons and Wallaces we must build on the organizing skills and positive

We must go beyond the point where the primary objective of black politics is simply getting more representation. There are now more blacks and more Latinos holding public office than at any other time -- and that is a great accomplishment. But we can no longer be content with representation as an end in itself. We must be concerned with whom that representation feels responsible to. Are our officials concerned with a few more patronage jobs, or are they committed to fighting for programs that will benefit the poor people and working people that comprise their constituency. The question of who we elect is much more basic than how many.

Where there is confusion, where there is a misunderstanding and when there are a few people who are trying to misguide black people, black unionists must stand up and speak out for what makes good sense. In other words, become the voice of militant responsibility in the community.

Finally, the black unionist must take a more active role within his own union so that he can effectively tie the civil rights and labor movements together. We believe that, because of the sacrifices of A. Philip Randolph and because of the example he set, the national trade union leadership recognizes the unique role of the black unionist as never before. But it can't stop there. Union activists can determine whether the political decisions of their unions are truly in the mutual interest of the labor movement and the minority community. But they can serve this role only by exercising their democratic rights, by raising their voices and helping to make decisions on these issues. There is no other way.

(The full text of Norman Hill's speech is included in a newsletter published by the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The newsletter also contains speeches by Congressman Andrew Young, Bayard Rustin, AFL-CIO President George Meany and other labor and civil rights officials. Anyone interested in obtaining a copy of the newsletter, or a list of Randolph Institute publications, should write: A. Philip Randolph Institute; 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010.)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
October 18, 1973

Rustin column

THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL

The renewal of the Middle East War, with its fearful human cost, has driven a knife wound deep into the soul of a world which longs for peace. Its reverberations, spreading like an exploding mortar shell, are felt around the globe by all who value justice and humanity. Most horrible is the waste of young lives--the best and bravest of the warring nations.

With the resumption of hostilities, there is a compelling impulse to blind oneself to the implications of this conflict. Many Americans have already succumbed to indifference or indecision: recent polls indicate that roughly one out of two either do not care about the outcome, or cannot summon the will to choose between the two sides.

Many blacks, confronted with profound injustice here at home, may wonder about the significance of a war which rages thousands of miles away. They ask how does the outcome of this distant conflict affect their weary, centuries-old struggle for freedom and equality.

But it is precisely because blacks have survived despite hundreds of years of oppression, and persist today in the face of the continuing destructiveness of prejudice, that they cannot now turn away from other, equally oppressed peoples.

To achieve full equality in America requires that all people, wherever they may be, be allowed to reach their full human potential. And this means, in the context of what is happening right now, that Israel must survive.

There is a common history of triumph in the face of oppression that binds black people to the Jews. We are joined by a legacy of suffering, and by the commonly shared belief in the Judeo-Christian doctrine of "one humanity, one God."

Both Jews and blacks respect and have a personal stake in the spread of democracy. Surrounded by the autocratic, despotic countries of the Middle East, Israel alone adheres to the democratic principles that are a precondition to freedom.

Israel, as a progressive and democratic nation, is the ultimate reflection of traditions which run throughout Jewish history and culture. Wherever Jews are, they stand firm for the extension of human rights for all people.

During the period following the end of Reconstruction, a time when America turned aside from the plight of the freedman, Jews gave invaluable assistance to the Negro struggle. When the South was doing its best to keep the black man illiterate, the Rosenwald family established a fund which salvaged the Negro college system. And in the early years of this century, when the black cause was not a popular cause, Jewish liberals, like Joel and Arthur Spingarn, helped establish the NAACP and were instrumental in ensuring its survival during its most difficult years.

At a later era, Jews provided critical financial support for Dr. Martin Luther King during his protest campaigns: two thirds of the money donated to a defense fund established when Dr. King was falsely accused of income tax evasion were contributed by Jews. And who can forget that two Jewish youths, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, died arm in arm with James Chaney in the backlands of Mississippi.

In addition to dramatizing the moral kinship between blacks and Jews, the Middle East crisis is important for what it implies about the lasting nature of prejudice.

Six million Jews were annihilated during World War II for no other reason than they were Jews. And yet this painful, tragic lesson has not been sufficient to convince mankind of the stupidity of racial and religious hatred. Today anti-Semitism persists in the hearts of many men and many countries, awaiting the opportunity to rise to the surface disguised as anti-Zionism.

Blacks well understand that where anti-Semitism exists, racial prejudice ultimately follows. Those who historically have felt hatred, contempt and superiority towards Jews, have looked on Negroes with hatred, contempt and superiority. Thus it is little surprising that the most determined opponent of American aid to Israel is Sen. J.W. Fulbright, who during a lengthy political career has voted against, and spoken against, and filibustered against the cause of civil rights.

This is why our fates--the fate of Jews as embodied in the State of Israel, and the fate of black people as reflected in their struggle for equality and dignity--are inseparable. Blacks must support Israel in her hour of need. For we, who have undergone 350 years of oppression in America, cannot ignore the just cause of a people who have known oppression for 2,000 years, all across the world.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
November 1, 1973

Bayard Rustin

NIXON SHOULD RESIGN

The most distressing thing about the governmental crisis which has engulfed America is that the President does not seem to recognize that a crisis in fact exists. Instead of facing the issues involved, he obscures them, projecting himself as the victim of a malicious press and questioning the motives of Special Prosecutor Cox. He persists in the policy of concealment and subterfuge that has marked the Administration's response ever since the time, many months ago, when Nixon supporters dismissed the Watergate break-in as a "caper." Neither the President's actions nor his words suggest an awareness that withholding potential evidence from a criminal prosecution represents a blatant disregard of basic democratic and constitutional principles.

The Constitution demands that the President "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." This is an absolute responsibility, not subject to individual whim. And yet the President has chosen to ignore this responsibility, submitting neither to its spirit or letter until forced to bend by the bipartisan outrage of the nation.

This is particularly unsettling for blacks, since our civil liberties depend above all else on the President's determination to enforce the law, regardless of his political philosophy. Although opposed to the 1954 Brown decision, President Eisenhower ordered federal troops into Little Rock when Governor Faubus defied court desegregation directives. Had he placed his natural impulse above the obligation to ensure that the law is carried out, Eisenhower would have set back the civil rights movement for years to come, while destroying the federal system of government.

By surrendering the tapes to Judge Sirica, the President has done little to allay the worst fears of Americans. There are still unanswered questions, and the President has made it abundantly clear that, short of another judicial confrontation, he will not provide the answers. These questions suggest broad implications about the functioning of democracy. The ITT case, for example, calls to question whether national policy was being formulated on the basis of law, or was determined by the promises of campaign contributions. Then there are the questions about the President's land transactions and other personal financial dealings; whether the President was taking advantage of high office for personal enrichment.

To prejudge these cases before the proper officials have examined all the facts would do an unconscionable injustice to the President and to our system of law. The dilemma facing Americans is that the President will not cooperate with a full and impartial investigation, thus thwarting the only means of removing the cloud of suspicion which hovers over his office. As the AFL-CIO said, in calling for the President's resignation: "When the President appears fearful of facing a Supreme Court composed in large measure of his own appointees, the public can scarcely resist the darkest speculations."

The crisis which the President has brought upon himself and the nation has multiplied and deepened our problems. Our domestic policy can be summed up in one word: "veto." Our foreign policy is suffering at a time it can least afford to suffer.

I do not contemplate the possibility of the President's resigning or his impeachment with any feeling of elation. Nor do I call for his removal from office because of political differences, profound as they may be.

The fact is, however, that the President no longer has the ability to govern effectively, nor the moral legitimacy to guide the course of the nation.

The only principled alternative left is for him to resign, and spare the country a protracted, agonizing period when we would be, I fear, without a leader. And if Nixon fails to resign, I feel it is incumbent on the Congress to initiate impeachment proceedings. Should the President ultimately leave office, Congress would be then well advised to consider the appointment of a bipartisan government, with the two major parties sharing the presidency and vice presidency, as has been proposed by Sen. Inouye of Hawaii.

I believe that the resignation of Richard Nixon would serve the genuine interests of the United States, for this country cannot absorb the almost daily crises which the President seems incapable of averting. As I write this, the White House has announced that the two most important tapes never existed; already there is speculation over whether this is part of the President's efforts to cover-up wrongdoing. Because of the pattern he has established, every move the President makes evokes suspicion and cynicism. We cannot endure this for three more years.

Lyndon Johnson was elected President in 1964 with a mandate in all respects as decisive as that Nixon received in last year's election. Four years later, having compiled a record of unprecedented domestic accomplishment, Johnson declined to seek re-election, not because of any impropriety on his part, but because he was convinced that to do so was in the best interests of national unity and world peace. If Lyndon Johnson, under the attack of a small though highly vocal minority, was capable of an act of high statesmanship, it is not presumptuous to expect Richard Nixon, having lost the confidence of the overwhelming majority of Americans, to take the same difficult step.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
November 15, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin column

THE DECLINE OF BLACK STUDIES

There is increasing evidence that black studies courses, once promoted as the solution to the psychological and educational problems of Negro students, are becoming obsolete in the few short years of their existence. Courses on black culture and black history, which filled university classrooms several years ago, now attract a handful of students. The more frivolous offerings have succumbed altogether, victims of their innate irrelevance.

At Howard University, for example, 38 students are majoring in Afro-American studies; two years ago over 1,600 students signed up for courses in the department. Predominantly white George Washington University saw enrollment in a black history course dwindle from 167 students in 1969, the first year it was offered, to a mere 24 students this fall.

The impulse of many is to explain this phenomenon in terms of rising student apathy--a de-politicization that has infected campus life in the aftermath of riots and building take-overs. There may be some merit to this argument; certainly it helps explain the lack of interest of white students.

But it does not answer the question of why black students, who are entering college in increasingly large numbers, reject black studies for traditional curriculum.

To understand why this is taking place, it is first necessary to recognize the overriding implications of black studies. To those who initially demanded, at times violently, that universities institute autonomous departments of Afro-American history and culture, their actions appeared as a genuinely revolutionary gesture which would accelerate the process of racial pride and racial solidarity. And yet, in reality, they were laying the groundwork for educational vehicles that, far from instilling racial pride, have perpetuated the myth of racial inferiority.

The philosophy which underlies black studies, as well as black-English and quotas, is that without special treatment black people cannot make it in the real world. And this is simply nonsense.

In spelling out his objections to racial quotas,Thomas Sowell suggests the magnitude of the psychological damage that results from the translation of these myths into social and educational policy. "What all the arguments for quotas are saying," declares Sowell, "is that black people just don't have it, and that they will have to be given something in order to have something." He adds that the commitment and abilities of competent black people "will be completely undermined, as black becomes synonymous--in the minds of black and white alike--with incompetence, and black achievement becomes synonymous with charity or pay-offs."

There are, of course, quite pragmatic reasons why black studies courses are shunned. For once the student leaves the sheltered atmosphere of the campus, he discovers these courses have little value. Those who see education as a means through which they can obtain the skills to enable them to serve the cause fo racial advancement look to medicine, law or science. And those who have a genuine scholarly interest in the role of black people in America recognize that they must study Negro history, not in isolation, but as part of American history.

I want to make it clear that while I believe black studies to be without real educational merit, I recognize that the demands which led to their establishment were a legitimate reaction to the racism of the educational system. The contribution of Negroes to our history and culture was neglected or distorted; the racial stereotypes which had such devastating psychological effects on black and white alike were reinforced.

It is also true that gifted Negro Scholars, teachers of the highest abilities, were passed over by the most prestigious universities until the clamor for black studies. Insofar as black studies forced the educational establishment to recognize their talents, it performed a service.

Those of us who raised objections about black studies (and were very often denounced as "Uncle Toms" because of it) did so for one reason: they did not want to see another generation of mis-educated blacks. The easiest thing in the world is for colleges to create a separate set of courses for black students, while ignoring the very real problems created by ghetto poverty and inferior schools. The challenge is to provide compensatory programs that can help students overcome their deficiencies, rather than pretend they don't exist.

The instutution of education did not escape the racism which pervaded American society for 300 years. The reforms which followed in the wake of the civil rights movement represent important, and often quite successful, efforts to achieve the equality of opportunity. The enrollment of black students has increased dramatically, and black scholars are now offered the positions which for years were denied them. But the reform impulse has been impeded by succumbing to the cult of the "new", by the acceptance of instant solutions, and by taking the popular, but easy way out. Black students, by their repudiation of black studies courses, are already discovering this; it is time that the universities learned this lesson as well.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediatley
November 29, 1973

Rustin Column

IN MEMORY OF ARTHUR LOGAN

All who knew Dr. Arthur Logan were struck by his compelling gentleness and compassion. He hated prejudice, not bitterly or blindly, but because he understood its destructiveness, and he grieved over human misfortune. Yet he was endowed with a strength of character not found in ordinary men; his self-possession during times of crisis was awesome. You could not meet Dr. Logan, even for a brief moment, without sensing his innate goodness, and you could not work with him without marveling at his unassuming, yet firm, leadership.

Dr. Logan died last week, unexpectedly and suddenly, and those of us who were fortunate enough to have known him mourn his loss both as a valued black leader and as a close friend.

Some may wonder why I am devoting a column to Dr. Logan, for while his contribution to the civil rights movement was significant, he may not be as well-known nationally as he is in New York. I write because he was a friend--a man who saved my life after I had suffered a serious heart attack--and because the values and strengths which made Dr. Logan so exceptional were the very ones which formed the solid underpinning of the civil rights movement.

Dr. Logan could easily have dedicated himself to a lucrative practice. He was a gifted surgeon and doctor--one of the first black graduates of Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons. The pressures he endured as a young man were immense: for to be black and graced with ability was to confront terrifying responsibilities to yourself, to your race and to society.

Yet he bore that pressure well, committing himself to the cause of racial advancement even before a mass civil rights movement existed.

Most of his work was done behind the scenes. He was instrumental in raising funds for Martin Luther King's most important campaigns; he was a brilliant organizer and administrator; and he had a genius for transforming embryonic programs into effective vehicles for community service.

He was particularly concerned with the lack of decent medical care in the ghetto. He worked, successfully, to establish programs providing better and less costly health care in Harlem.

A confirmed integrationist, Dr. Logan held unwaveringly to this ideal in the face of the turbulence and shifting tides of public opinion of the 1960s. He served the ghetto, yet he believed that black people would be denied the full potential of human dignity until the ghetto was destroyed. Thus he headed an organization that was fighting to ensure that an urban renewal project on Manhattan's Upper West Side would be both economically and racially mixed.

Dr. Logan was also committed to medicine, in all its practical and psychological aspects. Dr. King, Duke Ellington, Jackie Robinson and other prominent blacks looked to Dr. Logan not simply because of his talents as a doctor, but because he understood the emotional sufferings of a sick person. And while he had many famous and wealthy patients, Dr. Logan served the poor as well, making regular visits to Knickerbocker and Sydenham hospitals in Harlem.

He worked tirelessly to root out discrimination from the medical profession. And he was forever encouraging young blacks to take up medicine as a profession, because he believed firmly in its worth. But he believed that black doctors should undergo the same discipline and meet the same standards as others. He was adamantly opposed to the lowering of standards; he understood too well that this would irreparably damage not only the medical profession but also the black community itself.

Arthur Logan left a proud legacy to his wife, Marian, and young son, Chipper. Marian Logan is an effective activist in her own right: she worked side by side with her husband for many causes; together they accomplished a great deal.

Dr. Logan also left a great legacy to all black people, and to Harlem. Harlem was his life; during his funeral the procession passed by the hospitals, medical centers, settlement houses, housing projects and clinics which were established because of his efforts. It was a long procession, because Dr. Logan had many friends, and it took some time to complete, because Dr. Logan was so essential a part of Harlem's social institutions. And it was a sad, but noble tribute to a gracious man, and dedicated leader.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
December 13, 1973

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WHITE HOUSE CORRUPTION AND BLACK CAPITALISM

The disclosure of widespread corruption within the Nixon Administration's black capitalism program may ultimately occupy but a brief footnote in the history of the Watergate scandals. And yet I believe that the now-acknowledged failure of this program will teach us an important lesson about the strategies for achieving racial progress.

The minority business program was once the cornerstone of Nixon's civil rights policy. In his 1968 presidential campaign, Nixon assured us that encouraging minority entrepeneurs--through federal loans and grants--would be much more effective than the job training and anti-poverty efforts inaugurated by President Johnson. In the ensuing years Nixon regularly increased federal spending for black capitalism ventures while cutting away at the expenditures for housing, manpower, and other social programs.

By 1972, however, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise had become, like so many other government agencies, little more than a fund-raising arm of the Committee to Re-elect the President. Black and Spanish-speaking businessmen were informed that federal assistance would be dependant on their donation to the President's campaign effort. The Administration applied the same principle to the struggling Harlem businessman as it did to American Airlines and other industrial giants. There were also instances of minority business funds being granted to firms under white control and of Civil Service officials who were administering the program being required to engage in political work in outright violation of federal law.

The extent of scandal is appalling; it represents further testimony to the total moral bankruptcy of this Administration. But it is essential for black people to understand that minority capitalism did not fail simply because it was transformed into a political instrument. The revelations of corruption dramatize its shortcomings, but the roots of its failure are buried much deeper.

Black capitalism is, after all, a profoundly limited program. Under ideal economic circumstances it could benefit a narrow segment of the black community consisting primarily of businessmen who were neither jobless nor impoverished. Under less than perfect conditions, such as we have experienced in recent years, the results would be disastrous. At a time when 70 per cent of white-owned businesses are failing during their first three years, minority-operated ventures can hardly be expected to show significant success.

Its advocates on unusual coalition of black nationalists and white conservatives--often spoke of minority capitalism as a revolutionary alternative to traditional and, it was implied, unsuccessful liberal programs. What they were proposing, however, was in fact counter-revolutionary; unintentionally so, in the case of blacks, but certainly with a good deal of foreknowledge on the part of Richard Nixon.

Conservatives acted on two premises. On a pragmatic level they applauded anything that would divert attention and resources from broader social programs. They also saw black capitalism as compatible with the concepts of self-reliance and free enterprise: Negroes, they believed, should pull themselves up from poverty as had other ethnic groups before them. Nationalists, on the other hand, were influenced by the quirks of their ideology and an unrealistic and overly-romantic view of the ghetto.

We have had ample time to recognize that the conservative analysis was the more perceptive. Although their comparison of blacks, confronted by centuries of repression, with Irish, Jewish and Italian immigrants is absurd on its face, their efforts to impede a major social transformation has been temporarily successful.

I do not know what will happen to the black capitalism program. One hopes that the current revelations will be sufficient to reform the program so that it functions in a non-partisan and equitable manner. But the larger question is not whether one narrow effort can be salvaged, but whether we are going to have real social justice. We are only deceiving ourselves if we persist in the belief that "gilding the ghetto" through programs like black capitalism can bring about a true measure of justice.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
December 27, 1973

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE IRRELEVANT DOCTRINES OF WILLIAM SHOCKLEY

One hesitates before entering into the debate over Dr. William Shockley, the Stanford professor who has become a fanatical proponent of the idea that blacks are genetically inferior. Dr. Shockley has already received far more publicity than his theories warrant; even his defenders are careful to disassociate themselves from his views while affirming his constitutional right to express them publicly and without harassment.

Dr. Shockley has said some things that I find reprehensible. But I find it difficult to take the man seriously. Dr. Shockley has no credentials as a geneticist; he has earned his scientific reputation and a Nobel prize because of his work with transistors. And his ideas on race fall beyond the pale of reasonableness.

I would agree with Shockley's most vocal critics that he is a racist in the purest sense of the word. He believes that black people as a race are inferior to whites, both culturally and intellectually, and that this inferiority is transferred from one generation to the next.

Shockley, of course, has gone beyond simply stating his convictions about race and intelligence. He has also proposed that society take specific measures, such as providing poor blacks with cash inducements for sterilization operations, in the service of protecting society from a lowering of its standards. This is certainly not the carefully pieced together racial "solution" of Hitler. But it springs from some of the same impulses which drove the Nazis to their policy of genocide.

The point, however, is that hardly anyone in the academic, scientific or political arenas subscribes to such fringe thinking. If anything, the American people are much more likely to believe in the inherent equality of racial minorities than ever before. Even the persistence of racial polarization is, ironically, due largely to black people having taken advantage of opportunities for advancement so that they now come increasingly into competition with whites, and not because whites believe themselves superior.

But while his theories are irrelevant, and his proposals ignored, Shockley the man has become a symbol for those who cherish freedom of speech, as well as for those who are less committed to the doctrine. He has been barred from some campuses, and shouted down at others. He was only able to speak at Princeton because the audience was limited, potential disrupters screened out, and the entire campus security force mobilized.

To prevent anyone, no matter how pernicious their views, from exercising their constitutional rights does not advance the cause of democracy nor enhance racial progress. Some of the students who have confronted Dr. Shockley are doubtless motivated by a legitimate revulsion at a philosophy which is anti-democratic. Others are more cynical; they see Shockley as an ideal target at which to carry on the destructive, confrontationist tactics which threatened to destroy the universities during the 1960s. They really don't want to silence Shockley, for to do so would be to deprive them of their only issue.

The most effective answer to those who would deny freedom of speech to Shockley lies in the history of the black struggle. There could never have been a mass, non-violent civil rights movement if the courts had not demanded that the South observe the Bill of Rights. And when basic constitutional freedoms were abrogated, it was most likely blacks who suffered because of it.

We discovered an important lesson in the days when black people marched in the South. And that is that the victims of repression very often gain by it The more brutally blacks were treated in the South, the more sympathetic was the nation's response, and the more willing was the nation to hear what we had to say.

I am by no means equating the fact that a professor is prevented from addressing a few colleges with the systematic discrimination to which blacks were subjected. Nevertheless, the same principle applies to Shockley's case each time he is driven from the podium.

The question of whether environment or genetics determines intelligence has been a source of agonizing debate since 1968, when Professor Arthur Jensen published an article saying, in a more muted fashion, much the same thing that Shockley says today. At the time Jensen's article appeared, I felt that the issue was unimportant and nothing has occurred to change my opinion. Everything that has transpired, in fact, has reinforced this view. The economic and social environment of black people was altered quite dramatically during the 1960s and black people, as a result, have achieved unprecedented progress. For blacks, the challenge is to continue to dedicate ourselves to winning important, mass gains, not to creating martyrs out of proponents of irrelevancy.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
January 10, 1974

Rustin Column

THE ENERGY CRISIS: WHO'S TO BLAME AND WHO'S TO SUFFER

The appeals for sacrifice and self-denial evoked by the energy crisis are heard by black people with a mounting sense of frustration and anger. We are assured that all are being asked to make equal sacrifices, but it is painfully apparent that the lower your income and the darker your skin, the more you will have to give up.

There is a great deal of difference between requiring a yacht owner to forego a season's boating, and telling a black auto worker that he faces indefinite unemployment. We have endured inflation, and recession, and high unemployment, and now, we are told, a critical shortage of fuel, and with each new crisis blacks learn, with renewed poignancy, the truth to the saying: "Last in, first out."

One wonders just who the government's public relations campaign, which implies that a wasteful society is to blame for the energy shortage, is directed at? Black families, even the upwardly mobile, very often don't have the resources sufficient to provide their basic necessities. By suggesting that they and other working Americans have created this situation, the Administration is simply trying to disavow the responsibility for its own failures.

Mistrust of the President's ability to resolve the energy problems with justice and equity is universally shared by working people. And Watergate is not the only reason for their suspicions. For they remember that every other period of economic slump has elicited from the Nixon Administration policies which have only worsened their plight.

As we enter a new year, economists are almost unanimous in predicting a sharp increase in unemployment; job loss will be the most severe, moreover, in industries which have traditionally employed large numbers of blacks. As of yet the Administration has not proposed a public employment program massive enough to soften the impact.

The Administration's answer to the shortage of gasoline is to permit prices to rise until, it is hoped, motorists will be persuaded to use some other means of transportation. Once again it is poor people and working people who will suffer -- the privileged can well afford the increased prices.

The question of who in fact is to blame has not been adequately answered. It is apparent, however, that the oil companies have contributed to the current shortage, and many believe that they bear the heaviest burden of responsibility. In 1972 oil firms donated staggering amounts--$5 million by one account--to the President's re-election campaign. Thus no one can be blamed for doubting Nixon's ability or force of will to deal with the oil firms.

Black people have already suffered from the policies of this industry. Last year thousands of small, independent service stations were forced to close because of the refusal of the major oil dealers to supply them with gas. Many of these were owned by blacks; there was a time, in fact, when operating a service station represented one of the few entrepeneurial opportunities for poor blacks. Now this option is closed.

Congress, as part of its investigations into the energy shortage, is expected to give careful examination to the role played by the oil industry. The AFL-CIO has already urged Congress to consider regulating oil firms through a form of nationalization, much as public utilities function. I think such a proposal would be a justifiable and effective means of regulation, and should be adopted if there is strong evidence that industry policies are largely responsible for the shortage.

Something else is also necessary. If a shortage truly exists--and there is considerable debate about this--there must be equality of sacrifice. We have already witnessed one shameful attempt to exploit the nation's fuel problems to thwart school integration. The proposal to amend the Emergency Energy Act to forbid fuel allocation for public school busing was one of the most cynical and outrageous acts in a year which produced a great deal of talk about the need to restore confidence in government.

Black people are no different than other Americans. They are willing to sacrifice in times of emergency if government is honorable and just. But there is no justice for those without jobs, and there is no honor in trying to cripple racial integration in the name of energy conservation.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

For further information, contact:

THE PROSPECT OF GERALD FORD

The resignation of President Nixon appears imminent as this is written. Even in the unlikely event that the President does not voluntarily step aside, he faces almost certain removal from office by Congress within the next several months.

We are thus faced with the issue of how we respond to and what we can expect from the new president, Gerald R. Ford.

In terms of his relations with black people, Mr. Ford has constructed a congressional record that is at best mediocre. Although he supported most of the major civil rights bills adopted during the early part of the 1960s, he did so only after having led conservative efforts to weaken the legislation. More disturbing is the leadership Mr. Ford assumed in the struggle to limit busing as a desegregation tool. Mr. Ford has not only worked in the halls of Congress to curb busing, he has himself made busing a principal Republican issue during the current congressional campaign, falling easily into a pattern established by George Wallace and later refined by Richard Nixon.

A more important consideration than his exploitation of the busing issue, however, will be Mr. Ford's response to the social and economic problems of poor and working people. Many experts believe that unemployment, already intolerably high, may exceed six per cent by the year's end. How will Mr. Ford respond to this crisis? And what of other essential social programs - national health insurance, educational programs, housing aid, and the like - under a Ford Administration?

Mr. Ford's previous congressional record is hardly encouraging in this area. He has opposed almost every important social innovation proposed during his congressional tenure, staking out a conservative, at times almost reactionary attitude towards domestic policy.

If what I have written thus far appears overly-gloomy, it is for a reason. And that is that I do not believe that black people can expect anything of substance in terms of economic gains from policies laid down by Gerald Ford. There is nothing in his voting record, in his conduct as House Republican leader, or in his expressions of political philosophy that suggest anything except the imposition of orthodox conservative policies which have historically been disastrous for black people.

On the other hand, Mr. Ford has already voiced what appear to be sincere feelings that he should serve all the people. One does not know what Mr. Ford means when he promises to serve all the people--whether such a pledge will be translated into more humane policies, or whether it will result in merely symbolic gestures, such as meeting periodically with representatives of minority groups.

But even if the result is only symbolic, it will have been an improvement over the performances of Nixon and Agnew, both of whom went out of their way to isolate themselves from all those who did not belong to their basic, conservative constituency.

There is also the possibility that Mr. Ford, like others before him, may move from his basic conservatism once he realizes the depths of the responsibilities of the office. One does not anticipate his being transformed overnight. But one should also not rule out the possibility that, at least in one or two areas, Mr. Ford will break from his conservative past to attempt some initiatives for social change.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
January 24, 1974

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE PRIORITIES OF BLACKS

What are the most serious problems black people face? If asked this question a few years ago, many whites would doubtlessly have answered that the problems confronting the Negroes were measurably different from the problems confronting the rest of society. Whereas poor people and the working class have traditionally suffered from unemployment, bad housing, lack of access to education, run-down, crime infested neighborhoods and other inequities built into the economic order, blacks, it was felt, suffered above all else from the racist attitudes of individual whites.

The belief that personal attitudes were more important than economic injustice was reflected in the reaction to the Kerner Commission Report. Despite its explicit condemnation of the racist behavior of institutions--as opposed to the racist sentiments of individuals--the report was widely interpreted as a call for whites to look inward. Unhappily, the Commission findings were made public at precisely the moment when America could least afford to indulge in self-analysis. Ghettoes were burning, and the country was traumatized by racial disorder. Black people were intensely disillusioned--not so much because of the persistence of individual prejudice--but because government was failing to follow through on its promises to remake our economic and social structure.

Now The New York Times has published a study which, while not exploring racial problems as comprehensively as the Kerner Commission, presents a more accurate reflection of what black people want. Its significance lies in its findings that the problems of blacks and the problems of whites are basically the same and, moreover, that these problems have almost nothing to do with attitudes or prejudices.

Both blacks and whites, for instance, were more concerned about crime than any other social ill; blacks, if anything, were more emphatic in their feelings about law and order. Both agreed that the other most important problems were housing, drug addiction and transportation.

They were in agreement that the rich, the corporations, landlords and organized crime received preferential treatment from government. And while about one of every five blacks acknowledged to having been victimized by discrimination, almost none listed racial bias as the most important problem they faced.

In only one respect did the survey find strong racial differences. This was government programs--such as busing or the placement of low-income housing in middle-income neighborhoods--to further integration. Otherwise, blacks and whites expressed very much the same attitudes towards social problems, institutions, and what ought to be the priorities of government.

What has been written here is in no way meant to minimize the awful spiritual and psychological toll which prejudice exacts from our society. Nor is it my intention to deny that racist attitudes can and certainly do determine the policies of government and the functioning of institutions.

But the answer to America's racial problems is economic and political, not psychological. Blacks recognize this: the challenge, therefore, is to drive the point home, as emphatically and often as possible, to all Americans who are concerned about inequality.

If we have learned anything from recent experience, it is that social myths can infect the entire political system. As long as racism was the principal enemy, concerted, interracial political action was impossible. And to the degree that the nation turned inward, the more likely it was to believe that "government programs don't make any difference."

We would be much better off today if we had attacked the basic social problems about which the majority of Americans are concerned. For in the mobilization of a coalition of the majority of Americans who need social change lies the solution to polarization and hate. And in the resolution of these problems lies the ultimate answer to racism.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
February 7, 1974 Rustin Column

ARTISTIC HONESTY AND THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

Of all the American cultural institutions, none rivals the motion picture industry for the systematic and practically uninterrupted distortion of the black experience. Hardly anyone who grew up in the 1930s is unfamiliar with the happy, dancing slave or the subservient comedian. Today the depiction of black life is almost equally as shallow, with the significant difference that the most brutal aspects of ghetto existence are the subject of exaggeration and, most unfortunately, glorification.

But there are occasional exceptions to this otherwise deplorable record. Of these, the recent television production of "The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman" is perhaps the most memorable. For in the story of a fictional, 110-year-old ex-slave woman is contained a work of art that achieves an almost painful honesty without sacrificing its power as a moving human drama.

The film's message is nothing less than the enduring and ennobling qualities of Negro struggle. The slaves on the plantation where Jane Pittman spent her early years preferred the uncertainties of a hostile, outside world to remaining where they were constantly reminded of their past bondage. Blacks were at no time content with their inferior status, as the film reminds us, again and again.

The movie is not sugar-coated. A group of recently-freed slaves are murdered by roving vigilanties; the Klan lynches a young black man for starting a school for freedmen; Miss Jane's godson is shot to death for preaching equality; and , ultimately, a young civil rights activist is assassinated, presumably by police. But the violence of this movie is not gratuitous, for the fact is that slavery and the post-slavery caste system were not benign institutions.

Violence was a constant part of the Negro's life; what we learn from "Miss Jane Pittman" is that blacks were not submissive, but fought back with whatever meager means were at their disposal.

But the portrayal of the sweep of black history is studiously balanced. Ned, Miss Pittman's godson, and Jim, a civil rights activist of the 1960s, are endowed with the characteristics which made the success of the black struggle possible. Ned reminds his followers that the problem is not the innate evil of white people, but the ignorance that led Arabs, whites, and even black Africans to engage in the slave trade. And he stresses that the solution to the problems faced by Negroes must be found here, in America, rather than in a back-to-Africa scheme.

Aside from its historical objectivity, the movie is most notable for the brilliant performance of Cicely Tyson as Jane Pittman. Miss Tyson prepared for this role by spending weeks in the South, acquainting herself with the life-style and mannerisms of the rural poor. She even spent days at an old people's home, and her portrayal of the former slave is the most powerful part of the drama. I shall never forget the final scene, with the aging black woman, exuding her inner strength despite tottering legs, walking to the courthouse steps and drinking from the "white only" fountain.

This is Miss Tyson's second starring role; her first was in "Sounder", for which she received an Academy Award nomination. It is a profound tribute to her artistic integrity that she has refused to accept roles which presented the black experience in less than honest terms. At the same time it is a sad testimony to the state of American culture that Miss Tyson has had to wait several years between major assignments because of the poor quality of so many of the movies about blacks.

Of course it is argued that movies like "The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman" are poor financial risks. In this respect I think that the CBS network and the Xerox Corporation, which sponsored the program, deserve credit for disregarding the prevailing sentiments of the movie industry.

I am hopeful that the success of "The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman" will convince the producers and their backers that movies about Negroes do not have to be excessively violent or exploitative. The story of American black people is a powerful drama in itself; it needs no embellishment, as this wonderful movie has shown.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
February 21, 1974

Rustin Column

THEIR CAUSE MUST NOT DIE

In expelling author Alexander Solzhenitsyn from his native land, the Soviet Union apparently hopes to smother internal dissent without provoking the outrage of free men. This must not be allowed to happen.

Exile is, of course, a deep personal tragedy for Solzhenitsyn, as he loved Russia and derived artistic nourishment from the people and history of his homeland. That he did not meet a darker fate, as has befallen so many other Russian dissidents, should not obscure the writer's sense of personal loss or minimize the monstrous disregard for justice and decency of the Soviet government.

But Solzhenitsyn's expulsion is an even greater tragedy for the dissident movement. Having lost their most compelling and admired spokesman, the dissidents must now confront a government that has signaled to the world its intention to still any voice that rises in protest. And the systematic injustices of Soviet society of which we, have learned only because of the courage and honesty of dissenters, will continue unchecked.

As Andrei Sakharov, the prominent dissident, has noted, Soviet repression takes many forms: political trials, religious persecution, the harassment of writers, restrictions on emigration, and discrimination against ethnic minorities.

Discrimination against racial minorities, much of it officially-sanctioned, was and is an American sickness. That segregation's legal foundation has been destroyed, and thousands of blacks brought into the social and economic mainstream, are direct results of democratic safeguards of the right to dissent.

America's institutions are not perfect, but they are sufficiently open and free to permit the growth of a massive movement capable of transforming national habits and attitudes.

There is a oneness between our civil rights movement and the movement for individual freedom in Russia. This special relationship, borne of a common struggle, is recognized by the dissidents, who followed closely the progress of the civil rights movement, and greatly admired Martin Luther King.

This brings us to a basic point. One of the reasons for Dr. King's success was his ability to mobilize the support, not simply of Americans but of people around the world. The cause of American blacks was a cause with which all men of good conscience identified. And the weight of this global moral force played no small role in changing the American government's attitude from that of passive observer to one of advocate and supporter.

But if world opinion was one element in the success of the civil rights movement here, it is the basic issue for the Soviet dissidents. If we do not raise our voice against Soviet repression there soon will be no dissident movement, nor any substantive liberalization of Soviet societyfor years to come.

To support the dissident movement does not signify that one is not committed to world peace. Andrei Sakharov has stated that the dissidents themselves "welcome all that is denoted by the word 'detente.'

The problem, as Sakharov has observed, is that "external detente is tragically not accompanied by internal and human detente." The point is that there is no detente for the Russian citizen if he cannot speak, or write, or think as he likes without fear of imprisionment or exile.

To achieve "human detente" Sakharov, in accepting the Norman Thomas Freedom Award from the Social Democrats, U.S.A., urged that an international coalition of conscience work for a series of specific reforms. These include amnesty for political prisoners, freedom of expression, freedom of emigration, an end to discrimination against national minorities, and outside inspection of prisons and mental institutions.

There are already encouraging indications of the potential for success of such a movement. It was sufficient for Sen. Henry Jackson to merely introduce legislation denying trade benefits to nations restricting emigration to bring about a relaxation in the Soviet policy toward Jews who wanted to settle in Israel.

But more can and must be done. It falls to us to support the dissidents, both politically and through moral persuasion, and to ensure that society responds to their pleas. Having experienced the good that that protest can accomplish in an open society, we have a particular obligation to uphold the right to dissent where that right would be denied. We must listen; otherwise Soviet dissent will die.

# # #

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH

Reb Clipp

Civil Rights in U.S., USSR:

Struggle for Justice, Freedom Transcends National Borders

By Bayard Rustin

THERE IS A SPECIAL relationship between the Soviet dissident movement, currently facing the powerful forces of Soviet repression which brutally expelled Nobel Prize author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and the struggle for civil rights in the United States.

There is a strong bond between American working people who desire social justice and the Soviet freedom movement. This was made dramatically evident by the rush of many U.S. businessmen to move their plants and American jobs to the USSR where the commissars have promised them no labor troubles, as strikes were outlawed in the Soviet Union.

We can recall that during the American Civil War, English longshoremen refused to load boats whose cargoes went to aid slaveocracy while today American longshoremen have declared that they will not load ships whose cargoes will strengthen Soviet despotism.

Both the recent U.S. and USSR civil rights movements were born out of frustration at the denial of basic human rights and both employed similar tactics of non-violent protest. When 250,000 people led by A. Philip Randolph and Dr. Martin Luther King marched on Washington for jobs and freedom a little over ten years ago, they were cheered on by an international audience—a global coalition of conscience which helped transform the attitude of the American government from passive observer to that of advocate and supporter of racial equality.

Let me make it clear that I am by no means equating the injustices against which black Americans and working people of all races and creeds have protested, and the overwhelming and systematic repression of dissent in Russia. The point rather is that we enjoyed constitutional safeguards of the right to dissent and organize that are denied in the USSR. Legally protected forms of protest here including strikes by trade unions are in Russia considered criminal acts, while mild acts of civil disobedience are looked on as treasonous.

Thus, while it was important that Dr. King have the support of world opinion, that world opinion and the support of the free trade union movement is absolutely essential for the Soviet dissidents. If we turn our backs in indifference, their cause will die.

The coalition to support the dissidents is already being mobilized in the United States. The day after Solzhenitsyn's arrest, members of the Coalition for Intellectual Freedom demonstrated before the Soviet Embassy in New York City. The participants included intellectuals and representatives of liberal, labor and social democratic groups.

These people were all individually concerned about Solzhenitsyn's fate (at that time unknown) and with the broader question of freedom within the Soviet Union. But they were also symbols of the broad coalition, representing as they did the liberal and intellectual arenas, the labor movement, and the struggle for racial equality.

It is significant that American labor is playing a major role in this movement to support the human rights struggle in the Soviet Union. For as AFL-CIO President George Meany has pointed out, wherever men and women are denied the right to organize unions and other democratic organizations, to protest, to strike, or to express their views freely, then the freedom of American workers is endangered.

IT SHOULD BE ADDED that the right to dissent is not the only issue at stake. Andrei Sakharov, the dissident physicist who recently received the Norman Thomas Freedom Award from the Social Democrats, U.S.A., outlined a broad program of protest in a message to the Social Demcrats.

Sakharov's program includes inspection by an agency such as the International Red Cross of Russian prisons and mental institutions, amnesty for political prisoners, ending discrimination against national minorities, freedom of emigration, and support for "honest writers who have been harassed."

Further, Sakharov, in speaking out for the "democratization of Soviet society" is aiding the fight of Soviet working people for the right to organize freely and to strike. And in his courageous protest against the Soviet Union's military involvement in the Middle East, Sakharov is truly upholding the cause of peace and freedom.

I believe that it is of the utmost importance that those who have supported civil rights and social justice in America now heed the voices of dissent in Russia. The American civil rights and labor movements do not tread the narrow path; they speak of expanding the rights and liberties of all mankind. And they cannot achieve total victory, no matter how much progress is won in the United States, if the voices of freedom in Russia are silenced.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 7, 1974

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

CORNELL REVISITED

A few short years ago Cornell University was a national symbol of racial polarization. Weeks of bitter controversy over the university's racial policies culminated in the appalling confrontation with guns by a group of black students. The tactics of violence, so often directed against black people, were now being employed by blacks, only now it was in the name of reform.

Students no longer carry guns on the campus. But the calm that followed the traumatic upheavals of the sixties has not brought a resolution to the problem of educating young blacks. It would be unjust to deny the very real progress that has been made. But in too many instances past mistakes, based on discredited assumptions, continue to be made and justified as educationally sound and socially progressive.

At Cornell, for example, the issue which led to the brandishing of guns in 1969--the right of black students to segregate themselves from the rest of the campus--is still a subject of intense debate.

The New York State Board of Regents has accused the university of fostering segregation by sanctioning the existence of an all-black dormitory and college and has ordered that the residence college and all other segregated facilities in New York colleges be dismantled.

Spokesmen for the residence hall have denied the charge of segregation. But even a superficial examination makes it clear that segregation is the issue. Furthermore, a statement by the residence college more or less admits the charge of segregation by basing its defense on the fact that all-white organizations, including social fraternities, exist on the campus.

The university administration has also defended the facility. But one must question whether the university is motivated by a genuine desire to advance educational opportunities for minorities, or by a wish to pacify potentially restive students. Many scholars, black and white, have expressed serious doubts about the educational content of black studies courses, particularly those whose enrollments are limited to black students. Can we take much encouragement from an educational institution which, according to the Cornell newspaper, "maintained a closed atmosphere, and refused to speak to the press about its goals and programs?"

The question of the educational implications of separatist black studies programs is one issue raised by the Cornell dispute. The other issue is separatism itself.

Separatism holds a special appeal to black students attending predominantly white instututions. The social and intellectual atmosphere is drastically different from the ghetto high school. In this highly competitive and often alien environment, blacks feel a need to recreate the psychological security of the ghetto, to maintain a separate world apart from the rest of the university.

But separatism is not the answer to the problems of the black student. One group at Cornell, the Young People's Socialist League, (YPSL) has accurately pointed out that separatism and racial regression have historically gone hand in hand. Separatism, in the guise of accommodation, followed the collapse of Reconstruction, while Marcus Garvey's Pan-Africanism was the result of the bitter disappointments blacks suffered after World War 1.

The YPSL, whose national organization has a lengthy tradition of support for racial progress and integration (Its leaders have included A. Philip Randolph and Norman Thomas), have launched a campaign to abolish segregated black facilities as well as racially exclusionary white fraternities.

The YPSLs have not taken up a popular cause, and have already been characterized as racists. But the issue they are raising--the danger of separatism--is an issue that needs to be driven home to society, and particularly to the universities, who have too often demonstrated a willingness to accommodate to any gimmick if it is billed as reform.

Separatism has never meant reform. Anyone familiar with the racial troubles of New York City recognizes that community control, which is really a euphemism for separatism, has been invoked more effectively by whites in their efforts to keep black children out of their schools and integrated housing out of their neighborhoods.

When the civil rights movement challenged America to place equal educational opportunity on its social agenda, it did not realize how formidable a task this would prove to be. The intervening years have demonstrated that significant progress can be made--but only through intelligent change. The failure of separatism has been shown, on a practical level, by the fact that the overwhelming majority of black students avoid separatist curriculum because they recognize its intellectual shallowness. Seen in a broader sense, separatism has failed in every area of social policy where it has been tried.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 21, 1974

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The Political Priorities of the Black Community

The most deplorable consequence of the Watergate scandals is the growing alienation from politics of many Americans. The loss of confidence in political institutions and elected officials is widespread: people are less likely to vote, party loyalties are diminishing, and many are questioning the validity of political action as a means of effecting social change.

These are disturbing attitudes in a democratic system. And they are attitudes which, ironically, are more likely held by whites than by blacks. The faith of black people in the political process is in fact increasing: a higher proportion of blacks than whites voted in a number of local elections last year and, of course, the number of black elected officials has increased dramatically in recent years.

It is encouraging that black people have not succumbed to the prevailing cynicism, particularly since blacks have ample justification to feel disillusioned over the policies of the Nixon Administration. For in addition to Watergate, blacks have experienced economic regression and have seen racial polarization deepen because of the calculated strategy of the Republican Party.

But despite our undeniable progress, blacks face serious political challenges. For if we have learned anything from the experience of the past five years, it is that the election of local officials, as important as this is, is a profoundly insufficient response to social problems that are national in scope. The election of a Maynard Jackson or Thomas Bradley will certainly make the governments of Atlanta and Los Angeles more responsive to the needs of black people.

But unless there is a President and a Congress committed to social progress, the options open to black mayors will be narrowed, and their impact lessened.

Thus it is no longer enough to define black political power in terms of the number of black officials that have been elected. More black officials were elected since Richard Nixon took office than at any previous time since Reconstruction, and yet the national minimum wage is still unconscionably low. And until that minimum wage is increased, blacks cannot say that they are exerting their political power to its fullest potential.

Several weeks ago a special congressional election was held in Cincinnati, Ohio. According to a survey conducted by the Joint Center for Political Study, it was the black vote which determined the victory of Thomas Luken, the Democratic candidate. The 17,000 black votes Luken received represented nearly one-third of his total vote. Since he won by only 4,000 votes, and since Luken's opponent received only negligible black support, it is obvious that the black electorate was a decisive influence.

Luken is white, but he will be voting in Congress for an increased minimum wage, the creation of jobs, more funds for housing and education. He will be supporting, in other words, the issues that comprise the black agenda.

There are districts across the country like Cincinnati, where blacks comprise a substantial portion of the electorate, although not a majority. But if only 30 or 40 per cent of the eligible blacks vote, our impact will be diminished. In Cincinnati, for instance, only 55 per cent of eligible blacks were registered, a figure at least 10 per cent lower than the registration figures for whites.

Thus the highest priority should be given to a massive registration effort in the black community between now and November, when congressional elections take place.

For the elections this year are significant. Although liberals command majorities in both the House and Senate, they do not have the power sufficient to override presidential vetoes on important social legislation.

The election of a veto-proof Congress would guarantee the passage of a humane minimum wage. It would mean more money for schools and housing. It would bring about a total overhaul of antiquated and sometimes discriminatory voter registration laws.

In a more fundamental sense, the election of a veto-proof Congress would mean that government would once again begin to meet the social needs of all working Americans. And this is an important goal at a time when the behavior of government leaders has encouraged a disillusionment with the basic institutions of democracy.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
April 4, 1974

Rustin Column

Quotas: A Return to the Token

The debate over quotas and preferential treatment for racial minorities is one of the most troublesome problems confronting society today. Very few people will admit to favoring the establishment of numerical guidelines as a means of abolishing discrimination. But there is compelling evidence that the quota concept is being insinuated into almost every aspect of social life. Hiring practices, college admissions policies, political representation--all are being judged by the standard of whether blacks, Spanish-speaking, and sometimes women and young people are participating in proportion to their presence in the general population.

The reasons for the quota phenomenon are complex. They derive, however, from a basic source--the lethal effects of racism on American life. That only five blacks serve on the 548-member Mississippi highway patrol ten years after passage of the Civil Rights Act demonstrates that prejudice dies hard. Racism persists; the economic plight of black people is not simply the legacy of past discrimination.

Quotas, however, are not the answer to racial injustice. And for a very good reason. At its root, the quota philosophy signifies an acceptance of a social order which has historically dealt harshly with minorities and the poor. Quotas imply that the struggle to transform rqcist institutions is being abandoned, not for any radical or militant alternative, but for an extended kind of tokenism.

It is no accident that quotas have found favor with the Nixon Administration, given the Administration's record of racial neglect, and considering the numerous Administration efforts to divide blacks from their traditional allies.

The basic contradiction in the Administration approach is reflected in unemployment statistics. For at the same time as Nixon officials have imposed quota systems, or asked courts to impose quota systems, the deterioration of the economy has brought a nearly two-fold increase in the number of black jobless.

Quotas have thus become an ineffective substitute for a full employment economy, expanded manpower training to hasten minority entry in the skilled trades, and a comprehensive education program to help blacks overcome the handicap of inferior ghetto schools.

By legitimizing the quota principle, moreover, the federal government is perpetuating a myth that has had a devastating impact on American race relations. This is the myth that blacks must be given something in order to have something.

Certainly blacks are familiar with the image of the token--the lone black who is assigned a conspicuous place, but never given responsibility or autonomy. The civil rights movement opposed tokenism, not simply because it was an inadequate response to pervasive inequality, but also because it recognized that tokenism was a public relations manuever that served neither the interests of black people or society.

The black who is hired because of a government-ordered quota faces a similar predicament. Society will not judge him as an equal, as someone who succeeded on his own merit. And he himself will be plagued by self-doubt.

In addition to placing specific economic and social demands before America, the civil rights movement was a struggle for human dignity and individual self-esteem. It sought to destroy the stereotypes which left Negroes psychologically-maimed for centuries.

Civil rights leaders themselves have always opposed reverse discrimination (which is, after all, the inevitable result of quotas). They sought to enhance opportunity for all--economically, politically, and socially--so that the black man could be integrated into a society where standards were untarnished. Thus quotas did not originate in the agenda of the civil rights movement. They rather violate its most fundamental ideals.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
April 18, 1974

Rustin Column

THE UNION CARD AND THE WORKING POOR

How do you help the working poor? Society has been trying to answer that question for years. And the challenge of providing justice and dignity for those at the bottom of the economy has defined the impetus for social change since the New Deal.

All kinds of proposals--guaranteed income, tax reform, manpower training, community action programs--have been advanced in the name of reducing the scandalous gap between the rich and poor. And certainly some of these ideas are basic to a program of social change. A guaranteed income could resolve the welfare crisis; manpower training represents an important means of enabling uneducated workers to escape dead-end jobs; and tax reform is a matter of simple justice.

But there is another strategy--seldom mentioned by those who set the tone of the debate over social policy--by which millions of working people can achieve a better standard of living and a more satisfying life. That strategy is union organization.

Those who criticize union members as middle class are guilty not simply of distorting the facts; they miss the point altogether. Thirty years ago most industrialized workers were numbered among the working poor: it was through the efforts of their unions that they were able to rise above impoverishment.

Today the union card is still the main vehicle for economic justice. The Mexican-American employes of the Farah pants company who recently won union recognition and a new contract after a lengthy strike gained a new sense of hope through their union, and raised the expectations of poorly-paid workers throughout the Southwest.

The labor movement's importance to the working poor is accentuated by the fact that American law grossly discriminates against the poorest and least-organized in society. The working poor are, for example, often excluded from minimum wage protection; denied the right to organize; or, if given the right to organize, hampered by right-to-work laws adopted by individual states.

Among those who have suffered this basic discrimination are the household and domestic workers, of whom there are 1.3 million, mostly black women who do cleaning, cooking, child care and the like.

New York State Assemblyman Seymour Posner has recently introduced a bill in the state legislature which would give domestic workers collective bargaining rights. Several years ago Posner sponsored a bill giving household workers protection under New York's minimum wage law.

Passage of that measure, however, meant only an initial triumph in the struggle to give domestic workers the same rights other workers enjoy as a matter of course. Posner is trying to complete the job with the bill for collective bargaining.

This is both a moral and practical issue. Domestic workers have traditionally been underpaid and deprived of such basic benefits as vacation pay, health insurance, and even the protection of Social Security. Many are old, and are exploited because of their age. By trying to give domestics the opportunity to bargain collectively, Posner is advancing the cause of social justice for those who are among the most discriminated against people in the country.

Posner's bill is important for another reason. And that is that it dramatizes the necessity of continuing the pressure against those laws which discriminate against working people.

It is time that those who claim to be partisans of the minorities and the poor began to once again examine how they think social justice will come about.

For the working poor of the South, no one measure would have as immediate and deep an effect as elimination of right-to-work laws. There is a desperate need to include other workers in the National Labor Relations Act so that they will have collective bargaining rights.

The union card has a proud history as agent for social change. It is time that a society which professes a concern for the poor began to recognize this fact.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
May 2, 1974

Rustin Column

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE SCHOOLHOUSE

It was twenty years ago this month--May 17, 1954--that the Supreme Court declared racially-segregated schools to be unconstitutional and set in motion the most important movement for human dignity in our time. The social transformation which followed in the wake of the Brown decision--a transformation perhaps unprecedented for oppressed minority groups--has reached into and fundamentally changed every significant American institution.

For many, however, the hopes raised by the Supreme Court have yet to be fulfilled. And when the rising expectations of those recently liberated are only partially realized, the results can be as explosive as the response to acts of outright brutality.

Nowhere has this been more true than for the schools, the first, and still the most strife-ridden arena of racial conflict. Once perceived as the principal forum for interracial experience, and the most effective agent for social mobility, the schools are dismissed by some critics as failures. And many of those who were the most militant proponents of integration now define educational reform solely in terms of whether blacks control ghetto schools.

Why have we reached this state of affairs? Are the schools the abysmal failures the critics insist? And are the problems of teaching black children that much more formidable than teaching other poor children?

The last question is the most relevant, as Diane Ravitch demonstrates in a recent book, "The Great School Wars." Although Mrs Ravitch deals only with the social upheavals of the New York City public schools, her conclusions reflect on the whole movement for quality, integrated schools. And the theme to which she returns, again and again, is that educational problems which arise from class differences are too often interpreted as racial phenomena.

She notes, for example, that: "Historically, schools in slum neighborhoods had always been inferior schools; the reason, having to do with slum conditions which spilled over from the neighborhood into the school, were remarkably similar no matter what the color or national origin of the children in the school."

She also reminds us that the argument of genetic racial inferiority, one of the least significant but most heatedly debated issues today, has been directed at other groups in the past. Early in the century, when immigrant ethnic groups predominated in the New York school system, "as much as 40 per cent of the schools' enrollment was educationally retarted." She adds: "Some educational researchers in the 1920s and 1930s wondered whether inferior genetic endowment kept Italian children from matching the academic levels of other groups."

Mrs. Ravitch finds little to be enthusiastic about in the movement for community control of ghetto schools. Although proposed in the name of reform, community control became synonymous with a struggle for power as an end in itself. More important, while community control was put forth as a means of enhancing integration and educational innovation, it soon became apparent that the concept was antagonistic to these two objectives. It concedes as much to white neighborhoods as it gives to the ghetto, encourages the politicization of the schools, and insulates the schools against creativity and reform.

As the twentieth anniversary of the Brown decision draws near, there is certain to be many evaluations of just how far black people have come since 1954. Some will undoubtedly choose the gloomy analysis that the schools have failed to respond to the impulse for reform. Some will even conclude that we are no better off now than we were then.

The evidence, however, suggests blacks have gained a great deal from the educational system, given the inferior resources of the old dual school systems and the dislocation which has accompanied the spread of northern ghettoes. But to move ahead requires that we act on the lessons of the past twenty years. Diane Ravitch has reminded us of some of these lessons. Her book is well recommended to anyone concerned about the future of black children and of the potential of the schoolhouse as a vehicle for social change.

%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
May 30, 1974

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE WALLACE THREAT

There has been considerable soul-searching over the black support accorded George Wallace in his successful gubernatorial primary campaign. Many interpret the fact that Wallace received 25 per cent of the black vote as further evidence of his legitimacy as a mainstream politician. Others have denounced Wallace's black supporters, particularly those elected officials who endorsed his campaign, as having betrayed the civil rights movement and all it fought for.

I do not believe that the recent election suggests anything substantial about the national voting patterns of blacks. That one-quarter supported Wallace means that three-quarters preferred his four ineffectual opponents. Many blacks (and many whites as well) did not even bother to vote because of the certainty of the outcome. And other blacks who are registered in a splinter party do not participate in the regular Democratic primary. Thus it is unlikely that more than 10 per cent of Alabama's black voters actually supported Wallace.

Nor am I dismayed over the endorsements of a few black officials. The shift from the tactics of protest to political action implies that blacks, like whites, must confront the necessity of thinking politically. Compromises must be made; there will be occasions when blacks must join together with those whom they neither like nor respect. A newly-elected black mayor of an impoverished city--a city, moreover, which must depend on the state government to help provide jobs and essential services--will agree to troubling accommodations. One need not always condone these actions, but one should not automatically condemn them either.

Having said this, it is important to add that the dangers posed by George Wallace are quite real. They do not relate to his performance as governor, or to the extent of his black support this year, but to his undiminished influence on national politics. For whatever the superficial changes in his rhetoric, Wallace remains an economic conservative, an unreconstructed opponent of the basic goals of blacks, and a man who very likely harbors strong anti-Negro prejudices.

This is why it is unsettling to hear nationally prominent blacks, not to mention white liberals, declare publicly their acceptance of Wallace as a vice presidential candidate. To support Wallace over a group of nonentities for governor is one thing; to say amen to his national aspirations is another matter entirely.

One is consoled by the fact that such sentiments are not voiced out of a conviction that Wallace has undergone a radical political transformation. They rather indicate a recognition that Wallace is a powerful political force in America. The Democrats, however, should be analyzing the roots of that power so as to formulate a principled strategy to counteract the Wallace threat. There is little ultimate profit in rushing headlong to sanctify Wallace the man and, more important, his values.

Much of the blame for the Wallace phenomenon belongs to Richard Nixon, who has exploited every divisive issue initially raised by Wallace.

But the Democrats are also guilty of having contributed to his rise. Many of the reform guidelines which governed the party's presidential nominating procedures, although failing in their stated objective to broaden the Democratic base, did succeed in making it easier for fringe candidates, like Wallace, to operate. Wallace himself has cited the reforms as a major reason for his strong 1972 showing; his supporters are predicting that the nominating procedures may lead to an even more effective performance in 1976.

A more basic problem is the failure of the Democrats to offer an acceptable alternative to the bankrupt economic policies of the Nixon Administration. A case in point is the proposal voiced by some Democratic leaders that wage-price controls be reimposed as an inflation curb. It was the controls that in fact produced many of our current economic problems. And for liberal party leaders to suggest the return of such an unpopular and inequitable program demonstrates all too clearly why many Americans are drawn to simplistic, demagogic appeals.

The political career of George Wallace has been constructed around a foundation of racism--of opposition to the demands for justice and equality voiced by black people. But it would be a mistake to dismiss his supporters as bigots; their motives are complex, and relate fundamentally to a failure of liberal will. The answer to Wallace and his supporters lies not in vilification, but in a program which answers, point by point, every issue he raises. Only when liberals offer such a program will they rid themselves of the Wallace dilemma.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
June 13, 1974

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The SLA And Its Apologists

One speaks of the Symbionese Liberation Army with hesitation, not wanting to further legitimate something which has already been overanalyzed and overexalted. The name Symbionese Liberation Army is itself an absurdity. For the white, middle-class girls and black ex-convicts who played at revolution were certainly no army. And the only thing they succeeded in liberating was their own disturbed psyches.

More troubling than the SLA itself is the reaction it has stirred in the press and among otherwise thoughtful, intelligent people. Between the reality of the SLA and its perception by supposedly responsible journalists and intellectuals has arisen a wide chasm filled with romantic speculation and thoroughly confused thinking.

The SLA was composed of spoiled girls, many of whom came from quite comfortable backgrounds, and a black escaped convict with a history of emotional problems. None had a history of serious political involvement. During the space of a few months, they managed to commit murder, kidnap several people, wound two bystanders during a bank robbery, and terrorize countless other individuals, including the residents of the black neighborhood in Los Angeles where six of the SLA met their deaths.

The response by many has not been to condemn these acts as barbaric and anti-human, but to debate, and in many instances condone, the SLA's ideals, motives, and moral consciousness. A clergyman has drawn a parallel between the principles of one of the slain girls and Jesus Christ. A Columbia University professor has compared Patricia Hearst with Pocahontas on the editorial pages of The New YorksTimes.

There have been mumerous reflections on the importance of the SLA as a revolutionary entity. And again and again there are accounts which, while decrying individual acts of violence committed by the SLA, offer praise for the social commitment of its members.

There is a curious racial double-standard in the attitudes towards the SLA members, and particularly towards the young white girls. The SLA's first "revolutionary" gesture, we should remember, was the murder of the black Superintendent of Schools in Oakland, a man who was highly respected in the black community.

The assassination of Marcus Foster was not the expression of even a warped sense of political imperatives, but rather an act of mindless violence, committed by sick individuals. Yet his death is all but forgotten, and, to judge from some commentaries, is considered less tragic than the untimely fates of his professed slayers.

If there is a lesson to be learned from the SLA experience, it is the futility of violence as a means of effecting social change. This is a lesson of some consequence today, because society seems to be increasingly tolerant of violent acts, as long as they are committed in the name of social justice.

Nor is the cult of revolutionary violence a uniquely American product. In the Middle East, in Northern-Ireland, in Southeast Asia--innocent people are being killed, and their deaths justified on the grounds of making a more equal society.

It is easy enough to assert that there are deplorable social conditions which lead to acts of desperation (this was not, however, the case with the SLA). But the most profound, enduring, and humane social change has always been created non-violently. For history has taught us that the social vision of those who would enforce their goals through force is as narrow and ruthless as that of the dictators they sought to replace.

The response of the press and of many intellectuals to the SLA is a reflection of a society which is in danger of losing its vision and sense of priorities, a society unable to distinguish between high ideals and despair. If we are to move forward to the creation of a just world, where the dignity of all men is recognized, we must totally reject, not simply the tactics of the SLA's violence but the motives and social vision which produced that violence.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
June 27, 1974

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

ARAB OIL AND AFRICAN HUNGER

Economic exploitation has been a historical fact of life for black Africa. Slavery, colonialism, foreign control of valuable natural resources--all have derived from the impulse of foreign powers to find cheap labor, or to ensure dominance in an economic market.

The coming of independence may have altered the outward manifestations of exploitation; it has not signaled exploitation's end. Affluent nations still enrich themselves at the expense of the less developed. While the means may not be as blatantly cruel, the ends can be just as devastating as during the era of slavery.

And, tragically, Africans are discovering that the exploiters can very easily be those who call themselves friends, even brothers.

All of which leads to a discussion of the impact of the mammoth increases in the price of oil which have been decreed by the Arab oil-producing nations. For these increases, while discomforting and unsettling to the economies of western, developed nations, have been absolutely disastrous for African countries and the poorer countries of Asia.

Oil is an essential resource for Africa, as it is for the rest of the world. The quadrupling of oil prices, however, threatens the fabric of life in Africa and Asia far more seriously than it does in other, more developed areas.

Africans depend on oil, not simply for fuel, but for fertilizer, without which their agricultural systems would be destroyed. The developing nations, morever, do not have indigenous energy supplies--either oil, coal, or other resources--as do the United States and other western lands.

They are, in other words, totally at the mercy of the countries which extract and export the oil.

William Tolbert, the President of Liberia, has already estimated that the new oil price structure will cost the poor nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America $12 billion more than last year. Consider what this means for countries like Chad or Niger--countries whose considerable economic problems have been deepened by an unprecedented drought that has brought death by starvation to thousands.

It is bitterly ironical that the African nations who are now suffering severe consequences because of the actions of the Arab nations aligned themselves with the Arab cause during the most recent Middle East war. Almost every African nation severed diplomatic relations with Israel in the expectation of economic assistance from the wealthy oil nations.

By now it is apparent that these hopes were in vain. An African proposal for a two-tier pricing system--whereby poorer nations would pay less for oil than would the western nations--has already been rejected. There has been no massive infusion of economic aid into black Africa. Only a worsening of the plight of the poorest and hungriest of nations.

There is a lesson in all this for those in the U. S. who uncritically accept the myth of Third World unity, who were eager to denounce Israel as an "imperialist" outsider, and who applauded the apparent unity of African and Arab.

Few Africans ever accepted the notion of Arab-African unity. Privately, they would concede that the decision to break with Israel was the result of economic and other pressures exerted by the Arab nations. Having recognized the full implications of the new oil price structure, Africans are now saying publicly what they often admitted privately: that they derived far more benefits from Israel's aid programs than they have from their new alliance with Libya, Saudi Arabia, and the other oil nations.

The African leaders, in other words, recognize that there is no such thing as a unified, universally progressive "Third World" of underdeveloped countries. In that the phrase connotes a group of governments with which American blacks should identify, the Third World does not exist. Some developing nations are profoundly militaristic and reactionary; others are feudalistic; others, although they call themselves socialistic, are governed by brutal regimes which differ little from the most repressive authoritarian states.

The African nations must deal with the new realities of Arab power in their own way. One profoundly hopes that they can reach an arrangement which will alleviate the human suffering of the starving sub-Saharan region.

Those Americans who so enthusiastically greeted the outward appearance of Arab-African unity, however, have an obligation to re-examine their political attitudes. Political judgments must be reached on the basis of historical facts, and not grounded in myth-making. The myth of African-Arab, Third World unity is just such a myth, as recent events have so dramatically shown.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
July 11, 1974

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

A NEW DAY IN ARKANSAS

The primary and local elections held this year have demonstrated that the political momentum of the black community is still strong. Kenneth Gibson has been re-elected Mayor of Newark, gaining a substantial percentage of the white vote in a city thought to be intractably polarized. Mervyn Dymally won the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor in California; should he win in November, Dymally will become California's second statewide black official. In Alabama and Louisiana, blacks made significant gains in state legislative races.

What may have been the most important election, however, did not involve blacks as candidates, although the role of black voters was crucial. This was in Arkansas, where liberals won the Democratic nomination for both Senator and Governor.

I believe the Arkansas elections were important for several reasons. First, the issue of race was noticeable largely by its absence. Even Orval Faubus, a symbol of bigotry in the 1957 Little Rock school confrontation, refrained from exploiting racial fears. He, like the other candidates, hoped to win a share of the black vote. As matters worked out, Faubus could not muster the strength to force David Pryor, a liberal ex-Congressman, into a run-off in the governor's race.

Another important development was the apparent end of an age-old, and much-to-be-deplored Arkansas practice--that of white candidates paying selected black leaders to deliver votes. A number of blacks, in fact, volunteered to campaign for Pryor and Dale Bumpers, who won the Senate primary. The only major candidate who reportedly tried to revive this custom was Senator J. W. Fulbright, and Fulbright apparently ignited the hostility of many black leaders because of it.

Fulbright's defeat at the hands of Bumpers, drew the most widespread national attention. Many liberals in particular regard Fulbright's loss as a monumental tragedy for the cause of progressive politics because of the role he played in shaping foreign policy.

However one views Senator Fulbright's foreign policy views, the fact is inescapable that his conservative reputation on domestic and racial affairs was well-justified. If, as his supporters always insisted, Fulbright's heart was in the right place, the record shows that on racial issues Fulbright seldom voted his convictions.

During the 1950s, when the nation desperately needed voices of racial moderation in the South, Fulbright agreed to sign the infamous Southern Manifesto, a document of virtual difiance to the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision. Until the last several years, when blacks became too formidable a political force in his home state to be ignored, he regularly opposed every civil rights proposal--from public accommodations, to voting rights, to open housing.

He lost to a man who, in contrast, has forged a proven record of pro-black, pro-worker achievement during his tenure as governor. Besides appointing many blacks to state jobs, Bumpers reformed the state's notorious prison system, began building a community college system, instituted the state's first major tax reform, brought jobs to poverty-stricken rural areas, and pressed to extend Medicaid to to the working poor and welfare recipients.

Most evaluations of the Arkansas election have concluded that issues played little or no role in determining the outcome. The revelations of widespread national political corruption, it is claimed, has encouraged the voters to reject old, established politicians like Fulbright and Faubus, for new faces.

I believe such explanations are insufficient and superficial. The results in Arkansas were not merely the reflections of differing personal images, but had a great deal to do with the political priorities and past records of the candidates. David Pryor's congressional record was in marked contrast to the attitudes and policies of Orval Faubus, particularly on issues affecting blacks and working people. And where Dale Bumpers could point to specific programs he had advocated and implemented, Fulbright could respond only with the assertion that on a few, quite recent issues, he had supported liberal social programs.

The Arkansas election also demonstrated that a coalition can be forged in the South of black and white working people. That just such an alliance must be built for a New South to emerge had been repeated often before. What happened in Arkansas raises the hope that a long-awaited political transformation may soon become a reality.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
July 25, 1974

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THOSE ANTI-LABOR "REFORMS"

Black people have a vital stake in the direction which the current movement for political reform takes. Political reform is, by definition, a civil rights issue, since any measure which extends and strengthens democracy enables more blacks to vote and helps more blacks win elected office.

Speaking more broadly, campaign spending reform will curb one of the most outrageous inequities of the democratic system--the widespread and seemingly ingrained power of the dollar to determine who will be our political representatives and what their programs will be. During the last presidential campaign, President Nixon practically mortaged the government to the wealthiest and most powerful of the corporate elite. He was not the first politician to benefit from corporate largesse; but no other president ever tied the nation's future to its monied interests as openly, arrogantly, and to the degree that Nixon did.

Political reform, then, is in the interest of the vast majority of decent-thinking Americans. The problem, however, is not every proposal billed as reform can legitimately be labeled as a true agent for democratization.

If the undue influence of wealth and privlege is curtailed; if working [illegible] people can seek office on an equal footing with the affluent; if cumbersome and discriminatory registration procedures are abolished--then the reform impulse can be said to have accomplished a remarkable transformation of the political process at a time when many Americans are questioning the basic traditions of democracy.

But if legislation for political change enhances the power of those social forces who, by dint of wealth and education, have already achieved strong representation--corporations, the rich, the activist middle class-the reform drive will not merely have failed; it will have aggravated the worst features of the political process.

Thus it is with an air of disbelief that one reads of proposals, advanced in the name of reform, which seek to limit the political role of the labor movement. The argument that the blame for political corruption rests equally with business and labor may sound eminently reasonable on the surface. But one need ponder but briefly to recognize the absurdity of this proposition.

Labor unions did not pour millions upon millions of dollars into the presidential campaign in 1972; nor were their financial contributions been excessive in previous years. Union presidents have not been convicted of breaking federal spending laws; unions did not seek special concessions from the president in return for financial support. Those who were guilty of the most flagrant violations were the largest corporations, a fact borne out by innumerable investigations.

There is another, broader reason to oppose the campaign against the unions. Labor is not, as many contend, just another "vested interest." Trade unions are the organizational vehicle of millions of working people; they represent people, not profits. And by imbuing the worker with a sense of dignity, and giving workers the strength that comes from organization, unions have encouraged many of their members to seek elected office. Many of the best-known black officials, for example, received their initial political inspiration by participating in the life of their union.

The most vocal proponents of anti-union political reform are, not surprisingly, those who have always opposed the aspirations of working people and were most intransigently hostile to civil rights legislation.

To their ranks, unfortunately, have been added the voices of a few liberals --individuals who can usually be counted on to support the cause of social progress. They view themselves, not merely as reformers, but as the only people with sufficient vision and detachment to represent the interests of ordinary people. Thus Common Cause, the best-known reform organization, has pressed many state legislatures to adopt curbs on union political, legislative, and education programs.

If faith in the political process is to be renewed, two fundamental changes are necessary. The first, and most obvious, is that the influence of money must be curbed. There is only one way to accomplish this, and that is for the federal government to finance the costs of political campaigns.

Second, and equally as important, is to change the political structure so as to enable more working people to win office. Removing the influence of private political investment through federal assumption of campaign costs will help achieve this goal; this is not, however, sufficient in itself.

Working people need something around which to organize; a proving ground where they can acquire the skills and encouragement necessary for political participation. At one time the political machines provided this. With their demise, the only force capable of filling this role is the labor movement. This is an important lesson for those who profess a commitment to reforming the political system.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
May 16, 1974

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

QUOTAS AND THE "NEW ETHNICITY"

The black community may soon face the formidable challenge of finding an alternative to the quota system. Although the Supreme Court, in the Defunis judgement, avoided the issue for the present, there are indications, particularly the minority opinion of justice William Douglas, that the high court may eventually declare unconstitutional the practice of establishing separate standards for blacks and other minorities.

Whatever finding the court reaches, it is important that blacks begin to consider the implications of quotas as a strategy for overcoming discrimination and achieving economic justice. I have already stated my objections to quotas: in brief, I feel quotas are an exaggerated form of tokenism which represent a poor substitute for a full employment policy and have a devastating psychological effect on the very people they are designed to help.

Another important issue is the division between blacks and their traditional allies which the quota controversy is creating.

In the Defunis case, for example, most of organized labor, many Jewish organizations, and a number of white ethnic groups opposed the policy of giving minorities preferential treatment in college admissions, while civil rights organizations supported the practice.

Further evidence of the divisive potential of quotas was provided at a recent New York Conference on affirmative action and preferential treatment. The participants included blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italian-Americans, and labor unionists. These were individuals who would find themselves in substantial agreement on a broad range of social and economic issues. Many had marched side by side with Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph in the most crucial and dangerous campaigns of the civil rights movement.

But it was obvious that on the question of racial quotas, these historically unified forces were poles distant.

We heard, during the course of the conference: --A spokesman for an Italian-American organization severely criticize affirmative action programs, declaring that Italian-Americans were systematically discriminated against and excluded from positions of influence in government and education.

--A woman insisted that only Puerto Rican (as opposed to Cuban or Dominican) teachers could relate to Puerto Rican children, just as, she asserted, only Italian teachers of Milanese dialect could relate to Milanese- Italian children.

--A young law shcool graduate of working-class background criticized compensatory education programs for largely excluding white working class students.

As the above examples indicate, many of the complaints bordered on the absurd. The problems of white working people, as serious as they are, do not approach the grim consequences of racial prejudice.

But their frustrations are real enough. They must deal with subtle, condescending prejudice. Many live just beyond the shadow of poverty and share with black people aspirations of upward mobility for themselves and their children.

And they are reacting to social injustice by turning inward, rejecting the possibility of broad social change while trying to grab a share of society's spoils for themselves, with little thought to the overriding consequences. They are doing this, moreover, in the name of Jewish, Italian, or Irish or Polish solidarity.

There are those who hail the resurgence of ethnic awareness as a positive development. And certainly it is important that individuals have a sense of pride in the traditions and accomplishments of their ancestors.

But much of what passes as the "New Ethnicity" is nothing more than a new tribalism, a worldwide phenomenon in which all social intercourse is judged by the degree it benefits a particular race, religion, or nationality.

Quotas are an inherent part of this phenomenon. They imply that all problems can be solved by erecting a wall around one's own group, so that all outsiders are excluded. Eventually, that wall will become smaller, as subgroups are formed based on their accent or social class, or whether they live in the city or country. Until finally the wall become so small it excludes everyone, except the individual and his family.

This is the real danger of the quota principle. And the impulse of ethnic isolation will persist until all those--blacks, white working people, and ethnic minorities--who share common social problems join together to develop effective alternatives to tribalistic formulas. Dr. John Morsell, Assistant Executive Director of the NAACP, has already proposed that black groups initiate a dialogue with other organizations in order to develop a common solution. Dr. Morsell's proposal represents not only an intelligent formula to defuse the explosive quota issue; it is the only way by which all who suffer from discrimination can develop a broad strategy to overcome discrimination's shackles.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
August 22, 1974

Rustin column

A TRIBUTE TO JOHN MORSELL

Dr. John Morsell was a quiet, unassuming man. He drew few headlines in a lifetime devoted to the cause of racial equality. But his accomplishments were far more substantial and enduring than the accomplishments of many better-known individuals.

For nearly two decades, since he joined the NAACP in 1956, Dr. Morsell served a pivotal role in the civil rights movement. His death deprives that movement of one of its most intelligent and effective leaders. His many friends, who found in Dr. Morsell an uncommon warmth and compassion, and who depended on his calm and reasoned judgement, will miss him sorely.

Dr. Morsell's physical presence radiated wisdom and perceptiveness. His features were similar to those of W.E.B. DuBois. And like DuBois, John Morsell utilized the methods of the scholar to further the struggle of black people for their basic rights. His research into racial discrimination in the armed forces, for example, led to much-needed reforms in the military's racial policies.

He recognized that a social movement, no matter how compelling its case, cannot survive without organizational strength. As a member of the NAACP, Dr. Morsell committed himself to expanding and solidifying an organization which, more than any other, is responsible for the progress secured by black Americans.

Under the leadership of Roy Wilkins, John Morsell, Clarence Mitchell and a few others, the NAACP advanced the civil rights struggle on a number of different fronts. Its lawyers filed suit after suit against the segregation of educational facilities and public accommodations and against job bias. Its local chapters, particularly those in the South, launched a series of voter registration campaigns in an effort to gain political empowerment.

The NAACP also increased its political involvement, pressing the Congress for laws which would guarantee equality under the law and, once the basic civil rights agenda had been achieved, for measures which would help correct the virulent effects of economic discrimination.

One of the testaments to the strength of the NAACP, and to the wisdom of its leadership, was its having emerged a healthy organization from the years of the late 1960s. The NAACP flourished, while others fell by the wayside, because it was committed to a society where black and white work together for the betterment of both races. It rejected separatism, and although it was severely criticized for its commitment to integration, the NAACP came to see its vision exonerated.

John Morsell understood fully the necessity of integration and racial cooperation. Thus one of his last endeavors was an effort to resolve the controversy over affirmative action and quotas, a disagreement which threatened to divide blacks and other ethnic groups.

To have participated in the civil rights movement was a difficult and trying experience. Many, reacting to the at times agonizingly slow response of society to obvious acts of barbarity, left embittered and disillusioned. Others could only maintain their enthusiasm during periods of intense drama or confrontation--the era of "Freedom High."

John Morsell's dedication was steady. Like any black man, he knew discrimination first-hand and felt the anger which injustice breeds. But he was clearsighted enough to realize that injustice could be conquered, if attacked persistently and intelligently. He believed that an individual who is committed to a cause has the obligation to develop their own peculiar abilities in order to serve that cause more effectively. And certainly his own career was a fulfillment of that philosophy.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
September 5, 1974

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

ECONOMIC POLICY AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

We now have Watergate behind us--and it is a good thing for black Americans. No longer can the nation's political leaders--Democrats as well as Republicans--continue to dodge the harsh realities of economic crisis. Real answers and sound leadership must be forthcoming if the nation is to avoid the total collapse that many are predicting.

President Ford has inherited a devastating economic legacy. Recession, compounded by skyrocketing inflation, has eaten away at the earnings of all working Americans. The suffering has been particularly acute for Negroes. Indeed, since 1969, the year former President Nixon assumed office, almost every measurement of economic status has shown a decline for the black community.

Unemployment for blacks has increased by over 400,000 workers; in some ghettoes, joblessness among black teenagers has reached 50 per cent. The real wages of black families has been eroded by rampant inflation. The number of blacks living in poverty has increased for the first time in over a decade. And the earnings gap between the average white worker and average black worker has widened, reversing a ten-year pattern of advancement.

The economic decline of the black community is not a matter of mere happenstance. It is the result of a failure of policy--specifically, the policies engineered by a conservative Republican administration.

In Gerald Ford we now have another conservative Republican. President Ford has gone out of his way to project himself as leader of all people. He even met with the Congressional Black Caucus, a nice enough gesture, but one which was unaccompanied by any specific promises to deal with the black community's problems.

It is only right, of course, that President Ford be accorded the support of all Americans as he makes the difficult transition to the presidency. But the spirit of cooperation must be placed in perspective. For we cannot stand silently by if the President fails to offer a solution to the crisis which grips all working people.

One must note here that the President's initial statements are far from encouraging. He has indicated that he may well follow the path which brought us depression under Hoover, recession under Eisenhower, and chaos under Nixon.

His pledge to reduce social spending is outrageous given the desperate situation of the cities. And like Nixon, the new President appears committed to policies which would increase unemployment above even the already intolerable levels.

To defeat such a program, or at least to ease the effect of some of its harsher consequences, calls for a unified opposition which can offer a program of its own. One would ordinarily look to the Democrats to provide such opposition. The Democrats, however, have their own problems, and have been unable to put forth any convincing alternative to Republican conservatism.

In this regard the resignation of Richard Nixon has served an important function. Democratic candidates can no longer depend on the issues of Watergate--campaign spending, election reform, morality--to ease them into office. Only one month after the resignation the Watergate scandals seem like events out of the remote past. Inflation and the state of the economy are the issues which are uppermost in the minds of the voters. And those candidates who fail to address themselves to these problems will suffer the consequences, and justifiably so.

A final word should be said about the economic policy summit conferences called by the new president. It is to be profoundly hoped that these meetings result in an economic program which could be supported by the vast majority of American people. But it is not likely to occur. The interests of business are more often than not in direct opposition to the needs of working people. And this is particularly true in times of scarcity, such as we are experiencing today.

The conclusion that can be drawn from what I have been saying is simply this: black people and their allies are confronted today with much the same situation as they have faced for the/past five years--an administration whose basic philosophy is antagonistic to the aspirations of working people. And while the style and apparent honesty of President Ford may be more appealing than the hardness which characterized the Nixon presidency, the fundamental policies may well have the same results.

Our job is therefore to offer support where support is merited, and to continue the struggle when our needs are ignored. All indications suggest that, at lease in the area of domestic policy, the struggle will continue.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 19, 1974

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE FRUSTRATIONS OF GEORGE WALLACE

It was but a few months ago that the prospect of an increasingly powerful, newly-legitimized, and nationally accepted George Wallace was chillingly foreseen by many black Americans. The evidence was substantial: Wallace had easily won Alabama's gubernatorial primary, receiving, along the way, the endorsement of several of the state's black elected officials. He was paid court by nationally prominent Democrats. And Wallace himself spoke confidently of building a national organization which, he predicted, would significantly change the direction of American politics in general, and the Democratic Party in particular.

It would be foolish to dismiss the possibility of a Wallace resurgence. He has been written off before, only to return, with renewed vigor, preaching his peculiar message of conservatism and race division.

But the gloomy reaction which greeted his renomination victory may not necessarily be justified. For there have been significant developments in southern politics which strongly suggest that the appeal of Wallaceism, if not that of Wallace the man, may already be waning.

The most apparent and convincing reflection of the limitations of Wallace's appeal is the behavior of southern voters. Given the choice between segregationists and conservatives on one hand and liberal to moderate candidates who preach racial fairness on the other, the voters have repeatedly rejected the forces of reaction. This has brought about a transformation of southern politics in which old-line Dixiecrats and Wallaceites have been supplanted by measurably more liberal political figures.

The most recent victim of this progressive trend is Lester Maddox, who suffered a crushing defeat in his bid for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in Georgia.

His opponent, State Representative George Busbee, pieced together a majority coalition in which blacks and the labor movement--the state's two most liberal forces--played a prominent role.

Busbee's ability to draw the support of black and white working people is the result of a proven record of accomplishment. During his legislative career, Busbee was a consistent advocate of measures of benefit to working people: unemployment compensation, legal services for the poor, state aid to education and the like.

It is also significant that, unlike other southern moderates before him, Busbee was not afraid to openly express his desire for black support. He did not try to buy the black vote, he did not ask blacks to soft-pedal their support, and he did not apologize for the endorsements of blacks when Maddox launched a futile race-baiting effort. Quite the contrary. In a symbolically important gesture, Busbee initiated his campaign with a rally at which a black vice president of the state AFL-CIO was a featured speaker. The rally, morover, was held in Albany, the center of a rural area which gave 60 per cent of its votes to George Wallace in 1968.

The Busbee example is not an isolated case. Political candidates who have identified themselves with Wallace, or with his segregationist ideals, have been defeated with surprising regularity in Georgia, in Florida, in South Carolina--throughout the Deep South. At the same time, Wallace's ambitions to build a national political instrument have been almost totally frustrated. Most notably his efforts to elect sympathetic candidates to the Democratic Party's Charter Conference have been unsuccessful everywhere outside his home state.

There are many reasons for the inability of George Wallace to extend his base of power outside Alabama and, coincidentally, for the failure of the Nixon-engineered Southern Strategy. Primary among these reasons, however, has been the growing power of the black vote. Again and again, black voters have exhibited a startling degree of sophistication and a fierce determination to use the ballot to make the South a better place to live. In the Georgia election, for example, over 90 per cent of the black voters supported Busbee.

What I have written here is essentially positive, because the most significant developments in this region have been cause for optimism. But I do not believe that a new day has dawned yet.

Most of the South still remains basically conservative, and resistant to basic economic change. In 1976, George Wallace could very well be the dominant personality in the political configuration of the South. But if today's events point to where the future lies, it does not lie with George Wallace.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
October 3, 1974

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE AGONY OF NORTHERN INTEGRATION

That Boston, once the center of the abolitionist movement, should have erupted in frustration and rage over school integration comes as little surprise to anyone familiar with the history of American race relations. By now it should be obvious that racial prejudice and, more important, the social and economic conditions which pit white working people against the black poor, are national phenomena.

There are those, in fact, who predict that the violent eruptions in Boston are only a prelude to an extended period of racial conflict throughout the North. Such a conflict would have widespread and perhaps long-lasting social and political consequences. The implications for those committed to the construction of an alliance between black and white working people would be tragic.

Extended and embittering conflict can, however, be avoided if responsible officials begin to assert themselves. One of the lessons in the agony of northern integration is that a lack of courageous leadership in the present will most certainly lead to future disaster. The real tragedy of Boston and every other northern city now facing the painful job of school integration is that so much of the pain could have been forestalled.

It is often forgotten that the movement for school integration is not a recent development in the non-South. As far back as twenty years ago black people were demanding the reform of those practices which produced racially divided school districts.

The demands were modest: there were proposals for the redrawing of school district lines, the location of new schools in areas that could draw both black and white students, and the busing of students from ghetto schools into better school districts.

In city after city the response was either to ignore the pleas for integrated schools, or to actively resist them. Had northern political leadership possessed the necessary foresight and courage integration could have proceeded peacefully and probably without widespread busing.

A second lesson we should learn from the crisis in Boston is that integration cannot be achieved peacefully if it comes at the sole expense of white working people. In far too many instances, court orders which require widespread busing demand the sacrifice of urban working people while asking nothing of the middle-class or affluent people of the suburbs. One need not condone the hostility and outright prejudice expressed by the Irish in South Boston, but one can easily sympathize with their frustrations. In times of scarcity such as we are living in today it is the white working class who find themselves perpetually in competition with black people--over jobs, over housing, over social services, and over schools. That their collective rage is spawned by the basest impulses is certainly true. But they are also driven by fear; the fear that in an increasingly critical social and economic climate, their needs will once again be sacrificed.

The final lesson, and the most important, is that the aspirations of black people for full participation in American life will most certainly generate the antagonism of whites as long as the President and his administration are actively hostile to those aspirations.

Under former President Nixon, the issue of racial integration was transformed from a matter of government policy into one of political strategy. Mr. Nixon's well-publicized opposition to busing was clearly not a matter of personal conviction, but a superficial gesture to the South. Nixon and his strategists, in fact, were not displeased by court mandated busing, since it provided an issue to be cultivated and exploited.

Far more dangerous to the plans of Mr. Nixon was the possibility that the nation might actually accept integration. But this was highly unlikely, given the fact that the President set a moral example which encouraged the downgrading of integration as a social ideal and motivated the American people to question the relevance of quality, integrated education.

In Gerald Ford, we have a man said to hold a higher standard of morality and compassion than his predecessor. No doubt this is true. But his civil rights record is weak at best. And Ford has often expressed unequivocal opposition to busing; moreover, he has encouraged Republican candidates to milk the busing issue for all it is worth.

I have often pointed out that the problems which most basically affect black people are no longer strictly racial issues, but class issues which cut across racial lines. This does not mean that the basic issues of dignity and equality have been achieved. They have not been achieved, nor will they be achieved until the nation's leadership has the will and vision to once again place racial equality at the forefront of our national agenda.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
October 17, 1974

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

BLACKS, LABOR, AND THE DEMOCRATS

It has become fashionable in recent years to speak knowingly of an impending realignment of the Democratic Party. Since the time of Franklin Roosevelt, the Democrats have secured the allegiance of working people--black and white.

Now, we were told, all that is changing.

Conservatives, such as columnist Kevin Phillips, predicted that white working people would soon shift their loyalties to the Republican Party, in large measure as a reaction to racially-tinged issues. Liberals, such as Fred Dutton, an adviser to Senator McGovern during his presidential campaign, envisioned the emergence of new and basically middle-class forces to replace working people as the Democratic Party's base (Dutton specifically pinned his hopes on the youth vote).

Both Phillips and Dutton have had ample opportunity to experiment with efforts to create a new coalition, and it is obvious that both have failed.

The Democratic Party's base is its biracial, working class constituency. Students, the activist middle class, academics--all may participate in party affairs and influence to one degree or another its direction; they do not, however, comprise the bulk of its voters.

Beyond providing the Democratic Party with the power of numbers, blacks and organized labor have injected a sense of vigor and commitment into the political system. Middle class activists often assert that their superior dedication and moral vision compensate for the lack of a mass base. But there can be little doubt that it has been labor--in combination with the black community--which has most energetically and effectively defended the interests of ordinary people.

Blacks and labor, moreover, have often done this together--as partners in a strong, biracial alliance containing vast potential for transforming the political process. Labor has been instrumental in helping to elect black candidates, such as Congressman Andrew Young, Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, and Congressman William Clay.

There have been instances when the labor movement did not support a black candidate; these occasions, however, have been rare. In the overwhelming majority of cases, labor has supported black candidates, contributed money and manpower when a black candidate was involved in a close election, and conducted education programs among white members who might have misgivings about supporting a black candidate.

The relationship between blacks and the labor movement has been one of close cooperation most of the time, and occasional differences which are resolved with no feelings of enduring bitterness. Yet one would never know this, if one limited his reading to the most popular liberal magazines and newspapers. The message of these journals is that blacks and the labor movement are deeply split over the direction of the Democratic Party and, particularly, that labor is trying to limit black representation on party governing committees.

In these accounts, the AFL-CIO is usually described as a "conservative" force within the party. This is absurd on its face. Labor cannot be conservative and yet give unqualified support to Andrew Young, Barbara Jordan, and Tom Bradley, lead the fight for impeachment, and have the only coherent program to protect the interests of minorities and working people against the possibility of economic depression.

There is no question that there are differences between some blacks who serve on the Democratic National Committee, and the labor movement over the guidelines for party governance. A number of blacks, led by California Assemblyman Willie Brown, walked out of a recent meeting because of a disagreement over delegate selection rules and have threatened to boycott the party's Charter Conference, scheduled for December in Kansas City.

There are three observations which need to be made.

First, however serious the differences may appear now, the liklihood is that some agreement can be reached that will be acceptable to all sides.

Second, leading a walk-out of a committee meeting may be a dramatic way of expressing one's discontent, but it does nothing to further the role of black people within the party. Black people have achieved important power within the Democratic Party; they are certainly not being excluded from its affairs. But they will not be able to exert that power, except in an essentially negative or counterproductive way, if they threaten to bolt the party simply because a decision does not go their way.

Third, there are those within the Democratic Party who would prefer to see a cleavage between blacks and the labor movement. They themselves are antagonistic to labor's role in the party, and are not above exploiting racial differences to help assure their own dominance.

Recent history should have made clear that the future of the liberal coalition does not lie with the middle-class oriented forces who formed the nucleus of the McGovern campaign. The future lies with the working class majority of both races, and their representatives in the labor movement. This is why it is essential, more than ever, to resist those efforts to divide these two forces for social change.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
October 31, 1974

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PRESIDENT FORD

The accomplishments of President Ford's first few months in office have hardly been spectacular. He has proved that he is not the unbending conservative many feared he might be. Yet he has thus far failed to exert the strong leadership necessary to pull the country from its economic crisis. And on civil rights issues, the President--by criticizing court-ordered busing in Boston--has demonstrated appallingly bad judgement, made the worse because it occurred at election time.

In at least one respect, however, is the Ford presidency a marked improvement over Mr. Nixon's sterile tenure. President Ford appears committed to an open administration, where all social groups are listened to, and where dissenting views are respected.

Under Mr. Nixon this was not at all the case. His administration was a barren time for black people, as their needs were ignored, opinions rejected, and their leaders repudiated.

Given the record of his predecessor, the recent White House meeting between President Ford and eight representatives of the black community is an encouraging sign. I attended this meeting, and while I cannot in honesty report the development of any significant breakthroughs, I did get the impression that the President is at least sincere in his stated desire to treat black people with fairness.

It was my personal impression that President Ford is a straightforward and honest individual. He will not promise what he cannot deliver; on the other hand, he does not take personal offense at criticism.

The meeting lasted for an hour-and-a-half, and touched on almost every issue of vital concern to black Americans. One issue, of course, was school desegregation: those present were unanimous in their condemnation of Ford's response to the Boston crisis.

Here at least we did get a pledge that the administration would act more responsibly in the future. Mr. Ford gave the impression that he regretted his statement on the Boston situation, and announced that he had assigned five attorneys to observe the desegregation process in Boston on behalf of the White House. He also promised that in the future the administration would take action to ensure that the rights of black children involved in the desegregation process would be vigorously protected.

On the more fundamental question of economic and social policy, however, the President made no commitment whatsoever. He solicited our views, and promised to study the list of proposals drawn up at the recent Black Economic Summit Meeting. But he made no specific promises.

The Summit Meeting recommendations are broad and wide-ranging: thorough-going reform of the tax structure, an excess profits tax, a public service job program employing at least one million persons, increased availability of child care services for the working poor, a comprehensive program to encourage housing construction in the cities, the replacement of food stamps with cash grants.

And they are programs which Gerald Ford has consistently opposed during his years in Congress. Yet one hopes that the responsibilities of presidential leadership will expand Ford's social vision and enable him to shed the conservatism which was the trademark of his congressional career.

Ford promised that this first meeting would be the beginning of a dialogue between the administration and the black community. I do not want to minimize the importance of this essentially symbolic gesture; symbols can be important. And the depth of alienation black people experienced during the Nixon years is unhealthy --for blacks, for whites, and for the presidency itself.

But a dialogue is meaningless window-dressing unless it produces results. In the months ahead President Ford will be confronted with basic issues which will determine the direction government takes towards black people. They will determine whether the progress we have achieved will be safeguarded; whether the nation is committed to even the most minimal action to stem urban decay; whether the poverty of millions is to be regarded as a permanent state.

Richard Nixon liked to tell black leaders to "Watch what I do, not what I say." Under Nixon, both the public utterances and the policy decisions were equally anti-black. Gerald Ford at least seems to be saying something positive. We must now watch what he does.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
November 14, 1974 Rustin Column

STRONG ECONOMY, NOT QUOTAS, KEY TO ENDING DISCRIMINATION

(Today's column is excerpted from testimony by Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Norman Hill, associate director, before the House Education subcommittee.)

The basic issue raised by the quota controversy has less to do with the behavior of the federal bureaucracy, the role of the court system, or even with the persistence of racial discrimination, than it has to do with a much more basic consideration. That is the issue of how government is to proceed about the task of fully and peacefully integrating all segments of society and, most particularly, how government is to close the sizeable gap between the economic status of blacks and whites.

One of the most striking--although almost always overlooked--aspects of the affirmative action debate is the fact that it has arisen during the tenure of a Republican administration which demonstrated little enthusiasm for many of the traditional strategies of racial change. We do not see this as a contradiction, however. We believe, in fact, that the troubles which the affirmative action program has encountered are due in large part to a lack of interest and absence of policy of the Administration.

We must remember that black people enjoyed steady economic progress in the eight years prior to 1969. There were three basic reasons for this progress. One, obviously, was the passage of laws which laid the legal framework for the abolition of outright discrimination.

A second reason was the decision by the government to intervene on behalf of black people in a broad range of social institutions. Pressure was applied to employers, universities and other institutions to abolish racially discriminatory hiring and admissions practices and to make special efforts to include those groups that had been previously excluded. This early effort at affirmative action, moreover, was combined with a series of manpower training programs established to help those handicapped by inferior educational opportunity to qualify for better-skilled higher-paying jobs.

An important point is that this program was not the paramount reason for the economic gains achieved by the black community. The affirmative action effort was essential in breaking society's resistance to racial change. But there was a far more basic reason for the broad economic advancement which black Americans experienced in the middle and late 1960s. We are referring to the policies of economic growth and high employment promoted by the Johnson Administration. These policies upgraded the living standards of black and white alike. Jobs were available for the unemployed, and better jobs began to open up for those with special skills and abilities.

We believe that there is a direct relationship between the economic failures of the past five years and the problems which the affirmative action program has encountered. It seems painfully obvious that an affirmative action program cannot achieve its objectives peacefully and democratically if it must function within the context of scarcity. And we are particularly dismayed by the notion that opportunities can be expanded for some groups at a time when the job market is shrinking for all. You simply cannot elevate significant numbers of blacks or women into better-paying, higher-skilled and more satisfying jobs if those jobs don't exist.

We would like to conclude by offering some conclusions about the basic strategies of racial advancement.

* Affirmative action efforts should be largely directed to instances of racial discrimination. In place of ratio or quota formulas, those institutions that have been found guilty

of practicing discrimination should be given stiff fines; in other instances of recalcitrance, such as have been exhibited by southern police departments, government should consider asking the courts to institute racially-blind lotteries to determine hiring procedures. We also favor the cancellation of government contracts in cases where racial or sexual bias has been proven.

* Federal manpower and education programs should be expanded. In the manpower area, we would like to point to the success of the Recruitment & Training Program, which has helped place over 12,000 minority youths with apprenticeship programs in the building trades, as a possible model for other programs.

* Government should continue to question the standards and qualifications for hiring. But it should keep in mind that standards are most important to those who are the likely victims of discrimination. The reforming of standards should not mean their weakening or abandonment.

* Finally, there should be a realization that affirmative action, by itself, can do little to help blacks unless it operates in a positive economic framework. An affirmative action program cannot find jobs for the unemployed or help the underemployed into better jobs if those jobs do not exist. The most important issue is an economy of growth and expansion. Above all, it must be an economy providing a job for all.

* * *

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
November 26, 1974

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE GRAND ILLUSION OF SEPARATISM

Black Americans perceive the debate over whether we are in a depression as an irrelevant exercise in avoiding hard realities. Depression is a harsh and relentless fact of life in the ghetto, and its cold tentacles have begun to ensnare working people and the middle class, having disposed of the most impoverished.

For many, the abrupt and unprecedented turn of events has encouraged a sense of hopelessness, a feeling that things are going to get much, much worse before they get better--if indeed they do get better. I do not subscribe to the alarm and defeatism so often encountered today; I am convinced that America has the resources and creativity necessary to overcome current problems.

The prophets of defeat and gloom, however, will no doubt be proven accurate if the level of national leadership does not rise above its present mediocrity and timidity. And while the black community certainly did not create the problems we are mired in, it has a natural and fundamental leadership role to play in helping to determine how the nation is to face the enormous consequences of economic deterioration, and to help formulate an aggressive, thoroughgoing agenda of change.

This agenda, it should be stressed, would require a considerable break from the thinking of the past. It would be more far- reaching than the Great Society which, for all the good it it accomplished, was a far too limited response to pervasive class and racial injustices. More to the point, it would not be a recognizably black program, but would instead embrace all those who need social change or the protection of government against the consequences of a mismanaged economy.

This last point is crucial for both moral and strategic reasons. It is a vital moral point simply because depression is color-blind: its full force, if it comes, will be felt by white and black worker alike. And from the point of view of strategy, it is absolutely essential that we understand that those programs and tactics devised solely for black people (with the obvious exception of civil rights laws) have without exception failed to accomplish anything but the raising of false illusions.

How meaningful, in retrospect, was the proposition to build a black-financed and black-managed ghetto economy structure? Those who pinned their hopes on the strategy of black capitalism not only deceived themselves, but diverted the energies and ideas of the civil rights movement to a stone wall of confusion and failure.

What of the notion, implicit in much of the black studies movement, that education should primarily serve to advance cultural solidarity, rather than helping students prepare for the real world? Today black studies courses are largely ignored by black students, precisely because they recognize how useless and empty of content they are.

What of the whole separatist movement, with its emphasis on trying to forge uniquely "black" answers to any and every social, political and economic problem? The march of events has clearly revealed its weaknesses, contradictions, its total inability to achieve for black people even the most minimal progress.

What separatism has accomplished is to supply the forces of reaction with a justification for every cut-back, every program dismantlement, for the attacks on school integration; in other words, for every signal of retreat trumpeted during the past six years.

It was not so long ago, in the 1960s, when the basic goals of black people defined a national agenda of change. While this agenda was built around the specific and unique needs of minorities, it was relevant to all those who had been excluded from a share of the good things our society has generated. Today, of course, the destiny of blacks is much more intertwined with the future of American society. Blacks will not move ahead while the rest of society is in widespread decline. Our needs will only be served by a rapid and dramatic transformation of society which results in a new and better social order that meets the needs of all who are in need.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
December 12, 1974

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

The PLO: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists

One of the most distressing reflections of the unhappy state of world politics is the ease with which words can be perverted, stripped of significance, and made to mean their opposite.

Acts of murder and terrorism are transformed into gestures of "liberation." Hijacking and the slaughter of innocent children are carried out in the name of "peace." The word "racism," once so meaningful to the oppressed of the world, has lost all objective value as it is as often applied to democratic, interracial societies as to those which practice the most extreme forms of apartheid.

The distortion of language is, however, but a symbol of a fundamental surrendering of political and humanitarian principles, typified most dramatically by the warm reception accorded Mr. Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Liberation Organization by the United Nations. For Mr. Arafat to have shot his way into the General Assembly with a machine gun, only to be greeted by an overture of applause would have been almost as ridiculous--and deplorable -- as the cheers which greeted his tirade of misrepresentation.

What is, after all, the "legitimate struggle" Mr. Arafat and the PLO is conducting. It is a struggle being waged with the tactics of calculated violence, where military targets are avoided, but women, children, athletes, diplomats, airline passengers--the defenseless and uninvolved--are sought and struck down.

By embracing the PLO, the U.N. has given a solemn amen to organized brutality, encouraging along the way no one knows how many other extremist organizations with a grudge against society.

It should be noted that the PLO's terrorism is practiced on dissidents within the Palestinian community as well as on Israelis and their supporters. Mr. Arafat likes to talk of the PLO goal of establishing a "democratic" state, but here again we must distinguish between a word's actual meaning and Mr. Arafat's definition. The PLO is certainly no model of democracy: no one elected Arafat to represent the Palestinians; its authority is guaranteed by the "freedom fighter's gun" to which Mr. Arafat referred at the U.N.

What, then, of the PLO's charge that Israel is a "racist" nation. This accusation has been repeated so often--Arafat made numerous references to Israeli "racism" and "colonialism" in his U.N. address--that it has achieved a measure of acceptance worldwide, and in the American black community.

The question is what do the Arabs mean by "racism?" The standard definition is the systematic oppression of an ethnic or racial minority, very often justified on the grounds that the minority is inherently less intelligent, less clean, less pure or in some way inferior to the majority.

Applying this measurement, it is apparent that some of the most blatantly "racist" regimes are in Arab lands. In Iraq, Jews were hanged in a public square, while today napalm is employed against the dissident Kurdish minority. Syria rivals Nazi Germany in its brutal treatment of its Jewish citizens, who are confined to a cramped quarter of Damascus, prevented from emigrating, and from time to time murdered with official sanction. And in the Sudan, it was non-Moslem blacks who were the target of a genocidal war in which 500,000 were killed and many thousands more forced to flee their homes.

I would not pretend that the racial situation in Israel, where some 400,000 Arabs live as citizens, is perfect. But given the enormous problems confronting her, this small nation has achieved a level of racial tolerance that is indeed remarkable. The Arabs within Israel enjoy rights and a standard of living unknown to the masses in Moslem nations. They participate politically; elect their own representatives to parliament; receive public education; and belong to Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation. They are, in other words, a part of the progressive institutions of Israeli society.

I believe that the Palestinian people have the right to a homeland, to self-determination, to the resolution of their state of uncertanity. The Jewish people, historically an oppressed people, have the same right. And given the rhetoric and actions of the PLO, there can be little doubt that to accede to the demand of a bi-national state would result in the Jews of Israel being dealt with much like the Jews in Iraq and Syria.

In her brief history, Israel has forged an enviable record of social achievement. At a time when so many appear willing to accept lies as the truth, to reach dishonest conciliation with terrorists, to barter away the most basic ideals of justice and compassion, Israel more than ever deserves the support of people of good will and common decency.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
December 24, 1974

Rustin Column

THOSE "LIBERAL" ENEMIES OF GROWTH

It has become commonplace for certain liberals to dismiss the c concept of economic growth as a regressive, even destructive force in society. The affluence generated by an expanding economy, we are told, has led to the despoilment of the environment, brought deprivation to hundreds of millions in underdeveloped nations, and in general made America and the rest of the world an unpleasant place to live.

One must be charitable when discussing growth's critics. For they are, by and large, individuals who support in the abstract the objectives of social progress and racial equality.

But somehow they have missed the fundamental--and obvious--contradiction in the notion that the condition of those at the bottom can be raised when society itself is standing still. No doubt they have failed to consider the implications of their creed: that while a no-growth economy may protect the fields and streams (which in itself is a dubious claim) it will most certainly result in untold misery for thousands of ordinary people, many of whom are the black poor of America and the poverty-stricken masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Those who doubt that this is so need only examine the most recent unemployment statistics published by the federal government. In a year of economic stagnation--with growth significantly curtailed--unemployment among blacks is at its worst level since before the civil rights era. For the future, it is quite likely that the continuation of economic retrenchment over the next several decades would triple or quadruple the unemployment lines, with the most shattering effect on minorities.

The goals of growth's critics are commendable. But the elimination of air and water pollution and the safeguarding of the wilderness can and is being accomplished through stronger government regulation.

As for the problems of the underdeveloped world, they will not be resolved by the weakening of the American economy. On the contrary, realization of a no-growth economy would exacerbate the suffering of the peoples of India, the sub-Saharan countries, and other areas in desperate need. The fact is that America is not going to play a more humanitarian rôle in the world by diminishing its capacity; it can be much more convincingly argued that America's productive capacity should be increased, while government policy is transformed so that it will assist and encourage the development of the poorest nations.

A few years ago the term "elitist" was often attached to those liberals who had seemingly lost touch with the values and aspirations of working people. Clearly growth's critics are guilty of defining social problems from an elitist point of view. As intellectuals and middle class professionals, they have as yet to feel the consequences of recession, and no doubt believe themselves immune to the brutalization of an inéquitable economic structure.

But the attack on growth is far more than just elitist: it is conservative, even reactionary to its very heart, and should be recognized as such. Within the context of a rigid, stagnant economy, social equality could only be achieved by an across-the-board lowering of living standards; what is much more likely is that class divisions would harden, with the poor and working people locked forever in their unequal states.

It will be asid, of course, that society can be remade by "reording priorities," taking money from defense spending and allocating it to human needs.

We heard this argument before, in 1965 to be precise, when A. Philip RAndolph proposed the Freedom Budget for All Americans--a ten year program of massive social and economic change. At that time a number of liberals refused to endorse the Freedom Budget because, they said, all that was needed to solve racial inequality was the end of the Vietnam War.

The war drew to an end, and no "peace dividend" ever materialized. It never materialized because it never existed, except as a diversion from much more complex and difficult challenges.

Those who argue today that society can advance without economic growth are the same people who preached the doctrine of the peace dividend ten years ago. And they are just as wrong now as they were then. If America is to take up anew the challenge posed by the civil rights movement, it must be prepared to address the basic inequities that are woven into the fabric of our economic system. The goal, however, is not to cripple our economy, but rather to transform it along humanitarian lines. In this task we will be struggling against those with a vested interest in the status quo--the rich and privileged. And, should they persist, we shall also find ourselves struggling against the enemies of economic growth--no matter how liberal or radical they pretend to be.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
January, 1975

Rustin Column

THE DANGERS OF ETHNIC SEPARATISM

I would have no objection to the phenomenon known as the "new ethnicity" if the objective of its proponents was to enlarge a sense of pride in a group's heritage and to foster in society a respect for the uniqueness of that heritage.

To pay homage to the distinctive contributions of minority and immigrant cultures is important for the nation, as well as for the particular group. The enduring struggle of black people, the survival of the Jews, the political triumphs of the Irish, the successful campaigns of foreign-speaking immigrants for recognition of their unions--all bear witness to the pivotal role of minority groups in the forging of American democracy and in the creation of a more humane social order.

We have learned, however, that a healthy expression of cultural identification can easily escalate into extravagant claims of group superiority. Thus we hear, for instance, that there is inherent in "blackness," "Jewishness" or "womanhood," special qualities that endow the group with a distinct right to moral and political leadership. And where groups who suffered discrimination used to demand equal opportunity, they now demand a guarantee of power.

We have also learned that important social goals can be perverted--and promising programs destroyed--when tribal objectives are given precedence. For example, the notion that education should reinforce cultural separatism is currently jeopardizing programs designed to hasten the entry of Spanish-speaking children into a society where English is the dominant language. There is a desperate need to develop creative and educationally sound approaches to the teaching of the non-English speaking.

Ideally, bilingual education should be part of this effort, but the concept of bilingual teaching is all too often being advocated as a means of creating a separatist, alternative culture in which the speaking of English does not play a pivotal role.

While we may agree that it can be important for immigrant children to retain familiarity with the language of their parents, at the same time we must recognize that the object of education is to help students cope with an increasingly complex society. Those who minimize this goal are doing inestimable harm to the very children who need quality education more than any other group. Instead of producing students who are fluent in two languages, the proponents of cultural isolation would produce bilingual illiteracy on a massive scale.

What we are confronting here is, in large part, the belief tha the member of a given tribe can "relate" only to other members of this tribe. Once cultural isolation is accepted as a positive social goal, inevitably steps will quickly be taken to ensure the tribe's seclusion. Thus we are told that only Hispanic teachers can relate to Hispanic children, and, a little further down the line, that only Puerto Rican teachers can relate to Puerto Rican children, and ultimately, that only Puerto Rican teachers with rural backgrounds can teach Puerto Rican children who migrated from the island's countryside.

Having more blacks and Hispanic minorities as teachers, policemen, judges, social workers and the like is an important social goal. But to suggest that because a black child is taught by a black teacher he or she will receive a better education than if taught by a white, or that a Hispanic criminal defendant will be guaranteed a more just trial only if the judge is Puerto Rican is sheer nonsense: it has no basis in fact and furthermore it entails some dangerous implications. No one would deny that some teachers perform poorly or that they are a factor--among many others--for the failures of minority children.

But no single group--blacks included--has a monopoly on teaching skills, idealism, creativity, or the ability to relate to school children, including minority children.

The schools in Washington, D. C. , have a black superintendent and a majority of black teachers, yet their problems are every bit as serious as the problems afflicting other urban schools with substantial numbers of black students. The failures of the Washington system are not the result of the racial composition of its teachers and administrators; they are, primarily, a function of the widespread poverty and the dislocation and despair that were generated in the society at large.

The importance of having greater minority representation in education, law enforcement and other social services has nothing to do with cultural solidarity, "nationhood" or community control. The issue here is simply that these are satisfying, respected and generally well-paying jobs which have in the past been closed to minorities. Beyond their value to minority group members as individuals, the integration of civil service and professional jobs is vital for all of society because it is only through integration that a genuine, dynamic pluralistic order--one in which there are no special turfs or privileged positions--can be forged.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
January 23, 1975

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

FORD'S PROGRAM A DISASTER FOR BLACKS

President Ford has told the nation the "bad news" about the economy. But the President has greatly understated the situation. We are experiencing a crisis, pure and simple., and it will take much more than candor or gimmicks to lead us to recovery.

In Atlanta, unemployed men and women began lining up at 3 a.m. for a paltry 225 public service jobs. By morning, a crowd of over 3,000 desperate, hungry persons had assembled, and a riot was narrowly averted as they crowded and surged forward. In Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Detroit, the situation is much the same--thousands are out of work, with young blacks suffering the most severe consequences.

The recession is for blacks the most severe since World War 11: 12.8 per cent of the black work force is unemployed, and the figures are much, much higher for young workers.

President Ford has responded to this crisis with a program that is inadequate and which, in many respects, will further worsen the plight of the poor, the jobless, and working people. The intent of the program may be commendable, but the results are most surely to be disastrous.

It is a program more noteworthy for what it does not propose than for what it does. There is no proposal for enlarging the totally inadequate number of public service jobs; indeed, the President, by threatening to veto new spending measures, seems to rule out an enlarged public jobs program. There are no proposals to deal with those social services--housing, health care, public transportation, welfare--which have been most seriously affected by the combination of inflation and recession.

Here in fact the President states flatly that he will fight Congress if it attempts to implement new spending programs.

Thus in those areas which pertain most personally and fundamentally to black people, to all those who have borne the brunt of economic deterioration, the Administration has closed the door on the most effective and necessary remedies.

The two basic elements of the President's program are the tax cut, in the form of a rebate, and his proposals for increased taxes on imported oil. Both measures will have an effect on black people; in the case of the tax cut the effect will be too little, while as for the energy program, the effect will be significant and negative.

I believe the President was sincere in proposing a tax cut as a means of stimulating the economy and helping those who have been most severly harmed by inflation. But in actuality, the Ford program is practically meaningless for poor people and for those working people who have had the hardest time making ends meet.

Consider this: a worker with a family of four earning $6,000 a year--a category which includes many unskilled black workers--would receive less than $30.00 under the President's plan. This is considerably less than he would need to simply feed his family for a week. And for a worker earning $5,000 a year, the rebate comes to $11.74, an amount so meager to be hardly worth the government's trouble to mail the check.

It appears, in fact, that the President's program will ultimately take more money out of the pockets of thepoor than it puts back into them. The exorbitant increases in the excise tax on imported oil will cost everyone who uses an automobile or mass transit--which is just about everyone. But the increased oil prices will do much more. Their impact will be felt all through the economy: in the prices of fuel to heat homes and buildings, in food costs which will rise with the price of fertilizer, in every product in which oil is part of the production process.

There has been a tendency to give President Ford the benefit of the doubt, to give credit for his positive gestures and ignore his shortcomings. In recent weeks, for example, Mr. Ford has been praised for appointing a capable black man to his Cabinet and announcing his support for extension of the Voting Rights Act.

These are not irrelevant gestures, particularly considering the dismal record of the previous resident of the White House. But they are superficial: a black Secretary of Transportation will have little impact in an administration committed to fiscal austerity, while the Voting Rights Act would almost surely have passed with or without the President's endorsement.

The real test is Mr. Ford's performance on economic policy. Can he provide more jobs; will prices come down; will America begin to move once again. On these basic issues, the President seems to be fashioning a policy that, at best, will perpetuate an abysmal status quo, and at worst lead us further down the road to crisis and collapse.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
February 6, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

FORD'S GRAND ILLUSION AND LABOR'S RESPONSE

by Bayard Rustin

Recent events have demonstrated how thoroughly confused our national leadership is. In the midst of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, President Ford has asked for additional sacrifices from those who have sacrificed enough already--workers, the poor, the unemployed.

We are told that unemployment, which stands at nearly 13 per cent in the black community, will climb even higher before the year's end. And according to the President's grand strategy, we are not to expect a significant decrease in joblessness for three years. Indeed, we are assured that the President will vigorously oppose those measures--such as massive public employment programs--which represent the only way of getting the country back to work.

But that is not all. There is to be no new spending for social services, and, in some areas, social programs are to be cut. Thus federal spending for welfare is to be cut at the very time that economic collapse is forcing more and more persons to the relief roles. As more people are unemployed, and thus without the protection of medical insurance, we are told that National Health Insurance must wait. With the housing industry deeply in depression, with construction workers out of work and the cities rotting away, we are told that housing programs must also be postponed.

Truly, the Ford program is not a grand strategy, but a grand illusion.

It is clear that black people can expect nothing more from the Ford Administration than the most superficial gesture: the President has shown himself most open and accessible to all viewpoints. But when push comes to shove, when hard decisions of economic policy must be made, the Ford prescription has proven no easier to swallow than that of Richard Nixon.

What the Administration is saying is that nothing can be done --hardship will be a fact of American life for the rest of the decade. This is the assumption that underlies all the policy decisions Mr. Ford has made, and it is an assumption which must be resisted by all people of good will.

But what is the alternative? Does anyone have a program to deal with depression, raging unemployment, and the collapse of our cities?

The answer is, quite simply, that of all the forces in society only the labor movement is addressing the problems of inequality and injustice in a comprehensive and systematic way. Only labor has a program to put people to work, ensure a measure of justice for the unemployed worker and the family on welfare, regenerate the housing industry, and overhaul the health care system.

The details of labor's program were pieced together by the AFL-CIO's General Board, which consists of each of the presidents of the federation's affiliated unions. The significance of the program for black people is that the issues addressed by organized labor are precisely those issues which are of most vital concern to blacks and other minorities.

First and foremost is the issue of unemployment. The AFL-CIO calls for "immediate, massive federal efforts to create jobs for the unemployed." Among the specific demands are a public jobs program which would provide one million additional public service jobs in 1976, a doubling of the youth summer job program, and heavy federal investment in public works projects as a means of stimulating jobs.

The AFL-CIO also proposes tax cuts which go well beyond the level proposed by President Ford, and which would provide the most benefit to poor and middle income workers. The revitalization of the federal housing effort, a federal program to ensure that health care is provided to workers who have lost their jobs and the medical insurance that goes with them, and the extension and improvement of unemployment compensation programs are demanded.

In addition, there is strong opposition to the proposed increase in the price of food stamps.

Labor has proposed a program designed, in the AFL-CIO's words, "to put Americans back to work," a program, in other words, to deal with the most dangerous situation America has faced in the post-war period.

It is nc coincidence that the program spelled out by organized labor parallels the agenda of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization responsible for pressing the needs of minority Americans in Congress. For if the goals and needs of the black community have historically mirrored those of labor, this is more true today than ever before.

The choice of allies is not something that is made for abstract reasons: it is determined by common goals and common needs and the commitment of an ally to join with you in struggle to achieve them. At a time when so much of society is confused, when loss of will and purpose are prevalent, it is encouraging to know that at least one force has the clear vision and the strength of conviction to fight for its needs, and the needs of black Americans

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
February 20, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

Not too many years have elapsed since America experienced the phenomenon known popularly as Black Power. The specifics of Black Power's philosophy and program were never particularly clear: in fact, it can be safely said that the vehemence and shrillness of Black Power's most prominent advocates was equaled only by the emptiness of their ideas.

There was, however, one important theme that emerged from the rantings of the so-called militants: American society and culture, they seemed to be saying, was beyond redemption, sick, not worth the efforts at reform or change. Black people, particularly young blacks, should devote their energies to the development of an alternate, separatist culture, one defined by race consciousness and should avoid at all costs any contact with or participation in the larger white world.

During the height of the Black Power debate, A. Philip Randolph--who was lumped, along with Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King, as chief among the sell-outs and Uncle Toms of the traditional civil rights leadership--responded quite eloquently to the issues raised by the young militants. His words bear repeating since they suggest something quite important about the current situation.

"The forces of advanced technology are not limited by national boundaries and they are sweeping the world. Somehow we must find a way to become a part of this phenomenon that is sweeping the world and changing the world. The youngsters of today must direct their attention not only to the matter of racial identity and racial realization through black studies, but they must make certain that they are not left behind in the scientific and technological revolution, because if they are, they will be in a helpless state. There will be absolutely no way in the world whereby they can become an effective force. If the young Negro cannot become a part of this advancing technology his whole revolution will have been in vain."

One need not hate American society to recognize that it is in deep, deep trouble. Its basic institutions are crumbling: millions are out of work, the schools face economic crisis, housing is not being built for anyone, much less the poor, the fabric of urban life is being torn apart by violent crime and the fear it generates. And no one, much less the present national leadership, seems to have the will to even begin to resolve these problems.

In the past, there was a certain amount of truth to the proposition that the troubles of American society only marginally affected blacks. During the Great Depression of the 1930s black people lived on the margins of soceity, poverty-stricken and with little hope of rising above the ghetto or rural squalor.

But this is no longer the case. The majority of black people do not exist as a massive underclass, living at society's edges. They are part of America; they have a stake in the strength of American society and in the democratization of its institutions. When the failures of national leadership create a massive army of unemployed black workers, it does not signify merely the further impoverishment of an already impoverished people; it is a major catastrophe for those who have most recently won the opportunity to enjoy the fruits modern civilization can bestow.

What A. Philip Randolph was saying is that black people are of society, not apart from it. We face a stern choice: to mobilize our unique skills and energies to the reshaping and humanizing of that society, or to ignore this challenge. In which case society, with its advancing technology, its increasingly complex international complex order, and constantly shifting political systems, smother us as it proceeds inexorably on its way.

The challenge is for black people to speak out, loudly and firmly, in the great debates which will shape our destiny. These issues may not, probably will not, be identifiably "black" issues: the formulation of a long term energy policy, the role of America in encouraging internal freedom for oppressed peoples around the world, the role of government in ensuring a permanent policy of full employment, to name just a few. But they are the issues which will ultimately determine the fate of black people, here and abroad.

In the 1960s black people were the vanguard of a massive movement to shake America out of its passivity and move it towards the ideal of an equal society. Today American society is in a far deeper crisis, and black people have much more to lose. The issue is no longer whether to reject American society--that is an option only the affluent and their children can choose. It falls to blacks to take up the challenge posed by America's failures and shortcomings, to participate in the crucial debates, and to help remake all of society. To deliberately refuse this challenge signifies, not a revulsion at the diseased state of society, but an outrageous and irresponsible attitude towards the mass of black Americans.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release Immediately
March 6, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

SOME MIXED-UP PRIORITIES

It has become commonplace for young politicians to dismiss "Great Society liberalism" as a hopelessly outdated and impractical philosophy. Conservatives, of course, always hated the Great Society because they hated the activist, compassionate government policies it stood for.

We now find that there is a growing number of young liberals who are as contemptuous of the Great Society as are the most strongly ideological conservative. They see themselves as pragmatic liberals, and, in describing themselves as pragmatists, seem to be distinguishing themselves from what we are to believe is the unworkable formulas of the Johnson Administration.

If we examine the specific programs favored by these liberals, it becomes clear that their own philosophy is riddled with contradictions. They generally favor as activist a government as did the Johnson Administration:many believe in a system of national health care, expanded government housing programs, more aid to education and the like. Thus very often their differences with Great Society liberalism are differences of style, and not of substance.

Another difference between traditional liberals, and many of the newer liberals is the movements which produced them and the constituencies they represent. Many of the newly elected members of Congress represent suburban communities, areas that were traditionally strongholds of the Republican Party but which, in reaction to the scandals of the Nixon Administration and the economic failures of Gerald Ford, switched to the Democratic Party last November.

The Democrats elected by this more affluent constituency differ from traditional Democrats in that their priorities are in large measure defined by their wealthier constituents. For them, political change means first and foremost the reform of political structures, the protection of the environment, consumer issues and the like.

The people who elected them do not in principle like the idea of large government, and so they, at least in their rhetoric, proclaim the value of bringing government closer to the people and warn of the dangers of too much government intervention.

The significance of this is that the new liberals, although they would vigorously deny it, will not always support positions which are in the best interest of the black community. Many of the newer liberals, for example, are enthusiastic about the revenue sharing concept, which was the principal domestic "innovation" of the Nixon Administration. Although proposed as a means of returning government to "the people," revenue sharing is in reality simply a means of transferring the responsibility for the spending of government funds from the federal government, which has historically been the most responsive arm of government to the needs of minorities, to the cities and states, whose attitude towards racial progress has been far less progressive.

Another case of new liberal support for measures which are opposite the interests of blacks is the recent vote of Colorado Senator Gary Hart in opposition to modification of Senate Rule 22 to weaken the use of filibusters in the Senate. Those familiar with the history of the civil rights movement can recall numerous instances of the use of the filibuster by Southerners and conservatives to block civil rights laws. Rule 22 was a formidable (and outrageously undemocratic) hurdle to black progress.

Since his arrival in Washington, Senator Hart has established himself as a spokesman for the new liberalism in the Democratic Party. During his campaign, he was fond of observing that neither conservative nor liberal doctrine is relevant to issues such as "inflation, energy, the environment, campaign reform or congressional reform."

This may or may not be true, though one doubts that the energy crisis or environmental problems can be resolved through traditional conservative means. The point, however, is that issues like congrssional reform and the environment are defined by Senator Hart and those who share his ideology are seen as the crucial issues of our time. What, one may ask, about unemployment, the disastrous condition of the cities, the nationwide housing shortage, and the awful toll which the lack of decent schooling is exacting from young blacks. Somehow Senator Hart has gotten his priorities mixed up.

I have yet to see a rationalization for Hart's opposing reform of the filibuster rule. No doubt he has his reasons. The fact remains that he has aligned himself with forces which have again and again opposed the extension of the basic rights of minorities and working people, and has supported one of the worst legacies of the days of Dixiecrat domination in Congress.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 20, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

It was not so long ago that Eldridge Cleaver was hailed as an articulate prophet of black revolution. His principal work, "Soul on Ice," was widely praised, and there is no question that Cleaver's prose was compelling, even moving as it conveyed the bitterness and rage of the black dispossessed. When we remember that Cleaver was an uneducated man who had spent much of his life behind prison bars, his accomplishments as a writer become even more impressive.

But Cleaver's imposing style camouflaged the shallowness of his political thought. It was clear that behind the articulations of anger and frustration was a conception of society which had little relation to the concrete situation of the majority of black people. He shared a sense of rage with many black people, but he did not understand their aspirations. Indeed, he could not have, since his was a voice of hopelessness: the fulfillment of his political vision required the collapse of race relations. Thus when Cleaver asked blacks to support him for the presidency in 1968 as a protest against what he proclaimed to be a corrupted and racist political system, blacks ignored him to support Hubert Humphrey. Many suspect that Cleaver received more support from guilty whites than from blacks.

This leads to an interesting point. And that is that it was white liberals, and not blacks, who were most outspoken in their praise of Cleaver. Cleaver found himself in the ironical position of on the one hand railing against the injustices of white society, and on the other hand finding his most receptive, even worshipful audience among affluent white socialites, influential white academics and journalists, and the children of the white middle and upper classes.

Cleaver the revolutionary would never have existed had it not been for the masochistic orgy of white guilt which absorbed many well-known liberals. The most shallow pop journalists and the most irresponsible social critics created his image, accepting unquestioningly, Cleaver's most bizarre ideas--such as the proposition that the act of raping a white woman represented a positive gesture of insurrection. (a notion which Cleaver himself rejected as dehumanizing).

Six years ago Cleaver fled the United States, fearful of being returned to prison for parole violation. Little was heard from him until, in a recent Newsweek interview, he expressed a number of political judgements which do not simply revise his previous doctrines, but altogether contradict the very ideas which secured his fame and notoriety.

Instead of his once unbridled contempt for American society, Cleaver now asserts that the impulse of the American people is "anti-colonialist." The man who once declared that a "dead pig is the best pig of all" now favors "closely controlled police forces to guarantee public safety," according to Newsweek. The stridency of his anti-Israeli rhetoric has been moderated: Cleaver now says that the Middle East conflict is "more complicated than we thought it was." While he is still convinced that the police acted illegally in its suppression of the Black Panthers, he personally rejects the use of political violence.

A principal reason for the transformation of Cleaver's thought seems to be his experience in Communist and Third World countries. He had traveled in the Soviet Union, China, and several East European countries, and it is apparent that he has lost all illusions about Communism's potential as a revolutionizing agent. Even more striking are his views of the Third World.

A "cultural chasm" separated him from the people of Algeria, where he lived for several years, and he appears to have given up on the possibilities of Pan-Africanism.

To those of us who rejected the proposition that black liberation could be won through the barrel of a gun, who failed to see a foaming racist behind every policeman's shield, and who believed that underneath the appearances of dislocation racial progress was in fact being made, Cleaver's transformation is hardly surprising. For it was predestined that Cleaver, like all others whose philosophies were rooted in extremism and hatred, would either alter his views to conform with socio-political realities, embrace an opposite or equally as extremist doctrine, or, refusing to change, suffer that worst of fates--to be ignored. It is to Cleaver's credit that he is open-minded and honest enough to have learned from his experiences in exile.

One cannot be as generous to those whites responsible for molding the mystique of the black revolutionary. They really neve believed in the potentiality of the type of revolution Cleaver preached; he represented, for them, a distorted image of black America through which they could enjoy a perverse, second-hand participation in social rebellion. With nothing to gain from the restructuring of society, they encouraged Cleaver because they knew he was doomed to fail. Their principal contribution to the racial struggle was to elevate and legitimize political irresponsibility. And they left a tragic legacy from which we have still not recovered.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 3, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The Economic Vision of Organized Labor

One of the misconceptions about the labor movement most often spread by the liberal press is that labor's economic goals are somehow different from and at times opposed to the economic needs of the black community. Nothing could be further from the truth. Since most blacks are working people, and are in fact more likely to have unionized jobs than are white workers, it then follows that the realization of labor's legislative program will have an immediate and tangible impact on a significant portion of the black community.

The response of labor's critics is that whatever benefits labor wins for its members are exacted at the expense of the poorest of society: the underemployed, those with inadequate education backgrounds, and young workers. Such reasoning has led individuals who support in the abstract the objective of racial equality to oppose minimum wage legislation, to question the union shop, and to deride the achievement of substantial union contracts as having little consequence, and perhaps a negative implication, in the broad scheme of the economy.

One need only examine the history of social legislation during the past few years to understand the absurdity of this logic. At a time when much of liberalism has been consumed with causes that are at best marginally related to economic progress--foreign policy, the environment, political reform, and various expressions of psychological liberation--the labor movement has stood practically alone as an institution whose primary aim is the economic advancement of both working people and the poor. In the early years of the Nixon Administration, when others dismissed labor's program as irrelevant New Deal stuff, it was the trade unions who warned that the domestic policies being carried out by the administration would lead to disastrous consequences somewhere down the line. In this regard George Meany was far more visionary than those who, in their haste to celebrate the "greening" of America, assured us that the economic question was passe'.

In its pursuit of economic justice, labor has elevated one goal--full employment--above all others. In retrospect, it seems clear that had the Johnson Administration thrown the full weight of the Great Society behind this one objective, thereby institutionalizing the concept of a job for everyone as a basic civil right, it would have forestalled many of the serious problems we have since encountered. Instead, we have the perpetuation and perhaps exacerbation of the most serious socio-economic problem to confront America in recent years: the existence of a vast slum underclass who have been removed from the economic structure through the process of cybernation. These are individuals, desperate to the point of violence, who were but marginally affected by the civil rights revolution, if they were touched at all. To their numbers are added annually thousands of black youths rejected by an economy in which the black jobless rate has consistently surpassed 10 per cent of the workforce.

The reason that we have failed to achieve full employment is that it has not really been tried. Instead of attacking the problem of racial inequality at its root--that is, instead of guaranteeing full employment--government has launched a series of oblique and diversionary strategies none of which has made a particularly significant impact on black joblessness. Like so much else in his administration, Richard Nixon's black capitalism program became a mechanism for dispensing political patronage--in the public's mind it was discredited because of its scandals. The point that needs to be made, however, is that a program designed to stimulate small scale, ghetto entrepeneurship was ordained to fail, given the realities of an economic system in which even well established small businesses find it difficult to stay afloat.

Equally as utopian and impractical is the community action strategy so beloved of liberals and radicals in the 1960s. No doubt the community action agencies did perform some beneficial services in slum neighborhoods; at the same time, the confrontationist tactics adopted by many anti-poverty activists was a not insignificant factor in the deepening of rivalries between the have-nots and the have-littles of society and encouraged the proliferation of a narrow, turf based tribalist mentality. As for the problem of jobs, this was an issue that was never seriously addressed by the community action agencies due largely to the fact that the philosophy behind the community action approach stressed psychology -- or consciousness raising as it were--instead of the more tedious field of economics.

Although black capitalism and the community organizing strategy spring from widely divergent ideological roots, their impact has been strikingly similar insofar as they have diverted society from the real problems of the black community. We are now paying for their failures in a staggering unemployment rate: indeed, should substantial remedies not soon be forthcoming, we may see an entire generation of black youth mature without being integrated into the economy.

There were those, principally the labor movement and civil rights groups, who warned of this possibility six years age, only to be ignored by a society which has come to believe the myth of its own affluence. One can only hope that, faced with unprecedented crisis, America will begin to listen to its true visionaries.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
April 17, 1975

Rustin Column

SHARE THE WEALTH, NOT THE MISERY

During the 1960s it was widely believed that the racial crisis could be resolved by exorcising the racist attitudes of individual whites and transforming the racist practices of economic and social institutions. There were those, a minority, who argued that the elimination of prejudice and discrimination, although pivotal to the creation of an equal society, were not enough. Some of the most fundamental problems, we said, were rooted in an economic system which elevated profits above human needs. A just social order would not be realized until these problems were addressed; indeed, we would fail to achieve even our short-term agenda without a direct challenge to the pervasive discrimination based on social class.

But this view did not prevail. Government has mounted a substantial assault on racial discrimination; a similarly vigorous effort to achieve economic change has not been forthcoming. Black people, of course, have been the principal losers because of it.

If the deterioration of the economy has taught us anything, it is that the enforcement of anti-bias laws cannot by itself bring about massive soical change. The shortcomings of this strategy are made clear by the failure to achieve the total integration of the construction industry. For many, the answer to why we have failed is simple: construction unions are immovably opposed to the participation of blacks; they have done everything within their power to exclude minorities; the only way to deal with them is by imposing some form of quota system to guarantee the fullfillment of minority rights.

To believe thus is only to compound the mistaken assumptions of the 1960s. An honest evaluation of the construction unions' record reveals a pattern of steady progress, not rigid opposition to minority needs. Minorities comprise over 15 per cent of the apprentices in the highly skilled, better-paid crafts and over nine per cent of all building tradesmen.

The problem then is not one primarily of prejudice, but of economics. Unemployment in the construction industry exceeds 18 per cent, a level of joblessness higher even than the jobless level of the black community. In some heavily black communities--Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, New York--construction unemployment runs to 30 to 40 per cent.

In brief, the construction industry in the midst of a depression and there is no mystery as to why. Potential home purchasers have been discouraged by the exorbitantly high interest rates set by the Federal Reserve Board; at the same time, the federal government has imposed massive cutbacks on federal housing and public works programs that are vital to the rebirth of the cities.

These are the policies of traditional economic conservatism, inaugurated under Richard Nixon and perpetuated by Gerald Ford. They are not, however, the sole reason for the problems confronting the construction industry. The liberal supporters of racial progress also bear an indirect responsibility for the current situation

The problem with some liberals is that, while supporting racial justice in the abstract, they resist the measures necessary to achieve it. It is obvious that integration can proceed quickly and peacefully only if there is an expanding number of jobs for minority applicants. Also, the creation of jobs is not the only value of a vigorous building program. There is a vast rebuilding job to be done in the cities. We need to build projects to help protect the environment. In an era of growing energy scarcity, there is a desperate need for the construction of mass transit facilities.

Instead of a unified demand for a massive public works program, however, liberals seem confused. Some appear more intent on punish-ing the building trades than creating more job opportunities. Others, having embraced the zero growth ethic, doubt whether building anything is socially useful. Thus when President Nixon in justifying his cutback of federal housing programs insisted they didn't work, many liberals concurred.

Building trades union, in contrast, have persistently demanded that government expand its role in the building of homes, subways, highways, and other necessary facilities. You can say that such demands are self-serving, but that is not the point. The point is that unions regularly criticized as "racist" were more likely to demand policies which would hasten the integration of the construction industry than their liberal critics.

When the civil rights movement asked that black people share equally in the American economy, they did not mean sharing increasingly small parts of the pie. The goal is not to share the misery, but to expand the opportunities for individual fulfillment for all people. To be fully integrated in an economy beset by massive unemployment is of no consolation to those who are unemployed and desperate. Unless we begin to recognize this basic fact, the word "equality" will continue to strike a bitter note in the souls of the oppressed.

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
May 1, 1975

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

HOW BLACK AFRICA VIEWS THE ARABS

A story in The New York Times concluded that the relationships between black Americans and the Jewish community, which have been strained over the past few years, have solidified in recent months. There are many reasons for the improved ties between blacks and Jews, but certainly one important factor is the realization that the oil pricing policies of the Arab nations have done severe damage to the economies of developing black African nations.

A recent article in the The Sunday Nation, a Kenyan newspaper, details some of the problems between black Africa and the Arabs. I have excerpted sections of this article because I felt it would be informative for black Americans to hear the opinion of an African on the issue of Arab-African "solidarity."

"The honeymoon between Africans and Arabs seems almost over. The jubilant chants of solidarity which accompanied the dramatic breaks in diplomatic ties between African nations and Israel during the October Middle East War have now been replaced by cries of frustration and bitterness from African nations whose economies face collapse as a result of the astronomical increases in the price of oil products.

"Four years ago, the Arab members of the OAU had tried to rally support from African nations for the Arab cause with little success. In October, 1973, African nations were falling over themselves declaring solidarity with the Arabs against Israel, but the haste with which they were breaking relations with Israel did not hide the fact that they were doing so as much out of consideration of future oil price concessions from the Arab oil-producing nations as out of their commitment to the Palestinian cause.

"What the Arab oil-producing nations have failed to see is that equally high prices for all nations are in fact preferential, for while their effects on the economies of developed nations may be painful, they are tolerable,

whereas the economies of a number of developing nations may collapse as a result of the increased prices of oil and oil products.

"While the standards of living of Western nations may fall somewhat as a result of increased fuel prices, the very survival of developing nations may be at stake if nothing is done to shield these nations from the repercussions of the energy crisis.

"And what has to be done must be more than the miserable gestures which the Arab nations are making through their development funds. The money which the Arab nations have invested in the African Development Bank, for instance, is no more than what the oil-producing nations will get back from East Africa, alone, during the next year-and-a-half, from increased crude oil prices, and is far less than the total revenue which oil-producing countries will get from Kenya alone during this coming year. In other words, the money we are being loaned is infinitesimal as compared with the sums we are being asked to spend on increased oil prices.

"In fact, the Arabs are doing what the bad old imperialists have been doing all along, giving aid so as to finance the purchase of products from the donor nations. The only difference is that there was a much closer relationship between the aid given by Western nations and the volume of trade between them and developing countries .

"It is difficult, in these circumstances, to square the concepts of friendship which the Arabs and the Africans have to each other. Certainly it is a strange friend, indeed, who persists in a policy which spells the collapse of the economy of a friendly State, especially when the intended victim pleads for his survival as eloquently as the African nations have done.

"Perhaps it is at times like this that Africans ought to review the depth of their friendship with the Arab nations. In the last twelve months, for instance, the Sahelian region of the continent has been suffering from one of the worst droughts in man's history. Millions of livestock have died; hundreds of people have lost their lives. It is true that there is much that African nations could have done for themselves before and during the droughts, but there is also much which the rest of the world could have done to assist the drought-striken areas.

"There has been much criticism of Western nations for not having responded promptly and with substantial aid, but what of the Arab oil-producing nations -- our friends? Our Third World comrades? Our allies? Their assistance to the Sahelian States has been conspicuous by its paltriness.

"Couldn't the Arab oil-producing nations, who profess to be the friends of Africans, have spared a few million out of their billions, which they earn weekly from oil revenue, to extend a helping hand to the starving and the dying in the drought-striken areas?

"So what are African nations to do about this whole state of affairs? Obviously they cannot force the Arab nations to sell their oil at a concessionary price to them. They cannot force the Arab nations to sink more meaningful sums into development projects in Africa.

"But neither should African nations adopt a stance which gives the impression that we are going down on our knees over the oil issues. The times ahead may be difficult, but we have stated our case to our Arab friends the best way we know how; it would not help for us to forfeit our pride in the bargain.

"For one thing, we can restore some of the psychological balance in this situation if those African nations who had no direct quarrel with Israel were to reopen diplomatic relations with Israel.

"A great many African nations broke diplomatic relations because they thought that by doing so they would be placed on the most favoured list when the Arab oil-producing nations offered oil price concessions. These concessions have not been forthcoming, and there is no reason for these African nations to continue their break in relations with Israel."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
May 15, 1975

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

The Refugees

America is facing a moral crisis, and nothing reveals this more vividly than the debate over the Vietnam refugees. We have witnessed in recent weeks an orgy of mean-spiritedness, self-recrimination, and intelectual duplicity in which, most deplorably, many liberals have played a leading role. A nation which attained moral stature as a haven for the oppressed now seems willing to turn away from its most cherished traditions. Truly we are experiencing a low point in American history.

I can understand why many ordinary Americans regard the refugees with hostility. The economy is in dreadful shape; competition along racial, sexual, and age lines is accelerating; the arrival of another group is seen as exacerbating an already desperate situation.

The fear generated by high unemployment also accounts for the antagonistic response of a good number of blacks. For six years the government has encouraged policies and attitudes of racial neglect. Other causes and priorities have displaced the goal of racial progress on the national agenda. Black people believe that they are justified in asking whether the refugees represent another have-not group whose arrival signifies that Negroes will be shunted further aside.

But while the apprehensions about the economic impact of the refugees may be real, they are in truth unwarranted. Although the total number of refugees come to about 120,000, the number seeking work is relatively small, about 30,000 or 40,000. Most, in fact, are children, including many orphans.

That the American people do not understand these facts is largely due to the failure of political leadership exhibited by many liberals. It is a frightening and discouraging spectacle when those who have traditionally stood by the persecuted of the world now take the narrow road, carping at and criticizing the request for political asylum.

Ironically those who, in opposing the Vietnam War, criticized the American government for holding degrading and stereotyped views of the Vietnamese people, now suggest that the majority of refugees are either criminals or political terrorist. One can hardly imagine a more degrading or unjustified stereotyping.

As for those, such as Senator McGovern, who propose, either through naivete or dishonesty, that most refugees would actually prefer to return to their homeland, have they considered asking the refugees themselves?

The critics of our refugee policy are unable to accept a hard, simple fact: that refugees, like millions of others who have suffered religious or political persecution, prefer the uncertainties of American life to the certain oppressiveness of the political regime they fled. That ordinary people had much to fear from the Communist forces is borne out by the experiences of the Cambodian people: a whole population uprooted from its homes, families separated from each other, forced into what amounts to slave labor, the sick and aged left to die.

There is an analogy between the situation of the Vietnam refugees and the experience of black Americans. During the 1940s 1950s, southern blacks migrated in massive numbers to the cities of the north. They understood that the life awaiting them was no utopia and that they might be greeted with hostility by workers with whom they would compete for jobs. But they also recognized that the non-South offered opportunities for personal and political expression as well as economic opportunities.

In a sense, they were seeking an alternative political, economic and social system to the rigid, caste-bound pattern of southern segregation. They were convinced that the change, despite its traumas, was worth the risk .

The response of the southern defenders of Jim Crow was that theirs was just another system, different from the rest of the nation's, but compatible with the needs of its people. This was, of course, absurd. Segregation was not simply just another system. It was a cruelly oppressive engrained way of life that affected the lives of every black person born into it. And I am convinced that, upon reflection, few Americans would deny that the Vietnam refugees are fleeing a system whose oppression is real and tangible, and not simply imagined.

Blacks have been at most but marginally involved in the controversy over whether America is moving to isolationism in the wake of Vietnam. But if America indeed does embrace the mean, isolationist outlook, it will be its black citizens who will be the worse for it. For a society which rejects the dispossessed of the world, we shall discover, is a society that ultimately repudiates its own dispossessed. This is the lesson to be learned from the debate over the refugees. And it is a lesson we need learn well.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
May 29, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The Choice of Allies

By Norman Hill

(The leading black activists from America's trade unions met recently in Baltimore, Maryland, at the national conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute to formulate a response to the economic crisis. This week's column is an excerpt from the conference's keynote address by Norman Hill, the Institute's executive director.)

We have long preached the gospel of coalition politics. There was a time, of course, when the notion of coalition was not fashionable in certain circles--when separatism was the keynote that the media responded to. But despite all the seeming dislocation and controversy, black people were in fact engaging in politics, making coalitions, winning elections, and helping their white allies win elections.

Today we face a new and deepened crisis and must answer a new question. For the issue is no longer whether we are to make political coalitions; that issue has already been decided. The issue today is who we make coalition with--what social forces can we depend on to help remake this society so that it begins to serve human needs, and not profits?

Let me start by indicating who we are not likely to be making alliences with.

We are not likely to make coalition with the Ford Administration. The president is decent and apparently honest. Every so often he invites the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights or the Congressional Black Caucus to meet with him for an hour or so. He listens attentively, promises to consider everything that's been said, and then does nothing. Nothing, of course, is what we've gotten from this administration, at least nothing in terms of concrete action to get Americans back to work.

653

And we can expect nothing from President Ford as long as he remains committed to his current economic course.

We certainly can't depend on the beautiful people. Just a few days ago a newspaper carried an interview with Paul Newman, that well-known liberal. Newman was asked about having made a movie a few years back with a blatantly anti-union theme. His response, believe it or not, was "sure I'm anti-union; I'm anti-corporation too; I'm anti-big." In Washington this would be known as an even-handed policy. Which is fine. But I think those who hold such beliefs ought to end the charade of calling themselves liberals or radicals or whatever. They are not the allies of the black community or of the great mass of American working people who have borne the most severe burden of economic collapse.

What about congress? Here the news is good and bad. Congress has certainly prevented the Ford Administration from implementing some of its more anti-worker, anti-black, and anti-poor policies. It has made a gesture at economic recovery, but only a gesture. We are going to discover soon enough that it will require far more than a tax cut to get people back to work; it may require far reaching measures which challenge some of the basic ways in which our economy has functioned. And the question is whether Congress, even the liberal Congress we now have, is prepared to support these kind of radical measures. One indication came several weeks ago, when congress faced the issue of whether to limit this year's budget deficit. This was a clear issue of priorities: fighting inflation as against fighting unemployment. And when push came to shove, many on the Democratic, liberal side abandoned labor to support a position that was quite compatible with the philosophy of the Ford Administration.

This leaves two forces--organized labor and the black community itself.

These are two vital forces on which any movement for social change must be built.

It is the black community and the working class represented by organized labor who have been victimized by two successive Republican Administrations. Thus black people and white working people have the strongest, most deeply felt stake in turning this economy around. And without a strong, enduring alliance between these two groups, we are simply not going to make the changes we desperately need.

Another point is that the program of organized labor and the black community is essentially the same.

A few months ago many of the leading figures in the black community held an emergency meeting on the economy. It was called the black economic summit conference.

This conference produced a list of demands touching almost every aspect of the economy. Jobs, housing, health care--everything. It was comprehensive and far reaching.

A few months later another document dealing with the economy was put together. It was the AFL-CIO action program, another comprehensive and far reaching answer to economic scarcity.

The significant point is that the program adopted by the AFL-CIO was the same in almost every point to the program drafted by the nation's black leadership. Blacks and labor deliberated on the problems separately, but wound up with the same conclusion.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: ~~Immediately~~ June 12, 1975

Rustin Column
For further information, contact:

THE NAACP AT 66

It is ironic that, just as America's bicentennial celebration draws near, this nation finds itself engulfed by a sea of indecision and self-doubt. Never before have Americans been less sure of their goals. Confronted with a rapidly escalating economic crisis--with over nine million unemployed--our political and intellectual leadership appears immobilized by a lack of purpose and loss of will.

The stagnation of leadership has not, fortunately, infected all of society. In a few weeks the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will open its 66th national convention in Washington, D.C. For most of this century the NAACP has been a leading force for moral, social and political change. Other organizations, of course, have contributed to social and racial progress. But far too many are notable today more for their mistakes and weaknesses than for the very real results they achieved. Indeed, with the single exception of the labor movement, no other organization can be said to have achieved the level of enduring and far-reaching change as has the NAACP.

I point this out because I believe there is something in the traditions and philosophy of the NAACP from which all society can learn, particularly when that society suffers from a thoroughgoing crisis of purpose.

The most fundamental point is that the NAACP was founded by individuals who had a particular vision of the kind of society they wanted to create. They were inspired by the conviction that a racially equal society could be forged through the use of every available democratic process: the courts, the political system, and the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and assembly.

These principles, moreover, were the benchmark for NAACP activism over successive generations. The militancy of its leadership did not diminish when they were denounced as anti-American by racists and demagogues. Nor was the courage of its local activists affected by threats and murders.

By the same token, the NAACP's commitment to integration and non-violence enabled it to survive what was perhaps its most difficult period--the turbulent sixties. This was a time when Roy Wilkins was dubbed "Uncle Tom Number One" by archmilitants and separatists and when the NAACP, because of its refusal to abandon its integrationist ideals, was dismissed as irrelevant to the changing tide of black struggle.

Today, one seldom hears of the advocates of what was erroneously characterized as a movement for "black power." Few are actively engaged in the serious business of working for racial change: most dropped out of the civil rights movement altogether or drifted into any number or marginal causes, ranging from Republican business conservatism to forms of nationalism entirely inappropriate to the American situation.

Roy Wilkins has remained as probably the most important black leader because, unlike his critics, he believed that prejudice was not an inevitable part of American life and that American society could indeed be transformed. The causes that he and the NAACP refused to embrace--separatism, black studies programs that excluded whites, violent action--are today no longer seriously debated.

What we have experienced, in fact, is a return to the ideals on which the NAACP was founded. And that is that basic institutions must be reformed so as to serve human needs, and not profits, and that black people must be full participants in all aspects of society if they are to achieve the benefits of and exert maximum influence on that society.

Its adherence to these principles has given the NAACP a renewed significance, while their abandonment led to the demise of others. The NAACP can count over 440,000 members in 1,700 active chapters, a substantial increase over even a decade ago. The NAACP has also adjusted its strategy: where once it sought change primarily through the courts, today it is increasing its legislative activities in recognition of the fact that economic change must be achieved politically.

There is an important lesson to be learned from the history of the NAACP, and it is our political leadership which would profit most from the experience. Social change is advanced by those who have a personal stake and philosophical commitment to its achievement. Those who in frustration would as soon bring society down, and those who resist the democratization of society are doomed to failure. The NAACP's accomplishments are an enduring part of our history: its critics and those who ignored its call for a more decent human order will soon be forgotten.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
June 26, 1975

Rustin Column

LIBERALS AND WORKERS

Liberalism has developed in recent years a new cultural attitude toward working people, particularly white working people, that marks a distinct break with past liberal beliefs.

During the 1930s, 1940s, and even 1950s working people were looked on with respect as hard working, decent individuals whose values were as worthy as those of the rest of society. Contrast this with the current liberal attitude towards teachers, policemen, and construction workers. As individuals these working people are no longer accorded respect in liberal opinion; as for the unions representing these people, liberals often lump them together with corporations as comprising vast and powerful "vested interests" that operate against the public interest. The goals and the influence of a teachers' union are thus equated with those of the oil lobby.

To maintain any semblance of public dignity, then, working people find that they must identify, not with their job or class background, but rather with their racial, ethnic, or sexual heritage. It appears that liberals have to a significant extend accepted the myth of America as the affluent society in which the role of the working class has been minimized or abolished altogether.

Thus workers are no longer valued in terms of their economic roles, but are accepted only in the light of their biological or racial ancestry. To be a Jew or a Negro or an Irish-American is to bear the dignity conferred by a unique historical tradition set apart from the mainstream; to be a worker, on the other hand, is to bear the scorn of society more than its respect.

It is this refusal to view social phenomena in terms of their economic roots that led in the late 1960s to much of the confusion over the direction of the civil rights agenda. And to the extent that many of the Negro's traditional allies in the liberal community believed individual white racism - not the economic system - to be at the heart of racial inequality, to that degree they postponed the implementation of massive social and economic reforms which would, in fact, have helped transform the ghetto.

For individual prejudice is not the root cause of black poverty, but rather the discriminatory functioning of a free-enterprise system which makes it unprofitable to build low-cost housing, encourages the exodus of jobs from the inner cities to the suburbs, discourages full employment, and fails to take into consideration the trauma and disruption of cybernetics and automation. To blame white racism for the Negro's plight is not simply to forestall the possibility of fundamental economic transformation, it is also to imply that white working people--particularly those whose economic situation is little different from that of blacks--are in large measure responsible for racial inequality. This, of course, makes cooperation and political alliance between white and black workers that much more difficult.

It has taken an unemployment rate in excess of nine percent, the highest of the post-war era, to demonstrate that lifestyle and liberation are not the central issues of our time, except insofar as everyone's lifestyle and freedom is threatened by the persisting failures of the economic system.

Thus it is essential that liberals rethink their basic attitudes--towards the state, towards their programmatic priorities, and most importantly, towards the working class. Liberals have played a central role in the struggles for social progress in America, but they have done so only in partnership with other progressive forces, particularly with the civil rights movement and the mass constituency of labor. Failure to understand this fundamental point will not only perpetuate the crisis of liberalism, it will certainly mean the continuation and worsening of the infinitely deeper crisis that America, and much of the rest of the world, is undergoing.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 10, 1975

Rustin Column

BUSING FLARES ANEW

With the publication of his report on the consequences of busing to achieve racial integration, social scientist James Coleman has become the focal point of a major and potentially bitter controversy. The reactions to Coleman's findings are already assuming an all-too-familiar pattern. Some integrationists, concentrating on the report's assertion that massive busing has reinforced Negro isolation in the inner cities, are questioning Coleman's racial attitudes and intellectual integrity. The opponents of busing, on the other hand, are confidently preparing a renewed anti-integration offensive, their case bolstered by scholarly documentation authored by a respected friend of racial advancement.

One does not have to agree with all of Coleman's conclusions to recognize that the responses his research have evoked--both pro and con--are generated by fears and expectations, rather than by honest evaluation. James Coleman is no more a racist today than he was in 1966, when he published the landmark study Equality of Educational Opportunity, which provided the rationale for subsequent federal school-desegregation initiatives. Nor should his findings be interpreted as an assault on the concept of racial integration: Coleman states clearly that society as a whole is less segregated today than ever before and reaffirms his conviction that integration of all social institutions is a profoundly healthy development.

If I read him correctly, Coleman appears to be making two fundamental criticisms of the way America has gone about the integration process. First, he believes that the federal government erred in emphasizing school desegregation over the integration of other social institutions. And second, he expresses serious reservations as to whether the court system should be issuing sweeping edicts that result in the wholesale restructuring of urban school systems.

As one who has consistently supported school integration, and who believes that busing may be one of many techniques that can be effectively utilized to promote desegregation, I nevertheless find myself in agreement with the premise that the integration of economic and social institutions is as important as school desegregation. Under ideal conditions, with a friendly administration in the White House, one might expect pressure for integegration to be applied on all fronts: in neighborhood housing patterns and the economy as well as in the school house.

As for Coleman's doubts about the courts, there are few civil rights leaders who would not express concern about the uncoordinated, erratic pattern of school desegregation that has too often been the consequence of judicial decisions. No student, black or white, benefits from court-ordered integration formulas which trigger disruption and polarization throughout a school system.

Beyond the problems created by specific court decisions is another, broader issue. For years the courts have been the most responsive branch of government to the demands for racial justice. As a result, the strategy of the civil rights movement has centered on the courts as much as on the political process. But what would happen if the courts underwent an ideological transformation, shedding the activism of the past two decades for a stricter interpretation of civil rights issues? Many believe that we are witnessing such a phenomenon right now in the Supreme Court, where recent decisions--involving the rights of municipalities to dilute black political power by annexing predominantly white suburbs and to enact restrictive zoning regulations--have gone against civil rights forces.

If Coleman raises some valid points, he fails at the same time to confront a matter of overriding significance. And that is the politics of race--the almost total absence of political authority exhibited by both political parties, but particularly by the last two presidential administrations, on issues of racial policy.

We can debate from now until infinity whether the courts have overstepped their vested powers: the debate is meaningless unless you recognize that the courts have been functioning in a political vacuum for the past six and a half years. To President Nixon school integration was an issue to be exploited as part of a strategy to win the southern vote. Indeed, Nixon had a formidable interest in perpetuating the busing controversy because he was convinced that the more chaotic the process of school desegregation, the more secure his southern base. Although not a devious strategist, President Ford seems no more likely than Nixon to provide a high level of guidance on racial matters.

More than anything else, this nation needs vigorous, humane political leadership. Court decisions, bureaucratic directives, and research papers do not constitute national policy; they imply its absence if political direction is lacking. Moreover, we desperately need broad national policies which seek the full integration of society in order that we might escape the current obsession with busing and proceed about the business of creating a better society for all people.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 24, 1975

Rustin Column

The Importance of Seniority

By Bayard Rustin

The escalating dispute over job seniority rights is a tragic but altogether predictable consequence of the hard times confronting American workers. Periods of intense racial competition have always emerged simultaneous with depressions, panics, and general economic instability. And while Americans are today far less likely to be motivated by blind race hatred, they nonetheless continue to perceive social phenomenon in racial terms.

Black workers, the disproportionate victims of massive layoffs, are embittered at their white colleagues, whom they see as the beneficiaries of past patterns of discrimination. White workers, rejecting in totality the presumption that they constitute a privileged elite, bristle at demands that they--the have-littles of society--should sacrifice for the discriminatory practices of their employers and the policy failures of the federal government.

There is, then, equity to both arguments. Or to put it another way, black and white workers alike stand to lose from the perpetuation of an intolerable high level of unemployment. The only winners will be the most affluent and powerful forces of society--those who, whether consciously or otherwise, have a vested stake in pitting working people at each other's throats.

The days when industrialists would import black strikebreakers by the trainload to supplant unionized whites may be well in the distant past. Likely as not, blacks are now an integral part of those unions which management once tried so determinedly to destroy. But conservatives, whether in business or in government, have devised more sophisticated means of driving workers apart. Race is still an essential part of this strategy. And we must keep this point in mind when examining the seniority debate.

Thus my principal objection to proposals that seniority clauses be abrogated in the name of affirmative action is that such a move would severely damage the entire labor movement by weakening one of its most cherished achievements. Seniority is not a mark of privilege, it is a necessary right, won at no little cost, which protects workers from the whims and prejudices of an employer.

Primary among those who benefit from seniority are middle-aged and older workers, who themselves comprise a group that suffers a high degree of discrimination. Even now substantial numbers of older workers are being furloughed in non-unionized plants by employers anxious to replace higher-paid veterans with low-salary young workers. What future does a 50 or 60 year old worker have in today's economy? A question well worth pondering.

In some instances, of course, unions have decided, through the democratic approval of its members, to initiate work sharing schemes and other formulas to minimize the impact of layoffs. Some industries, garment manufacturing is one example, have employed work sharing formulas for years. Another important reform is the practice of granting to black workers who were once refused employment because of discrimination back seniority rights dating to the time of their initial rejection. Implicit in cases where black workers are protected by back seniority is the principle that white workers who had nothing to do with their employer's discrimination will not be penalized.

At the same time, I cannot support proposals for across-the-board wage cuts, reduction of benefits, or shortened work weeks as a basic means of dealing with the unemployment problem. Intentionally in some cases, unintentionally in others, the proponents of a general lowering of living standards have fallen victim to one of the most destructive myths about American society: the notion of an affluent secure working class. The most convincing evidence to the contrary lies in the most recent jobless statistics: 14 percent for blue collar workers; over 21 percent for construction workers. These are hardly reflections of wealth or security.

Furthermore, I am convinced that the acceptance of anti-worker and anti-union formulas signifies a weakening of resolve to achieve real economic transformation. There are already a few in the civil rights movement who are resigning themselves to another ten years of economic deterioration. Some misguided individuals even believe that a prolonged depression offers opportunities to advance the cause of racial equality through the institutionalization of the principle of an equitable sharing of poverty.

Such defeatism makes even more difficult the already formidable struggle for economic change. Blacks and whites can debate forever the question of who should sacrifice in an economy of scarcity. While we debate, those who have always profited from worker division will be on the sidelines, cheering us on. Their stake is not in who wins or loses, but only that the struggle pitting worker against worker continue.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
August 7, 1975

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

Urban Benign Neglect

By Bayard Rustin

The financial crisis of New York City is a dramatic and much needed reminder of the continuing plight of all American cities. For although New York's plight is more serious, the same woes are affecting other large cities.

Inflation and recession are the immediate causes of the cities' troubles. Enormous price increases for energy and other goods have increased the costs of services that cities provide while the recession has slashed the tax revenues needed to provide those services. To solve immediate problems, nothing would be more helpful than a national economic policy to quickly restore full employment. President Ford and his advisors not only have no program for a quick and full economic recovery; they provide no remedial program to aid the hard-pressed cities. They condecendingly tell the cities to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, offering a formula of benign neglect that will be as disastrous to the cities as Nixon's benign neglect was for blacks.

The cities have already suffered from decades of neglect that has been anything but benign in its effects. It is no solution to attack the leaders of New York City as spendthrifts, for the problems of the cities are the result of national failures: years of neglect, lack of planning, and racism.

The cities have been forced to bear the nationwide burden of poverty, because we have no national welfare program. Poor people from the South, from Appalachia have moved to the cities to escape grinding poverty and almost nonexistent welfare programs. Compassionate and generous cities are now suffering for bearing the burden for the stingy and hateful.

We have not had a comprehensive, well-thought national program to save the cities. Programs have been enacted ad hoc and all too often have contributed to the decay of the cities. Federal programs have torn up black neighborhoods, destroyed black institutions, while encouraging businesses and middle class whites to move to the suburbs, the tax base has been eroded, making it more difficult to provide services. Deteriorating services in turn lead even more of those able to afford it to flee the cities.

To many of our leaders the cities have become racial and economic enclaves that are not worth saving. Since the cities are thought to be worth saving little aid is given, the cities are allowed to deteriorate further, and the bill for rebuilding them becomes even greater.

Many of the reactions to the problems of the cities not only ignore the fundamental causes of urban decay, but could well be disastrous for workers, blacks, and the quality of urban life. The most common reaction, to blame municipal workers and their unions, is a convenient smokescreen for anti-labor and anti-worker forces to divert attention from the disastrous effects of the Nixon-Ford economic policies and the continuous national neglect of our cities. Municipal workers have been underpaid for many years and have only recently begun to catch up. Many municipal workers in New York City still earn less than $12,000 a year, clearly not enough to support a family given New York's high cost of living. Any effort to place the burden of saving the cities on working people will be unfair. It will be especially unfair to blacks, many of whom are employed as municipal workers.

Raising taxes or cutbacks in service through layoffs are not realistic answers to the problems of the cities. Either course will be self-defeating by hastening the flight to the suburbs and making the cities more and more unliveable.

Steps need to be taken immediately to solve the pressing financial problems of America's cities and to halt their deterioration. Federal aid should be extended to those cities suffering from high unemployment. Emergency aid is needed to keep the cities from collapsing but more will be needed to repair the damage of years of neglect. The federal government must assume a much greater portion of the nation's welfare, mass transit, and health costs.

Above all, we need new national priorities and a basic strategy to make cities places where a modest income can buy a decent life, where parents are glad to raise their children, where streets are not only safe but pleasant, where life is not simply bearable but enjoyable.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
August 21, 1975

Rustin Column

A TEST OF THE BLACK - LABOR ALLIANCE

A frequent tactic of those antagonistic to the interests of working people has been to try to drive a wedge between the labor movement and its natural allies in the black community. Historically, racial antagonisms have been exploited by management to undermine solidarity during strikes and as a means of weakening unions.

Today the tactic of dividing labor and blacks is still around, albeit in a more sophisticated guise. In a recent case, racial divisions were exploited in an attempt to defeat a labor-backed measure in the House of Representatives. The measure, the site picketing bill, gives construction unions the same picketing rights long held by industrial unions. It allows construction workers to go on strike over conditions at the work site and post a picket line around the work site.

Opponents of the bill argued unsuccessfully that black Congressmen should not support a bill aiding the construction unions. Congressmen never before known for their devotion to civil rights offered several amendments that seemed to offer special benefits to blacks, but which were actually designed to weaken unions.

These efforts, however, were met by a united opposition from the black congressional delegation. A typical response was that of Rep. William Clay of Missouri, who denounced the amendments as "very vicious" because they would set worker against worker. Clay emphasized that the issue was simply, "whether or not there will be job security and the ability of workers to get decent wages and working conditions."

Skeptics may explain the position of black Congressmen as a simple quid pro quo for labor's support of civil rights measures. But they would be wrong, dead wrong. For blacks have a very real stake in construction workers gaining status equal to that of industrial workers. At just the time when significant numbers of blacks are beginning to move into construction and other high-paying, high-skilled union jobs, anything which weakens unions will have the most tragic consequences for the black community. Conversely, measures which strengthen unions will mean more high-paying jobs available for blacks.

The vote of black Congressmen on this issue offers a clear refutation of some common, but profoundly mistaken views. We are frequently told that the interests and objectives of the American trade union movement are in fundamental conflict with the interests and objectives of black people. There are even some liberals and blacks who would have,in effect, argued for the crippling amendment from their mistaken view that the way to end discriminatory practices in the construction unions is to weaken those unions and that the way to help blacks is to weaken the unions in general.

Such views, held against the overwhelming weight of evidence, have been and remain a source of great danger to black people. For the union movement is a social force in which black people have an enormous stake. If blacks criticize unions in such a way as do them irreparable harm, or stand idly by while others attack the unions, it will ultimately be blacks who are harmed.

With staggering unemployment in many black communities, many blacks are being attracted to gimmicks which offer no solution to the basic problems of unemployment, poor housing, inadequate schools, and poverty. Moreover, these gimmicks would set worker against worker. The active role Congressmen Clay, Parren Mitchell and others played in turning back the attempt to divide unions and blacks on the site picketing bill is heartening, for it is absolutely indispensable that black political leaders recognize that the most important things that can be done to advance civil rights is to strengthen the labor movement and enact labor's program for economic recovery.

################

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
September 4, 1975 Rustin Column

Halie Selassie's Ambiguous Legacy

By Bayard Rustin

It was not easy to know how to react to the news of Ethiopian Emporer Halie Selassie's recent death. The only appropriate response was emotions mixed to match the ambiguity of his legacy to Africa and the world.

Selassie died alone and deposed, but it cannot be forgotten that his speech before the League of Nations in 1936 was not simply among the most dramatic and moving speeches ever made, but was the signal that Africa had entered world politics as an active participant. The great democracies of the world had stood silently by while Mussolini's armies overran Selassie's backward kingdom. Selassie appealed to the League of Nations and warned the democracies, "It is us today. It will be you tomorrow." Though the great powers one by one recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, Selassie's eloquent speech was not futile. It reminded the oppressed throughout the world that decency, humanity, and courage were not dead.

After the end of World War II, Selassie was catapulted to a position of leadership among the rising generation of anti-colonialist statesmen in Africa. It was Selassie who called together the first meeting and devised the charter of the Organization of African Unity, which is fittingly headquartered in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia.

If Selassie could be remembered for that alone, he would be justly and simply regarded as one of the great leaders of the modern era. Unfortunately, the rest of Selassie's career was less deserving of admiration. Among the world's most unquestioned monarchs, he often seemed interested only in the grandeur and privilege of his position. While devoting his energies to posing as a world leader, he ignored Ethiopia's needs. While he threw lavish parties for up to 2,000 guests, his countrymen lived in abject poverty. Ethiopia remained a backward, almost feudalistic nation without a developed highway or rail system. Even in Addis Ababa the bulk of the people lived in straw-huts. Selassie was slow to make needed reforms. At the end of his reign only 500,000 of the country's 3.2 million school-age children were enrolled. The virtually total abolotion of slavery did not come until 1964 and there never was land reform. Selassie's greatest failure, which was as tragic as his League of Nations speech had been glorious, was his failure to even try to do anything to ease the impact of the severe drought which struck Ethiopa two years ago, resulting in one hundred thousand deaths.

The advice to speak kindly of the dead is valid when speaking of ordinary men. Of public figures, we are obligated to speak honestly and fairly and learn what we can from their lives. Selassie expressed to an extreme the ambiguity and complexity of Africa. Just as it is difficult to come to a short, realistic evaluation of Halie Selassie's life, so too is it difficult to say anything about Africa without ambiguity and complexity.

The psychological needs of black Americans which lead them to identify with Africa are perfectly understandable, but the reality of Africa is something very different. To talk of Africa as a monolith, much less as "Mother Africa," is nonsense. The variety of cultural, social, and political circumstances are simply too large to be meaningfully discussed as African culture, African society, or African politics.

There is much in Africa with which black Americans cannot and should not identify. There is widespread and cruel tribal discrimination. Many African countries have fallen under the control of imcompetent and autocratic dictators.

The life, the triumphs and failures of Halie Selassie were symbolic of the complexity and ambiguity of Africa.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 18, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Only rarely do my columns spark as much discussion and debate as a recent column in which I criticized certain liberals who dismiss economic growth as an obsolete, even destructive force in society. The column stimulated both sympathetic and critical responses from economists, environmentalists,members of Congress, newspapers, and others.

The replies to my argument that there is a fundamental and obvious contradiction in the notion that the condition of those at the bottom can be raised when society itself is standing still were interesting, to say the least. While a few automatically assumed that anyone who favors economic growth is in the pockets of big business, the response of others was to insist that there is no conflict between the no-growth environmentalists and the interests of poor and working people, by maintaining that environmentalists oppose not growth, but merely "waste." As if there were anyone who favors waste.

The fact is that there is considerable sentiment among "liberals" to dispense with economic growth, sentiments expressed by influential intellectual and political figures. While the anti-growth proponents support in the abstract the principles of social progress and racial equality, they define environmental concerns in a narrow and biased fashion that would curtail both social progress and racial equality.

Quite simply, all too many environmentalists are militant mainly about threats to rural peace and wildlife and their beloved vacation spots, while tending to ignore the far more desperate problems of the urban environment in which most Americans live.

An amendment to the Clean Air Act approved by the Senate Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment this July is but one example of the distorted priorities of the environmental movement that I find so disturbing. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, the only documentable benefits of the amendment would by "aesthetic, scenic, and recreational." When the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare studied the proposed regulation they concluded that not only would it probably impose severe costs on the nation as a whole, but that a disproportionate share of the costs would be borne by the poor, the elderly, racial minorities, and other disadvantaged persons.

Because they have suffered far more from environmental degradation than any other groups, blacks and working people support genuine environmental improvement. But at the same time they naturally and properly insist that they not pay a disproportionate price for improving the environment. They correctly demand that due consideration be given to their jobs in pursuing environmental improvement, and that their environments be improved in the process and not merely the vacation playgrounds of the affluent.

More fundamentally, they realize the consequences of following a no-growth policy. Within the context of a rigid, stagnant economy, social equality could only be achieved by an across-the-board lowering of living standards. And if the experience of the past year is any indication, it is much more likely that class divisions would harden, with the poor and working people locked forever in their unequal states.

With a near static national economy there is simply no way even the most well-intentioned President and Congress could find the extra sums we so desperately need to end poverty, improve education, provide health care to all, and to construct efficient mass transportation systems.

The low-growth and no-growth approaches are absurd even in terms of the environment, as many environmentalists recognize. It will clearly cost billions of dollars to do everything that is needed to improve the environment. But in a stagnant economy neither the resources nor the will to do these things can be found. Even if the will was present the resources could be found only at the expense of shortchanging our other national priorities.

Thus to advocate economic growth is to defend both social justice and the environment. Perhaps the greatest fault of the no-growth movement is that it has allowed certain skilled manipulators the opportunity to go a long ways in turning the argument for economic growth into a defense of unregulated growth and the argument for environmental protection into an attack on jobs. I am convinced that there must be strong environmental controls placed upon the corporations. The purpose of these controls must not be vengeful punishment nor the abolishment of economic growth under the pretext of protecting the environment.

Rather, we need to restructure the economy so as to improve the environment, understood in the widest sense, of all Americans, including an attack on the basic inequities built into the fabric of our economic system.

We must find a balanced approach that serves both the need for economic growth and environmental protection. We must have economic growth, but growth that is consciously controlled and regulated, if the environment is to be improved and social justice achieved.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
October 2, 1975

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

A GENERATION OF ECONOMIC UNTOUCHABLES

Hidden by the headlines of recession and unemployment, there is an unnoticed social crisis with frightening implications. We are perilously close to creating a generation of economic untouchables. Unless the economy is quickly turned around to sustained full employment we risk sentencing a generation of minority youth to growing up without meaningful job experiences.

A few statistics indicate the magnitude of the problem. Among twenty to twenty-four year old men as a whole the official jobless rate is 14.2 percent--about double the rate of 1973 and triple the rate of the late 1960s. An even more depressing statistic is that black teenage unemployment is officially put at 34.7 percent, while many economists believe that it is actually closer to 50 or 60 percent. And as if the prospects of ghetto youth were not dim enough, with unemployment in many inner city areas above fifty percent, they have little reason to expect their prospects to improve in the foreseeable future.

These young people are being told that they can make no useful contribution to society, that their abilities and aspirations are superfluous. They are going to be on welfare not just for one year, but for three or four. Their options will be restricted to welfare, or hustling, or marginal, temporary, dead-end jobs. The self-esteem will have been badly, if not permanently, damaged and their attachment to society will be fragile at best.

Today, unlike fifteen years ago, to talk of racism as the cause of unemployment among blacks or black youth merely diverts us from the real causes and practical solutions.

The causes of unemployment among minority youth include the growing reliance upon automation and cybernation in production, the failures of education in the inner city, the disastrous welfare system, the lack of efficient mass transportation to get the poor to the jobs, and the creation of most new jobs in the suburbs

A whole series of governmental programs have made it more difficult for youngsters from poor families to get jobs. These programs, of course, did not have the purpose of creating or preserving employment. For the most part they are well-intentioned programs that have pursued useful goals. But in the process they have ignored or inflamed other pressing social problems.

A shocking example of the tendency of government programs to ignore the need for minority youth employment is CETA, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. Designed to train the unemployed, the unskilled and the semi-skilled, CETA has been distorted into a program to re-employ fired city employees, into a refuge for cronyism, nepotism, and patronage.

The corruption of CETA's purpose is the result of the failure of the Ford administration to develop a genuine program for economic recovery. CETA has been asked to perform a task--fighting overall unemployment--for which it was neither designed nor adequately funded. Consequently, it is not surprising that while CETA has made no real contribution to decreasing unemployment, the problems of structural unemployment, of unskilled and semi-skilled youth have been left unattended.

It is absolutely essential that job training programs continu even during the recession and that they be expanded. But these programs will be doomed to ineffectuality unless they take place within a growing, fully employed economy.

In the absence of a healthy economy, we are witnessing a brutal return and intensification of the cycle of poverty. During the Kennedy-Johnson years, when we had steady economic growth, that cycle was broken and 15 million people moved out of poverty. But in three of the five years before 1975, the number of poor increased. In 1974 alone 1.3 million people were thrown back into poverty. Even more have been tossed back into despair and deprivation by the present recession, the worst since the 1930s.

The reversal of the pattern of across-the-board gains of the 1960s is cruel and wasteful. Those thrown back into poverty in the last six years had only begun to have real hope for the future and confidence in the willingness of the larger society to make full use of their skills and abilities.

For poor and minority youth this has a most devastating impact. It is almost guaranteed to produce discouraged, embittered, and frustrated young men and women.

The nation, no less than black Americans, cannot afford to tolerate the creation of a generation of economic untouchables. This catastrophe can be avoided if the nation acts quickly and forcefully to restore the economy to full employment and if there is a renewed dedication to the elimination of poverty and injustice. Central to such an effort must be a massive program of job-training and job-creation for disadvantaged youth.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
October 16, 1975

Rustin Column

THE AMIN CONTROVERSY

President Idi Amin of Uganda should not be regarded by American blacks as a great, important, or sensible leader. In the heated exchanges of views that have followed Amin's speech to the United Nations there will be those who will say that the issue is racial solidarity and support for the nations of black Africa.

The furor was created when the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, described Amin as a "racist murderer" and urged the members of the Organization of African Unity to disavow his remarks.

Amin is among the least impressive and most repulsive leaders to emerge in the post-colonial world. Reversing the humanism of the anti-colonial movements of Africa, Amin has made racism a virtue and operating principle of political action. Among his first acts after assuming office was to expel 60,000 Asians, whose families had lived in Uganda for generations, by a series of cruel racist decrees.

Amin has been more interested in the psychic gratification that comes with absolute rule than in achieving social and economic progress for the people of Uganda. After imprisoning a Britisher who had written some uncomplimentary things about Amin in his diary, Amin refused to pardon the man from a death sentence until the British Foreign Secretary virtually crawled on his knees. On another occasion, Amin arranged for four whites to carry him on a throne. In both instances Amin displayed a lack of dignity. Anyone who has suffered the horrors and degradations of racism and colonialism should be the last to require others to degrade themselves.

But Amin is not merely an egotistical ruler. He has erected a tyrannical, brutal, and repressive regime. According to objective international organizations like the International League for the Rights of Man, the International Commission of Jurists, and Amnesty International, Amin's assassination squads have killed as many as 250,000 Ugandans, including Uganda's most outstanding citizens.

Amin, a Moslem, is bitterly anti-Christian. He has expelled all Christian missionaries, persecuted the Ugandan Christian community, and devoted massive sums of government money to spreading Islam, despite the fact that Uganda is 85 percent Christian.

When Amin called for the extinction of Israel, his words could not be lightly dismissed. Besides his personal expertise at murder, Amin has frequently expressed admiration for Hitler. In 1972, he wnt so far as to send a telegram to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim endorsing Hitler's genocide against the Jews. Amin has repeated this statement on many occasions and has even named a public park in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, after Hitler.

The United Nations is a strange world where people are more alarmed at the man who calls "murderer," than at a man who has committed not simply one murder but thousands, and advocates the murder of thousands more. We are fortunate indeed that Ambassador Moynihan and Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, who is serving as a U.S. delegate to the UN, had the courage not to hide behind the safety of diplomatic niceties, but to say the things that needed to be said. They had a moral obligation to speak the truth. And the truth is that Amin is a racist murderer.

Although I attended the founding conference of the Organization of African Unity and spent some time in Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, and Tanzania helping in their liberation struggles, I am convinced that the nations of Africa made a serious error in this instance. The African states, which one would hope might be immune to the diplomatic hypocrisy perfected by the nations of Europe, were not in this case.

Because of the need for continental unity, the African states defended Amin, even though they are disturbed by Amin and his brutal despotism. But when they applauded Amin's call for the extinction of Israel, they approved of the destruction of a state, a violation of the UN charter. When they replied to Moyhihan's critism of Amin by echoing his "anti-Zionist" attack on the United States and Israel, they were employing the most unwarranted and deplorable stereotyping. Like Martin Luther King, Jr., we should recognize that "when people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews." Amin's rhetoric resembled that of the right-wing lunatic fringe in this country that has always maintained that the NAACP is a communist organization and--most regrettably--that of Hitler. Finally, knowing that Amin has violated every principle that the UN is founded on--peace, brotherhood, international cooperation, and the rights of man--the OAU should not have allowed him to be chairman.

One sad by-product of the Amin episode is that it has detracted from the accomplishments of the Organization of African Unity. That organization has played and can continue to play a most important and progressive role in Africa and in the world. Indeed, both Moynihan and Mitchell praised the African states for their moderation in opposing Arab attempts to expel Israel from the United Nations.

American blacks truly interested in aiding the people of Africa will not indulge tyrants in black skins any more than they would support apartheid in South Africa. Authentic solidarity with Africa and humanity demands that we oppose the slaughter, oppression, or degradation of all peoples.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
October 30, 1975

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

LABOR CONFRONTS BUSING

Busing, perhaps the toughest and most controversial issue in recent years, presents a dilemma for politicians and public officials alike. While white acceptance of integrated schools has continued to rise until even a majority of white parents in the South approve, there is widespread rejection of "forced busing" for integration. In such cities as Boston and Louisville, resistance to busing has reached such proportions as to disrupt education and spark violent street brawls. An overwhelming majority of Americans support the Constitutional and moral mandate to end segregation, yet the very instrument that is often required to integrate schools is resisted.

Regrettably life is more complex than to permit us to conclude that every issue that is colored by racial tensions can be meaningfully discussed in black/white polarities. There have been unfair court decisions and even the most perfect busing program will cause inconveniences. Moreover, much of the opposition to busing has been motivated not by racism, but by the legitimate concerns of parents for the quality of their children's education. But the great majority of court-ordered busing has been done with the firm intention of improving the education of all children.

How politicians and others have responded to the busing issue reveals a great deal. Some are quite simply running from the issue. Others oppose busing for legitimate reasons and are diligently seeking alternatives that would provide for both integration and quality education. Under the slogan of quality education, still others seek an end to the process of integration. Finally, there are those desperate extremists who exploit resentments to fan the flames of racial bigotry and hatred.

The American labor movement has been consistently vilified as racist. George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO and the symbol of the labor movement, has been attacked in similar terms or, by his more charitable critics, as less than enthusiastic in the pursuit of racial equality. Yet Meany and the AFL-CIO have held firm in their support of quality integrated education, including the use of busing when ordered by the courts.

On October 25, Meany released letters to the Kentucky AFL-CIO and the Louisville Central Labor Council declaring that it was against AFL-CIO policy for the Kentucky State AFL-CIO or any local central body to lend any aid or support to those who seek to ignore or pervert the AFL-CIO policy of support for busing when it would improve the educational opportunities of children.

Support of busing is not an easy decision for the AFL-CIO to take. For this issue vitally concerns many of its members. A movement less committed to racial equality could have taken a more ambiguous position. A man less principled than Meany could easily have been content to rest on the pro-busing resolution adopted at the recent AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco, while giving tacit approval to the anti-busing demonstrations.

The AFL-CIO's support of busing has not only been courageous, it has been responsible. In its support for both quality education and integrated education, the AFL-CIO has opposed anti-busing Constitutional amendments, fought for massive investments of federal funds to improve substandard schools, and supported legislation to achieve open housing as the most effective way to achieve integrate education. Even while recognizing the difficulties that busing has caused in Louisville, the AFL-CIO has insisted that "it is the responsibility of the labor movement to make the busing system work as it was intended to work: for the benefit of children who need and deserve the highest quality education available, regardles of their race or color."

The AFL-CIO and George Meany deserve the gratitude and admiration of black Americans and all others committed to racial justic and improved education for their intelligent and principled support of quality integrated education. As the labor movement recognizes, the nation--and most importantly our children--cannot afford for quality education to become a code word for segregated schools.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
November 13, 1975

For further information contact: Rustin Column

ZIONISM IS NOT RACISM

The vote of the United Nations General Assembly absurdly declaring Zionism to be a form of racism made November 11 a sad and frightening day. It was a sad day because the battle against racism was set back and a terrifying day because a supposedly anti-racist resolution gave approval to anti-Semitism, one of the oldest and most virulent racisms the world has ever known.

Zionism is not racism, but the legitimate expression of the Jewish people's self-determination, just as the liberation of 43 African countries in the last thirty years was the expression of their self-determination. To condemn it alone of all the movements for self-determination was an act of gigantic hypocrisy.

In this resolution the term "racism" has been stripped of virtually all value; if the trend continues it will soon have the meaning in international discussions that "s.o.b." has in personal relations. That this has happened, and that some African states assisted this development, is a bitter blow to everyone oppressed by racism, particularly the blacks who are brutalized by apartheid in South Africa.

Incalculable damage has been done to the fight against racism. The nature and roots of racism have been obscured and confused, and this will lead to misguided, irrelevant and counterproductive tactics in the battle to abolish racism and apartheid. The confusion sown by this resolution will help the real racists to buy time and continue their policies. Instead of being a humanitarian statement of the immorality, injustice, and unacceptability or racism, the resolution against racism became a political weapon. The sorely-needed world wide effort against racism has been sacrificed upon the altar of the political ends of the Arab and Communist states.

The nations which pushed this horrible resolution through the United

Nations did not come into the General Assembly with clean hands. Minorities are persecuted throughout the Middle East, with the notable exception of Israel. Kurds in Iran, Copts in Egypt, Jews in Syria have all suffered the most terrible and brutal persecution. The Constitution of Jordan forbids Jews from becoming citizens, while Arabs sit in the Israeli parliament and Arabic is an official language. The Soviet Union has practiced systematic discrimination against Jews and forcibly uprooted entire peoples. With the aid of the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, Sudan carried on a near-genocidal war against non-Moslem blacks, in which perhaps 1,000,000 were killed.

This resolution was a justification in advance of the Arabs intended destruction of Israel. It will provide the excuse for the Soviet Union and others to persecute Jews by labeling them "Zionists." By this resolution, the efforts of an entire people to establish a homeland to protect themselves from the ravages of racism has been declared racist.

The victims of one racism will not be aided by this inciting of another, equally ugly racism. Perhaps more than anyone, American blacks should be able to recognize code words. The attack on Zionism is a camouflage for anti-Semitism. As Martin Luther King, Jr. observed: "when people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews."

Blacks have suffered too long and too grievously from racism in this country to stand idly by while racism rears its ugly head anywhere in the world. We must denounce this resolution as evil. We must condemn it as an insult to the generations of blacks who have struggled against real racism. From our 400 years experience with slavery, segregation, and discrimination we know that Zionism is not racism.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
November 26, 1975

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DR. KING

It is no surprise that J. Edgar Hoover hated Martin Luther King, Jr. But even in this cynical age accustomed to dirty tricks and deceit it is shocking to learn the desperate and despicable lengths Hoover and the FBI went to in order to destroy King.

During the time when I worked with Dr. King, we knew that the FBI had sent spies into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and we suspected that we had been bugged as well. In recent weeks it has been revealed that the FBI went much further--that they organized and carried out a campaign designed to destroy Dr. King. The FBI tried to prevent a college from giving King an honorary degree, they hatched a plan to keep the Pope from granting him an audience, and tried to undermine the financial support for the S.C.L.C.

The FBI did not stop at trying to destroy King as a civil rights leader. Nor did they stop at a slanderous whispering campaign planned to destroy Dr. King's personal reputation. They went so far as to send a note and tape recording to King in late 1964 in an effort to drive him to suicide.

Paradoxically the revelations about Hoover's six-year campaign to destroy Dr. King make it clear that it was not King's reputation that was damaged by this effort but the reputation of Hoover and the FBI. Hoover's suspicions about King, if they could be called that, tell us more about him than about King.

Certainly in his later years Hoover was a petty man, jealous of his reputation, and deeply resentful of any criticism. It is unclear what aroused Hoover's suspicion of King, but perhaps it was the very largeness and charity of King's character.

If it could be said that King and Hoover were foes, the way in which they conceived of their contest and the manner in which they reacted to each other show the stark contrasts between the quality of man that each was. While Hoover used a federal agency to carry on a personal vendetta against King, Martin was engaged in a great battle for social justice through non-violence and Christian love.

One incident during my ten year association with Dr. King illustrates this difference. Apparently angered by Dr. King's criticism of the FBI for appointing conservative agents to investigate civil rights violations in the South, Hoover publicly attacked King as the "biggest liar" in the country. Many of King's advisors, myself included, urged Martin to make a counterblast at Hoover, demanding that Hoover produce evidence to back his charge.

But public denunciation was completely alien to Martin's character. Whenever someone was in error and especially when they wrongly attacked him, Martin always sought a personal conference to attempt to reconcile the differences. Thus he met with Hoover and asked the FBI chief to explain just what he had done that Hoover considered deceitful. Hoover, of course, was unable to supply any basis for his attack.

I don't imagine that Martin would have been too alarmed at the knowledge that the FBI was out to destroy him. What would have disturbed him and what should disturb us today is that all the time and effort devoted to tearing down King could have saved the lives of many people who were killed during the great crusade to gain civil rights.

The good that men do does live long after they have died. Dr. King did much good in his life. It is our responsibility to make sure that that good continues and that it be expanded. For what King did will be regarded one hundred years from now as one of the greatest contributions to mankind. Martin took the strategy of non-violence a step even beyond Gandhi. He showed that it is possible for a minority using the principles and tactics of non-violence to win concessions from the majority, an effort Gandhi attempted but failed to achieve in South Africa. He showed that it is possible to secure justice and realistic to dream of a better world.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
December 11, 1975

Rustin Column

A NEW AND DANGEROUS FAD

If politics makes for strange bedfellows, it sometimes produces even stranger offspring. In recent years there has developed a strange new breed of political animal--conservative liberals who say they are for social progress but against big government, who are sensitive to the plight of the poor, but propose cutbacks in social programs.

We saw a similar animal in the past, the "liberal conservative," who said he was liberal on civil rights, but conservative on social spending. But whereas the liberal conservative was trying to protect himself politically from the charge that he was for injustice, the conservative liberals have adopted almost completely the conservative attack on liberal reforms.

There is an undeniably faddish character about the conservative liberals, but as usual fads and fashions are the result of deeper phenomena. It has been a characteristic of liberals in the United States that they are almost addicted to anything that has the word "new" in it. There is nothing more difficult for some liberals than the recognition that the liberal answers of the past might still be essentially valid.

The conservative liberal tendency has dangerous implications for black Americans. The conservative liberals have adopted the conservative slogan that throwing money at problems doesn't solve them. But the conservative liberal response is that not throwing money at problems will solve them, which is nonsense. The conservative liberals talk about the need to go beyond the New Deal, but they are actually abandoning those goals by proposing that they be indefinitely postponed.

Blacks quite simply cannot afford the postponement of solutions; we have waited too long. We have endured too much and struggled too long to be told that the problems of poverty, unemployment, and discrimination are intractable.

The only periods of black advancement have been during periods of strong presidential leadership and active federal programs designed to do something for the poor and working people. The civil rights gains of the 1960s in employment and income have been wiped out by the Nixon-Ford administration, which in its own way promised less--and delivered it.

I do not want to suggest that Roosevelt's New Deal, Truman's Fair Deal, or the Great Society were perfect. But they did do much to equalize social conditions, lift millions from poverty, and improve the lives of a majority of Americans. If these attempts at social reconstruction had a fault it was not that they tried to do too much. Rather it was that too little was spent and too little done to accomplish the laudable goals of these programs. Despite their shortcomings these programs are the foundation on which social justice must be constructed.

The problems of black Americans will not be solved by less government. The unpardonable unemployment rate of 14 percent among blacks will not be eased by those who say that we must lower our expectations. If anything our expectations have been too low. As a nation we have tolerated too much unemployment. We have permitted too much poverty. By our inaction, we have given approval to too much injustice.

In the final analysis the new breed liberals offer blacks, the poor, and working people little more than a warmed-over version of conservatism. We should no more accept this newer rationale for doing nothing than we accepted the original version. We must insist, now as we have in the past, that politicians face up to the issues of injustice, inequality, and unemployment.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
December 25, 1975

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

TEXTILE WORKERS SEEK JUSTICE

Textile workers in 89 J.P. Stevens plants across the South are engaged in a titantic struggle for justice. J.P. Stevens is virtually unknown to the public, despite being the second largest textile manufacturer in the country. But to many of its workers Stevens is known for low wages, poor working conditions, and union-busting tactics.

Stevens has quite properly been called the "nation's number one labor law violator." Since the Textile Workers Union of America launched an organizing campaign at Stevens plants in 1963, the company has engaged in a systematic and vicious pattern of anti-unionism."

Stevens has threatened workers with layoffs and firings if they joined the union. They have not hesitated to carry out their threats. They have wiretapped and intimidated the union's organizers and have attempted to pit black workers against white workers by inciting racial fears. No device has been too low for the Stevens company to employ in an attempt to frighten their workers from supporting the union.

Stevens has been found guilty by the National Labor Relations Board of violating the nation's labor laws on 13 separate occasions. Back pay settlements totaling more than $1.3 million have been awarded to employees whose rights were violated by Stevens. Boyd Leedom, Chairman of the NLRB under President Eisenhower, has described the situation at Stevens as "so out of tune with a humane, civilized approach to industrial relations that it should shock even those least sensitive to honor, justice, and decent treatment."

When the Textile Workers Union has been able to overcome the determined and unfair opposition of Stevens and win a union representation election, the company has continued its union busting campaign. Stevens has turned to long delays in order to frustrate attempts to reach agreements on a contract. The

TWUA won the bargaining at Stevens' Roanoke Rapids plants in August 1974. But after 16 months of bargaining, the union still has been unable to wind up talks with the company. Al that Stevens has agreed to is to allow the union a bulletin board to post its notices. The union has attempted to break the deadlock by proposing arbitration to settle the differences. But J.P. Stevens answer was "NO."

This neanderthal approach to bargaining is matched by the working conditions in the Stevens plants. The average income of textile workers in the South in 1973 was $6,800 before deductions for an average work week of six days. The average work day includes just a 20 minute break for lunch and two 10-minute rest breaks. Even after a life-time of hard work at low pay, the Stevens employee cannot retire with decency. Stevens has no pension plan, but boasts of a "progressive profit-sharing plan." Under this plan top executives can retire with a pension of $75,000 a year. In contrast, the workers who retired in 1975 received a lump sum averaging less than $10 a month.

Stevens' record is no better in other areas. Many Stevens employees suffer from "brown lung," a respiratory disease caused by inhaling cotton dust. Stevens has been found to have three times the maximum level of cotton dust allowable under federal health standards. Hourly employees at Stevens can be fired at the whim of a supervisor with virtually no rights to due due process or fair hearings.

For the textile worker at Stevens and other Southern textile plants the union card means not only decent wages and working conditions, but dignity and self-respect, as well.

The stakes are much higher than improving the life of the 50,000 employees of J.P. Stevens. Only a small percentage of the 700,000 textile workers in the Deep South are unionized. For the others conditions are not much different than at Stevens. If the struggle of the textile workers at J.P. Stevens can be won, the way will be open to bring the benefits of unions to these workers and to workers in other industries across the South. Every American concerned with fair play and social justice should be committed to assisting the textile workers in their cause.

Blacks in particular should be interested in the outcome. Twenty percent of the mill hands at Stevens are black and the percentage is the same for the Southern textile industry as a whole. Although Stevens still tries to pit white workers against black workers, the day when that tactic can succeed is past. Through the civil rights movement blacks forced Southern society to end the injustice of segregation. Through the union movement black and white workers together can bring economic justice to the South.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

Immediately
January 8, 1976

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE NAACP

Since 1909 the NAACP has been the most influential and important organization in the black community. The NAACP is currently in a financial crisis as a result of the combined effect of recession and inflation. This is then a good time to reflect on what the NAACP means to black Americans. Precisely because it has been around for so long and has achieved so much, we sometimes forget just what it has accomplished in its 76 years.

The NAACP has had a profound impact on the very fabric of the life of every American-black and white. It is almost impossible to imagine how much more oppressive the lives of black Americans would be if it were not for the tireless and courageous efforts of the NAACP. Recalling a few of the major triumphs of the NAACP is the best way to appreciate its importance:

1. Anti-lynching laws. Beginning in 1916 the NAACP campaigned vigorously for the enactment of federal anti-lynching laws. Although these measures were continually defeated by filibusters in the Senate, the NAACP was able to focus national and world attention on this tragedy. After more than 40 years anti-lynching laws were finally passed.

2. Voting Rights. The struggle of the NAACP to enfranchise black Americans is as old as the Association itself. It fought undaunted by the murder of many of its leaders across the South. The NAACP fought for many years in the courts to outlaw white primaries in the South, against the poll tax, and general registration barriers. The culmination was the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act which enfranchised millions of blacks throughout the South and permanently altered the American political landscape.

3. Black political power. The NAACP understood better, practiced earlier, and achieved more black political power, than the firebrands who created the slogan in the 1960s. As early as 1930 Walter White, the

national secretary, was able to engineer the defeat of the nomination of segregationist Judge John J. Parker to the Supreme Court. In 1948, the NAACP called a conference of black organizations to issue a "Declaration of Negro Voters." The efforts of the NAACP were successful from the re-election of President Truman to the increasing black caucus in Congress.

4. Housing. In 1924 the NAACP began a court battle against racially restrictive housing convenants. These covenants which bound homeowners not to sell to blacks were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1948. The NAACP was crucial to the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

5. Integrating the federal government. The Association started its effort to end segregation in the federal government in 1914. In 1941 Walter White and A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters persuaded Franklin Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 which barred discrimination in government and defense plant hiring.

6. Education. The 1954 Supreme Court decision overturning the separate but equal doctrine was undoubtedly the greatest achievement of the NAACP and one of the turning points in American history. It ended the legitimacy of segregation and signaled the opening of a new, intensified battle for full equality in every sphere of American life.

7. Civil Rights. The civil rights legislation of the 1960s which firmly established the constitutional and legal rights of black Americans was in large part the result of the lobbying and political capabilities of the NAACP over a period of sixty or more long years.

The NAACP has never been content to rest on its record. Its continuous advocacy of the interests of black Americans has been its defining characteristic. With every victory, the NAACP has endeavored to make it permanent and has moved on to the next battle.

In large part this is because the NAACP has been guided by Roy Wilkins, who has led the NAACP through the most turbulent and divisive period in the history of black Americans. Through his wise leadership a major portion of the agenda for racial equality has been won.

The NAACP has many urgent tasks before it in the coming years. It remains the strength and pillar of the black community. It is my hope that thousands of Americans will respond to the needs of the NAACP by sending whatever they can to their local branch or to the national NAACP (1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019.) Some black people may not know it but never more urgently have we needed the NAACP.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately Rustin Column
January 22, 1976

THE REAGAN DANGER

Although few blacks can be expected to support the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, his campaign does concern us. Reagan's recent controversial proposals demonstrate clearly that he threatens the well-being of blacks, the poor, and working people.

The most startling of Reagan's extremist proposals is that rather than federalizing the burden of welfare, huge chunks of welfare, education, and other social programs should be turned back to the states. That's the same old bad news blacks have heard before. At the same time, desiring to avoid the image of a heartless enemy of the poor, Reagan has suggested that in those states that do no provide adequate welfare benefits the poor should migrate to those states that do.

Strangely enough, there is a precedent for Reagan's proposal. But it is one that has been disastrous. Welfare migration is one reason why our cities are in a shambles. For years, poor blacks and whites were forced out of the rural South by the mechanization of agriculture, a lack of job opportunities, and miserly welfare payments.

They sought jobs in the cities of the North, where there was at least some hope of gainful employment. They flocked to states and cities that also had kinder attitudes toward working people and the poor and provided welfare and unemployment benefits. While federal agriculture programs had forced the poor to the cities and the interstate highway system stimulated the movement of jobs away from the cities, there was no federal plan to provide jobs for the newest immigrants to the cities. The welfare problem is a national problem created by national policies and national failures. To pretend otherwise is merely to set the stage for even worse problems in the future.

Reagan's proposal that $90 billion worth of federal responsibilities be turned back to the states is an effort to turn back the clock to the days of Herbert Hoover. The idea would be profoundly regressive and reactionary if adopted. It would shift the burden of taxation to the poor and working people, since only two of the fifty states have progressive tax systems. The Reagan proposal would mean that those who most need help would be paying more for programs that do less to meet their needs.

Blacks, liberals, and others of good will are naturally alarmed at the extremism and callousness of Reagan's program. But I am more disturbed at the notable absence of liberal leadership for enlargement of social justice.

One danger of the Reagan campaign is that it makes President Ford look like a moderate. In truth, Ford is not that different from Reagan. He is more cautious and less willing to advance conservative panaceas. But as his recent State of the Union and budget speeches indicate he is still willing to tolerate excessive unemployment, while recommending measures that would benefit the rich at the expense of those less well off.

The Congress cannot provide a real alternative to the conservatives. The Congress has been forced into a defensive pattern to resist the attempts of the Nixon and Ford administrations to dismantle the welfare state. It has been a difficult battle. There have been some defeats and some victories. But the victories have been limited to preserving programs enacted in the 1960s; there have been no programs to extend social justice. Almost the entire energies of the Congress are required merely to keeping a deterioriating situation resulting from economic stagnation and recession from growing worse.

To make matters worse, a number of liberals are repeating phrases remarkabl similar to Reagan and Ford's. They have suggested that the poor should lower their expectations. They talk about the need for cutting back social programs. When liberals are so confused as to speak such nonsense, how can it be expected that the average voter will know that there is an alternative to the outmoded co servatism of Ford and Reagan.

President Truman anticipated the dilemma of the current situation when he observed that given a choice between two conservative parties, people will alwa choose the one that is honestly and deliberately so. The labor movement and the black community have been pushing for full employment and the expansion of socia justice. But they cannot do the job alone. The only way in which the conservative onslaught can be repulsed is for liberal politicians to speak out in advocacy of humanitarian, decent, and necessary social programs.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
February 5, 1976

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

A LETTER TO MY GODSON

Dear Michael:

The last time we talked you asked me why blacks should celebrate the bicentennial. I'm afraid that at the time I may not have given a very satisfactory answer. I've done a lot of thinking about it since then, not only because you asked me the question, but because it is being widely debated in the black community.

It's not hard for me to understand why you are reluctant to support the bicentennial. Many leading blacks are writing or saying that blacks should avoid or reject the bicentennial celebration. It is not the commercialization which puts you off, but something more important. What disturbs you is the feeling that this is just another example of the capacity of white Americans to believe that this country is and always has been what it claims to be.

I can almost hear you reacting to some of the hoopla by protesting that blacks can't really celebrate 200 years of freedom in 1976; the most we can celebrate is a little more than 100 years from the Emancipation Proclamation. And you would probably go on to say that it might be more accurate to measure the duration of black freedom as 22 years (from the Brown decision) or 11 years (from the Voting Rights Act).

The bicentennial raises fundamental questions for blacks, questions of identity--how do we think of ourselves and what is our relation to this country. While everyone must ultimately answer these questions for himself, I know the answer I'll give. Blacks are Americans and ought to participate in all bicentennial events of value. We should participate in our own way and on our own terms. With Langston Hughes we should loudly proclaim, "I, too, am America.

During this bicentennial year we should bring our history from the shadows of obscurity and ignorance and restore it to its rightful place. What better time to educate about the masses of black Americans who built this country--from the nameless millions who toiled in the cotton fields and built the railroads to the individuals of gigantic contributions. The bicentennial is a time to celebrate that blacks never surrendered to the dehumanizing forces of slavery. It is a time to remember that even during slavery there were black doctors and lawyers, black universities and churches were established, and that blacks, like Crispus Attucks, were part of the American revolution.

It is a time to celebrate the courage and fortitude of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth. It is a time to remember the thousands of blacks who fought for their freedom during the Civil War--even before the Emancipation Proclamation.

It is a time to celebrate the black struggle of the twentieth century. It is a time to remember Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King.

We should not let this year pass without reminding ourselves and the entire nation that we, too, are America.

When the founding fathers wrote the Declaration of Independence they dreamed of a more perfect, a just society. But it was merely a dream--so long as it was reserved for whites only. Blacks have more of a right to celebrate the bicentennial because by persevering through slavery, segregation, lynchings, degradation and insult we gave meaning to the Constitution and content to the American dream.

So, Michael, when I say that we should observe the bicentennial, I don't mean we should do so thoughtlessly or naively. We should lay claim to the American ideals of equality, democracy, and freedom not because the ideals are practiced perfectly. Rather the ideals are important because insofar as they are real it is because we have struggled for their implementation.

There's a final reason why I think we should be involved in the bicentennial. America is a nation still in the making. By remembering the struggles of the past, we can proclaim that we will continue to work until the ideals of justice, equality, and democracy are realized.

++++++++++++++++++++

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
February 19, 1976

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE ANGOLA TRAGEDY

Blacks often talk about the need to have a greater impact on American foreign policy toward Africa, but nothing much ever seems to come of it. One reason is that black interest in Africa is less identification with a real and concrete Africa than a symbolic identification with another continent, another people to ease the pain of rejection and frustration here. Another is that despite a long concern for Africa, black Americans still suffer from a widespread ignorance of Africa. The combination of romanticism and ignorance produce a vague aspiration that we should be doing something more about Africa, but not a program for action.

There has been no major part of the world to which the United States has paid less attention or assigned a lower priority than Africa. Only when there is a crisis like the Angolan civil war does there seem to be any concern about Africa. And there has been little in the public debate to suggest that this crisis will bring a more permanent interest in Africa. Indeed, I am deeply disturbed at the implications of a developing double standard which says that democracy is important for Europeans, but Africans can do without it, which thinks that what happens in Europe is important, but what happens in Africa is n

The Angolan conflict has been a classic case of men versus weapons and the subjugation of right by might. The moderate, democratic, and anti-Soviet UNITA and FNLA, according to objective observers, had the support of a far larger proportion of the Angolan people than the narrowly-based MPLA. UNITA and FNLA have been forced to abandon conventional warfare and turn to guerrilla conflict not because they lack the support of the Angolan people, but because the pro-Soviet MPLA received enormous material support from the Soviet Union, and, more importantly, the intervention of over 10,000 Cuban soldiers.

The MPLA, moreover, is overtly totalitarian in its ideology and practice.

MPLA Minister of Justice Diogenes Boavida has called for "people's tribunals" and corrective labor camps. UNITA and FNLA consistently sought a coalition government of national unity, while the MPLA, driven by its desire for domination and secure in the knowledge that it would be backed to the hilt by the Russians and Cubans, **refus**ed all attempts at compromise. It is a deep tragedy that the Angolan people have been denied the opportunity to exercise genuine self determination by the imposition of a regime by the force of foreign intervention.

The Angolan crisis will not end with the battlefield victories of the MPLA. An MPLA-controlled Angola may well become a staging ground to subvert the neighboring governments of Zambia and Zaire. More ominous still is the increased possibility of a bloody race war engulfing all of southern Africa. The Rhodesian and South Africans will now be hardened in their determination to retain minority rule and apartheid. The Soviet Union has already begun to pour arms into the mos extreme black nationalist groups in the hope of extending its neo-colonialist empire in Africa. Finally, those African statesmen like Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who have sought to stimulate a peaceful evolution from minority rule and aparthei rather than a violent confrontation with Rhodesia and South Africa, will have les chance to influence events.

Whether the United States will rise to the opportunity presented by this challenge is an open question. The past does not give much cause for optimism. With the possible exception of a few years in the early 1960s, we have not had an African policy. The Nixon administration, in particular, thought Africa so unimportant that it adopted a policy of accommodation with the Portuguese, Rhodesians, and South Africans.

The interest in Angola displayed by the Ford administration was, regrettably not the beginning of a reorientation of our African policies. The insensitivity of the Ford administration to the overwhelming opposition of Africa to the apartheid South African regime compounded moral crime with political blunder.

The Angolan tragedy demonstrates the necessity of fundamentally reorienting American policy toward Africa. The first step is to recognize the bankruptcy of our past and present African policy. The second step is to regard Africa as important. We need a new African policy that increases pressure on Rhodesia to end white minority rule and on South Africa to abandon apartheid. We must also have a positive program. We must provide generous technical and economic aid to assist African economic development, support moderate and stable African regimes, and encourage the growth and development of democratic forces in Africa.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
March 4, 1976

Rustin Column

WHY BLACKS DON'T LEARN

I don't know how black parents reacted to a recent national news magazine cover story that asked "Why Johnny Can't Read." Education seems to be yet another one of those problems that becomes a crisis only when it spreads from the ghetto to the suburbs.

Why do minority youngsters do poorly in school? This question has perplexed parents, teachers, and the public for many years and set off bitter confrontations. Some said that the educational system was racist and others that minority youngsters and those from poor families had low aspirations and a poor self-image that led to failure.

A recent study of over 700 high school students in San Francisco shows that both views are wrong. The study found that minority youngsters had a positive view of their achievements and efforts. However, the study showed that it was the students who were doing the poorest who got the most praise from their teachers. True, it is precisely those students who are doing the poorest who need the most encouragement. But apparently many minority students didn't know they were doing poor work and were not given an understanding of how much they needed to catch up.

The report also found that black students were receiving assignments that were not sufficiently challenging and were often given grades that were completely unrealistic. For instance, those who simply showed up for classes automatically got a C.

What can we learn from this study? First, black students have a tremendous desire to learn; they correctly see education as a path of upward mobility. Second, black children should be expected to meet the same academic standards as any student. To excuse black students from doing the rigorous and difficult work that must always be part of an education does them no favors. Too often, it leaves them unprepared to make it at the next level of education or in the real world.

Third, we shouldn't see the problems of black students as being a symptom of racism. Even elite colleges have suffered grade escalation that saw lesser and lesser amounts of work required for higher and higher grades. In fact the constant search for racist attitudes has added to the problems. In too many cases do-gooders have put across "enlightened" notions that are merely dressed-up versions of old prejudices. What else is the notion that black students shouldn't be given an F in mathematics if that was what they deserved, but the old stereotype that blacks are inherently stupid?

I suspect that black parents may have a share in the creation of this problem as well. Like all parents, they have sometimes been more concerned with seeing their son or daughter promoted than making sure he or she was getting a real education. In some cities, school boards have, under parental pressure, instituted policies that required students to be promoted even if they had not mastered the material at that grade level.

Community attitudes, crimped educational budgets, oversized classrooms have made it difficult for all teachers to do their jobs, particularly those in inner-city schools. Many minority students fall behind in grade school and never catch up. As they fall further and further behind, they are unable to understand what is being taught in their classes and frequently become discipline problems.

Faced with oversized classes, teachers are unable to give sufficient attention to these students and sometimes heap praise on them despite their poor academic performance in order to prevent the entire classroom from being disrupted. Obviously, we can't expect over-worked teachers to both teach challenging lessons to those capable of learning more and to do remedial teaching for those who need it. An indispensable part of improving the education of black children is to increase educational budgets so that teachers can give proper attention to students with problems in reading, mathematics, or other subjects.

Despite all the problems that remain to be solved all is not bleak for blacks in education. Blacks are entering college in roughly equal proportion to the percentage of blacks in the general population. But their dropout rate is significantly higher than that of whites. A lack of thorough preparation for college work is one reason for this higher dropout rate. As black parents have always known, there is no substitute for a real education.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
March 18, 1976

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

BLACKS AND THE PRIMARIES

At the same time that black leaders have voiced concern that candidates for the presidency are ignoring black issues, none of the candidates has generated much enthusiasm among black voters. There are only two politicians who can automatically count on overwhelming support from the black community: Hubert Humphrey and Edward Kennedy. I share the fondness of most blacks for Humphrey and Kennedy, but it is unrealistic to think either will enter the race and the chances of either being nominated at a deadlocked convention are very small.

What then are blacks to do? We certainly can't rely on an inherent good will of the political process to automatically produce a candidate who will be sensitive to the needs of black Americans. Nor should we have to feel "turned on" by a candidate before we make our impact felt. Blacks should look at the presidential candidates with a maturity and sophistication that reflects our growing political power and experience.

That means, quite simply, separating important issues from peripheral ones and concentrating on substance and not being beguiled by style. There are only a few issues that are paramount to blacks in this election year. The most important are economic--full employment and jobs. A second, related issue is whether government social programs which have been so important to black advancement should be cut. A third issue is the commitment or non-commitment of candidates to racial justice.

Only four candidates are left in the Democratic race for the presidency-Congressman Morris Udall, Senator Henry Jackson, George Wallace, and Jimmy Carter. Wallace's well-known record of segregationism and racial demagoguery precludes black support for his candidacy. Thus, it is the other three candidates that we must look at.

Udall, Carter, and Jackson all have satisfactory civil rights records. There has been a lot of fire directed at Senator Jackson for his opposition to busing. But the busing issue is one about which blacks themselves are divided and is really not an indicator of a candidate's fundamental position on racial justice. Jackson has built an excellent civil rights record during his years in the Congress and Senate. I, as a supporter of busing, am convinced that Senator Jackson's opposition to it is pragmatic and rooted in his honest conviction that it is not working either to increase integration or improve education.

Jimmy Carter has won the respect and admiration of many blacks for his progressive record on racial issues as governor of Georgia, despite having virtually the same position on busing as Jackson. But an even more important reason for black sympathy for his candidacy is that he made a keynote of his campaign his intention to beat Wallace in Florida. Now that the combined vote of Carter and Jackson has denied Wallace a primary victory in that state it is time to take a closer look at Carter's record. There are many questions that blacks should insist that Carter answer before they give him their support. He must explain his embracing Lester Maddox and George Wallace when governor. He must explain why he supported a gerrymander plan to divide Atlanta into three congressional districts, which would have prevented the election of black Congressman Andrew Young. He must also explain why, during his campaign for the Georgia governorship, he supported an amendment to weaken the 1970 Voting Rights Act. Udall, too, has some explaining to do in this regard. In 1975 he voted for an amendment that would have weakened the Voting Rights Act.

Of all the issues facing blacks, the economic issue is central. It is on economic issues that the candidates differ the most. Senator Jackson is the one candidate who is making jobs, full employment, and economic growth his main issues. He is a firm supporter of government social programs, increased aid to education, and national health insurance. Jimmy Carter identifies himself as an economic conservative. He opposes the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, is resistant to federal jobs programs, and has refused to support the Kennedy-Corman national health insurance bill. Moreover, Carter has equivocated about the so-called right-to-work laws, which by making unionization more difficult have depressed wages in the South. His litany of attack on the "Washington bureacracy" has the ring of playing on resentment against those Great Society programs which are seen as primarily benefitting black people. Udall supports national health insurance and federal jobs programs. But the persuasiveness of his support for full employment is weakened by his statements that we have had too much, rather than not enough economic growth and wealth. Blacks have learned through bitter experience the futility of trying to get a bigger piece of a shrinking pie.

Blacks won't find a perfect presidential candidate in this or any other election. But we can and should support the candidate who has a program that comes closest to meeting our needs: full employment and the expansion of justice through social programs.

The positions and records of the candidates are only beginning to emerge and perhaps it would be premature for blacks to commit themselves as a group to any one of the candidates now. I certainly am not yet prepared to endorse any of the candidates. But, on the record so far, the candidate who seems to be speaking most directly to the fundamental issues affecting black people is--despite the inaccurate press references to him as a conservative--Senator Henry Jackson.

Meanwhile, blacks should be wary of candidates who denounce "big government" or economic growth. We need growth--and lots of it--to make the pie bigger--and we need forceful government action to make sure it gets sliced right.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
April 1, 1976

Rustin Column

THE EMERGENCE OF A BLACK ISSUE

The press has been speculating about where black issues have disappeared to in this presidential election. Many black political and civil rights leaders have voiced concern that candidates of both parties are ignoring the black vote. Concern reached such a height that Basil Paterson, a vice chairman of the Democratic Party has convened an ad hoc "Caucus of Black Democrats" which will hold a conference at the end of April to get candidate positions on issues of concern to blacks.

Paradoxically, in recent weeks a black issue has in fact emerged. The issue has been there all along, of course, but it has only recently been drawn in a clear cut form. The black agenda in this election year is not so much a collectio of specific issues, though there are issues of critical importance. The issues serve primarily as criteria to judge candidates on the fundamental question of whether the federal government has a responsibility to further social justice. Presidential candidates of both parties are running against Washington with the philosophy that has been described as the "new minimalism." Even candidates who are making an appeal for liberal votes are joining the anti-government crusade that proclaims government should do less, not more; that admonishes the poor and deprived to lower their expectations.

The anti-government program is not overtly racist, but like George Wallace's cruder version it is a backhanded way to exploit resentment against programs that are perceived as being designed primarily to help minorities and the poor. Like the social and economic policies of the Nixon administration, the new minimalism, whether espoused by conservatives or "liberals", is directly and unmistakably harmful to black interests.

No doubt, some of the Democrats who are running against Washington are doing so not because they actually want to make drastic cuts in social programs, but because they are cynically seeking votes. No matter how well-intentioned or personally committed to social justice, the critics of big government are, they will find themselves in a political trap of their own making. Their indiscriminate, uninformed, and unintelligent attacks on government will make it impossible to rally public support for government action. Having run against Washington, they will find it impossible to lead from Washington, unless in retreat.

It is significant that it is just as black leaders have begun to criticize the shibboleths of the new minimalism that the debate has entered the presidential contest. Senator Henry Jackson, a declared candidate, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, a potential candidate, have entered the discussion as defenders of the necessary role of the federal government as an agent for social justice. It is no accident that Humphrey and Jackson are forceful and articulate advocates of full employment, including the responsibility of the federal government to serve as employer of the last resort.

Former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter is one of those who has been running against Washington, but his smiling manner has obscured his stand on the issues. Nevertheless his recent comments in the New York primary place him squarely in the anti-Washington camp. Carter is opposed to federal takeover of welfare. He would leave New York to flounder if it failed to meet its financial responsibilities because of external factors such as a downturn of the economy, increased unemployment, or reduced Federal funding.

The great irony in the discussion of the absence of black issues in this election is that black issues are no longer a political ghetto. Rather the issues of importance to blacks are the same issues that are important to the vast majority of Americans--jobs, health, housing and education. And these are issues, of course, which cannot be dealt with effectively except from Washington. When a candidate speaks responsibly to these issues and to the role Washington must play, he is speaking to the aspirations and needs of black Americans.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 15, 1976

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE MEANING OF ETHNIC PURITY

The nation and the black community have been gripped in the implications of Jimmy Carter's defense of "ethnic purity." Carter was quoted in the New York Daily News on April 4 as saying he saw "nothing wrong with ethnic purity being maintained." Questioned later in the week, Carter used even more provocative phrases like "injecting" blacks into white areas, "alien" groups, "the intrusion of blacks," "newcomers," and "a diametrically-opposite kind of family."

Carter has since backtracked and, in an attempt to recapture black support which he might have lost, has come out for the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill which he had previously opposed. But his remarks remain deeply disturbing, despite the apologies. As Carter has prided himself on being the most careful and precise of the candidates in his use of the language, it is difficult to believe that it was just a slip of the tongue, particularly since the candidate, while apologizing for his phrasing, has reaffirmed the substance of his position on housing policy. It is not that one or two ill-chosen phrases somehow intruded into Carter's speeches, but that the sum of his statements amount to an endorsement of residential segregation, so long as it is called "homogeneity." In one of the few departures from his carefully-crafted script, we saw Carter appealing not to love and compassion but to hatred, fear, and division.

While many blacks, including some of his supporters, were stunned at his remarks, I did not find them all that surprising. In the past Carter has shown himself adept at playing racial politics. In his 1970 gubernatorial campaign he courted the segregationist vote and visited "white academies" just before the election. More recently, Carter's campaign stumping included a recitation of a list of great Americans. Speaking before blacks, Carter would finish the list with the name of Martin Luther King, but dropped it when addressing white audiences. When the press called this to his attention, he promised never to do it again. Sure enough, he dropped the list from all of his speeches.

Some political commentators have been unable to explain how Carter, who has had so much support among blacks, has also been able to win the anti-black vote. It's really not difficult to understand. Carter has been running a sophisticated and subtle version of George Wallace's anti-Washington campaign. Running against Washington is a backhanded way of exploiting the resentments of people who perceive social programs as having been designed to aid blacks and the poor. Carter has made a special effort to appeal to those voters, so it is not terribly surprising that he has made a more overt appeal to the anti-black vote.

There was a message in what Carter said about neighborhood purity and it was consistent with the message of his attacks on Washington. Since 1954, the nation has been engaged in a continuous struggle for integration. While there have been disagreements as to the best means to bring it about, every Democrat to the left of George Wallace has supported the goal of integration. Jimmy Carter has delivered the message that he believes the goal of integration is no longer worth pursuing.

The issue of how to achieve integrated housing is a most difficult and complex one. Many Americans, perhaps most, have decent attitudes toward integration. Others, for whatever reason--prejudice, fears, the threat of declining home values--are opposed. What Carter's statements have done is lend comfort to the bigots and demoralize the supporters of integration.

Carter's remarks will be interpreted by some as pitting ethnic Americans against blacks. But they also imply that Italians should not move into Irish neighborhoods, Poles should not move into Italian neighborhoods, and that they all should stay out of the WASP neighborhoods.

I think that ethnic Americans will be insulted by Carter's underlying assumption that they are anti-black. Ethnics are the most integrated of white Americans. One out of five Catholics lives in census tracts with blacks, compared to one out of 18 Anglo-Americans. Americans of all ethnic groups want strong and viable neighborhoods, but Carter is profoundly misreading the temper of the American people in his conclusion that they feel a neighborhood must be "ethnically pure" to be a good neighborhood.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
April 29, 1976

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

"RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS MUST GO

Some struggles for social justice take place in the glare of national publicity and widespread public concern. Others of no less significance are seemingly shrouded in silence. One of the most important and most promising campaigns for social justice is currently under way in Arkansas. Although it is not the kind of struggle that is well geared to headlines, it is important because of its potentially large impact on American society and because the issues involved are often misunderstood.

The Arkansas AFL-CIO and other concerned citizens of that state have mounted a campaign to repeal that state's "right-to-work" law. While it might seem surprising that the labor movement is fighting right-to-work laws, it is not strange at all for the laws are one of history's worst violators of truth-in-labeling. These laws despite the propaganda of business groups, don't guarantee anybody jobs. The only rights they provide are the rights of employers to pay lower wages, provide poorer working conditions, and to exploit workers. Defended as protecting the right of individuals to work without being compelled to join a union, what the right-to-work laws in fact do is institute a compulsory open shop. They are designed to weaken strong unions, destroy weak unions, and prevent unorganized workers from forming a union.

A union that wins certification as the bargaining agent of the majority of workers must, under U.S. law, represent all the workers in the bargaining unit. Thus, in a right-to-work state, unions must represent all workers without receiving dues from all the employees they represent. Some workers receive the benefits of the union without paying their fair share.

There is nothing undemocratic about the union shop when a majority votes to be represented by a union and the union negotiates with management a contract that requires all workers to join the union. Repeal of the right-to-work law in

Arkansas and the other 18 states which have it on their statute books would allow freedom of choice for employer and union to agree on the most sensible rules for the plant in which they have a common working interest.

It has been argued that right-to-work laws aid the economic development of poorer states like Arkansas. But when the facts are examined there doesn't seem to be much of a case. In 1947, hourly wages in Arkansas were 57 cents below the national average. Today they are over $1 below the national average. The same is true for income. In 1948 per capita income in Arkansas was $555 below the national average, by 1973 it had fallen $1,238 behind the national average. A former counsel to the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board explained this regression by declaring that "'right-to-work' law states have not received more than their proportionate share of new industry." Rather than stimulating economic growth, the right-to-work laws are used as inducements for companies that can make money off a large defenseless pool of unskilled labor and that can profit from the perpetuation of this backwardness.

Thirty years of right-to-work laws have done little for states like Arkansas except keep them among the poor states in the nation in wages, per capita income, social legislation, and economic advancement.

The right-to-work laws also have been an instrument to perpetuate the informal system of racism in the United States. Dr. Vivian Henderson found that between 1950 and 1960 in only one of the Southern "right-to-work" states did the earnings of Negro male workers gain in relation to those of white male workers. In the other ten states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but blacks also lost percentage ground.

The reactionary character of the right-to-work laws is apparent from the fact that most of the right-to-work states are in the South. The strongest supporter of these laws, moreover, have by and large, been opposed to every social and economic reform that would benefit blacks.

If the right-to-work provision is removed Arkansas workers will win a greater degree of equality in dealing with management. They will have a more effective voice in determining wages and working conditions. Moreover, in the process of gaining 100,000 petition signatures and fighting the election battle, a strong and durable coalition between labor and blacks will be forged in Arkansas that will have long range political impact. Finally, if the campaign to repeal right-to-work is successful in Arkansas it will set an example for the other 18 states which still retain this backward and regressive measure.

The effort to remove the right-to-work limitations on free collective bargaining in Arkansas is a little noticed struggle for social justice that could reshape American society in a more decent and humane fashion.

oooooooooooooooooooo

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
May 13, 1976

Rustin Column

BLACK COLLEGES ARE STILL IMPORTANT

It is fashionable to downgrade the black colleges with the mistaken notion that they have fulfilled their function and can't really measure up to the "elite" white universities, whether public or private. There are at least two things wrong with this set of attitudes. First, many black colleges--Howard, Lincoln, Fisk, Clark, to name a few--rank among the finest colleges in the United States in academic excellence and the contributions their graduate have made to the country. Second, it ignores the fact that there are also many second-rate white colleges and that the so-called second-rate institutions have served an indispensable role in educating America.

It is hard to imagine anyone arguing that the black colleges were historicall unimportant, when four-fifths of the black college graduates alive today got their degrees at black colleges. What one does hear is the view that black colleges were necessary when blacks couldn't get into white schools in large numbers, but that they are now an anachronism.

Yet black colleges are, despite the importance of integrating the University of Mississippi and other bastions of exclusivity, still important. There are over 200,000 students in the 100 historic black colleges.

Although the percentage of black students in college who are enrolled in black institutions declined from about 80 percent in 1950 to 35 percent in 1970, the absolute number of blacks in largely black colleges has not declined, but increased. In the last decade black college enrollment has almost tripled until one out of six black youth between the ages of 18 and 24 are enrolled in college. We have passed well beyond the point where it was a distant goal that the

653

"talented tenth" of black youth would go to college.

Unfortunately, the drop-out rate among black college students is all too high. While once the justification of black colleges was to educate blacks whom white colleges could not admit, today their function is to educate better and more effectively. The black colleges have a superior record at educating black students. In 1974, over half of the estimated 48,000 blacks who graduated received their degrees from black colleges, even though those schools had far less than half of the black students.

The very factors which are derided as parochial and limiting are the reasons that the black colleges have been able to succeed where more prestigious and richer schools have failed. The small size of the black colleges means that they can do a much better job at remedial education. Black colleges have a sense of mission and community that is only rarely approached in the large state universities or even in the small elite colleges. Particularly for students coming from the farm, small town, or ghetto, black colleges are able to provide a social and educational environment that encourages confidence and develops untapped talents and abilities. The excrutiatingly difficult transition from understaffed, crowded and inadequate high schools to the demands and rigors of college is eased by the supportive atmosphere of the black college.

Many black students who might flounder at larger, more prestigious institutions flower and develop at the black colleges and ultimately succeed at schools like Harvard and Yale. Many graduates of black colleges are able to succeed in graduate school. During the 1972-73 school year, 60 percent of the blacks who earned doctorates had earlier earned their degrees at black colleges.

The measure of institutions of higher learning can never be adequately expressed by the number of graduates they produce. Colleges and universities also have responsibilities to the community. Black colleges pioneered in social responsibility. From their beginnings they have been repositories of authentic black culture and were studying black history and Africa long before they became fads. Moreover, black scholars have always recognized the need to relate their research to practical social problems. And in communicating this recognition to their students they have produced new generations of socially-conscious scholars and informed activists. Black college leaders have themselves been leaders of the black community. The late Dr. Vivian Henderson was not only president of Clark College in Atlanta and an outstanding economist, but a powerful and articulate spokesman for just and humane national policies. It is the black colleges that have produced the leadership of the black movement. Whitney Young was a graduate of Kentucky State, while Martin Luther King, Jr. was a graduate of Morehouse.

The always precarious financial status of black colleges has not been eased by their successes. But the black colleges are an invaluable national educational resource that we cannot afford to lose. They have unique skills and programs that can meet the needs of not only black, but also white students from poverty and low-income backgrounds. If the alumni remember the difference that black colleges have made in their lives and the lives of all blacks and recognize that the black colleges are still desperately needed they will be able to make their much needed contributions. One way to help is to send a contribution to the United Negro College Fund, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, New York 10022.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
May 27, 1976

Rustin Column

WHY I SUPPORT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Of the many causes I have been involved in, the struggle to help Eldridge Cleaver's may appear to be the most unlikely. During the late nineteen sixties there were perhaps no greater or more total political opponents than Cleaver and me. Yet in February of this year I organized the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Fund.

I am obviously not helping Cleaver to defend his past positions or actions. Rather I believe that Cleaver deserves help because of his courage in coming back to the United States to face criminal charges. Like every individual faced with jail, Cleaver is entitled to an adequate defense. The principle of innocent until proven guilty has no meaning unless the defendant is able to afford counsel. Therefore, I thought it important that a committee be formed to assist in raising money to help with Cleaver's substantial legal expenses.

Moreover, in the seven years he was outside the United States Cleaver underwent a profound and important political transformation. Even when I disagreed with his political beliefs, I always admired Cleaver's literary and creative abilities. Now he is one of the most articulate opponents of totalitarianism, one of the most knowledgable critics of the hypocrisy of the despotic ruling elites in some of the third world countries and communism, and a devoted advocate of the democratic process.

It was not so surprising that Cleaver became disillusioned with Communism, but that he neither abandoned politics nor turned to an opposite and equally-as-extreme doctrine was to me an indication that his thinking had reached an impressive degree of maturity. Cleaver remains a critic of injustice in America, but he insists that change must be democratic reform, not revolution.

It has not been easy to raise money for Cleaver or to get people to join the committee. Images die hard and for many the image of Cleaver as a hate-spewing revolutionary is so firmly etched in their minds that they are unable to see a new reality. Some leaders in the black community are simply unable to forget or forgive Cleaver's abusive and unfair attacks of the past, attacks which he has now repudiated. And, as in the case of the biblical prodigal son there are those who resent Cleaver's change of heart and say why wasn't he with us back then.

Cleaver has also been deserted by most of his former friends on the left because he is no longer willing to play the role of the "bad nigger." Some remain convinced that he has made a deal with the government, despite the lack of a shred of evidence to support that view. For if Cleaver had made a deal he would not presently be sitting in the Alameda County Jail and he would not be facing the prospect of life imprisonment.

Others on the left, more cynical, have unabashedly expressed their desire to keep Cleaver behind bars because they consider him a renegade for having reexamined his views. More fundamentally, I suspect, they fear the power of his message.

The press has ignored Cleaver's case except for the sensation of his return to the U.S. They were more interested in him when he was shouting slogans than when he is now talking sense. Cleaver, to his credit, has refused to play the martyr and is not attempting to make his trial a political cause or a media event.

Conservatives have not flocked to his cause because they have no more use for Cleaver as an advocate of democratic social change than they had for him as a revolutionary.

But most conspicuous in their absence are the white liberals and affluent radicals who used to be most outspoken in praise of Cleaver. This is to be expected, for these whites never really believed in Cleaver. He represented for these voyeurs a distorted image of black America through which they could enjoy a perverse, second-hand participation in an orgy of violence. Now that Cleaver has chosen to work to transform America through the democratic system they have no use for him.

Cleaver, I believe, has much of value to contribute to his country and the world. He has a clear understanding of the importance of democracy and human rights which is both theoretical and the result of first-hand experience in totalitarian states. Cleaver, because his conclusions come through bitter experience, is perhaps the most qualified individual to speak to young blacks who are enchanted with the third world, and believe it a model for America. He can identify the good and bad elements in those third world countries and separate the myths from reality. Precisely because he was such a severe critic of America, he has a special credibility when he says, "with all its faults, the

American political system is the freest and most democratic in the world."

In the final analysis it will be left to Americans of good will to insure that a man of Cleaver's abilities and insights does not languish in prison. I appeal for your help. Please send a contribution to the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Committee, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010.

++++++++++++++++++++

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
June 10, 1976

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

MORAL EXHORTATION IS NOT ENOUGH

It has always been tempting to believe that social change could come through moral exhortation. And in times when it seems difficult or impossible to gain change through concerted political action blacks have been particularly susceptible to this habit.

Jesse Jackson has called for a program of self-improvement and a new morality among blacks, beginning with the schools, in the New York Times Magazine, and has since attempted to start such a program in ten high schools in Chicago.

Jackson has certainly hit on a real issue. All right-thinking blacks share Jackson's concern about the chaotic conditions in some black communities and in our schools. I, for one, am all for efforts to improve the schools and the community. Certainly we need to insist that there is no room for crime, drug pushers, and chronic disrupters in our schools. Too many of our young people have been victimized by the attitude nurtured by white liberals that imposing discipline on black students is racist. Certainly black parents must push the schools to educate and encourage their children to learn.

Several years ago we were hung up with some similar notions about crime. For a long time the legitimate concerns of blacks about crime could not break through the liberal notion that to be concerned about crime was to be racist. We have gotten over that notion. All across the country blacks are organizing to fight crime in their communities. The same thing is now happening with education.

If Jackson stopped with an analysis of the need for discipline, order, and learning in the schools there would be no problem. But he goes far beyond this. He makes the schools into the primary agent of social change and moral persuasion the primary engine of social change.

This is, I believe, an erroneous evaluation of the problems of blacks and a profoundly mistaken prescription for achieving social change. You simply cannot, as Jackson suggests, "rebuild our communities with moral authority." It will take money, resources, and skills to do the job.

It is no accident that Jackson's message has been picked up and endorsed by such ultra-right columnists as Phyllis Schlafly. For Jackson's insistence that blacks must help solve their own problems leaves the impression that it is blacks alone who are responsible for creating those problems. I find it no more palatable when a black leader suggests, however sincerely, that blacks can pull themselves up by their bootstraps than when it was suggested hypocritically by racist and conservative whites.

It is not simply that Jackson is unintentionally giving ammunition to white conservatives. The idea that the problems of deteriorating inner cities, of unemployment and underemployment, and of poverty can be solved by self-improvement crusades is just as likely to be picked up by white liberals and moderates who are already in a defeatist mood about the possibility of real change. It will aid and abet those who are ready to concede that the federal government has only a limited responsibility to aid the cities and to solve social problems.

No one,including Jesse, doubts that black students want to excel. The question is how do we provide the economic and social environment which will allow black youth to excel. There are enormous reservoirs of ability and energy in the black community, but self-improvement crusades are not capable of releasing those energies. The call to excellence may stimulate black youth to new exertions but in the absence of fundamental social changes they will soon run into a brick wall and will emerge even more disillusioned and discouraged than before.

The fundamental reasons that so many of our inner city schools are out of control is not a lack of moral authority and sound ethical conduct. When unemployment and underemployment in many inner city areas is 20 or 30 percent or more and unemployment among black teenagers 40 or 50 percent,is it any wonder that so many young people have become disillusioned and discouraged? Schools simply do not produce social conditions as much as social conditions are reflected in the schools.

You cannot achieve social reform by exhortation. A good sermon often makes a poor political program. Jesse Jackson is a young man of great ability and greater potential. His energies would be better employed if he would get back to the hard business that Dr. King was engaged in before his death: the mobilization of political power and skills to create a coalition that will implement economic and social changes to bring equality.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
June 24, 1976

Rustin Column

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BALLOT

Few measures have so changed the politics of the United States as the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The climax to a string of legislative victories for civil rights, it was symbolically crucial because by guaranteeing the right to vote it broke the image of blacks as being less than full citizens. Moreover, when the Voting Rights Act was passed it was heralded as inaugurating a great political transformation. The political transformation has not yet materialized in total, but blacks have won some magnificent political victories.

The political landscape of the South and, indeed, of the nation has been altered in the decade since its passage. In the first five years after the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act black voter registration in the seven states covered by the bill nearly doubled, from 1.2 million to 2.1 million. A more important change was the dramatic increase in the number of blacks elected to public office in the South. In 1965 only 72 blacks held public office in the South. Today nearly two thousand--27 times as many do.

This explosion of blacks seeking and winning office is part of a great political awakening of blacks across the country. The number of blacks holding elected office across the country has more than tripled since 1969. And there is reason to suspect that it will continue to grow. Although there are fewer than twenty blacks in the Congress, there are over 75 congressional districts where twenty percent or more of the population is black. Many of these districts can be expected to send blacks to Washington in the near future.

The real significance of the Voting Rights Act is not limited to the increasing numbers of blacks elected to office. The black vote has made it possible, perhaps even necessary, for racial moderates and progressiveslike Jimmy Carter, Reuben Askew, and Dale Bumpers to emerge as the dominant political figures in the South. It has even turned rabid segregationists like Strom Thurmond into courters of the black vote. It is not much of an exaggeration to observe that the Voting Rights Act has virtually, killed the old racial politics of the South.

But the Voting Rights Act has not brought the millenium of black political power. At the same time that more blacks are participating in politics by running for office, black registration and voting has been declining. There are 14 million blacks eligible to vote, but only half are registered.

One reason that so many blacks are not registered is that the resistance has become more subtle. Moreover, many election laws and election officials are still guided by the middle-class bias that voting is a privilege to be earned by individual initiative, rather than a right which the government should actively extend to all.

Whether black or white, poor and working people often suspect--and frequently with good reason--that a rigged system has made them powerless. When unemployment among blacks is above 13 percent according to official statistics it is not easy to believe in the efficacy of the vote. Thus, an important reason for the disenchantment of blacks with politics, candidates have been failing to deal with the issues that are critical to blacks. When so many candidates are running against Washington, against the social programs which have benefited the poor and the minorities, it is hard to persuade people to register.

When so many of our friends have been wavering in their support of programs which we need desperately, we can send them a message by maximizing black registration and participation. The political system does not always work well for poor and working people or for blacks. Nonetheless, poor and working people and blacks can make the political system work for them.

For blacks, registering to vote is not an exercise in civic responsibility; it is a necessary and indispensable weapon in the arsenal of our struggle for justice, equality, and jobs.

I can understand why blacks might be apathetic or cynical about politics, politicians, and government. Those attitudes bred powerlessness and escapism. No matter how disappointed we might be we cannot afford to surrender to those negative moods that will only make things worse. We need to turn cynicism into properly directed anger and replace apathy with commitment.

Because blacks have traditionally been disenfranchised we have to go an extra mile to catch up. Instead of feeling content to register, we have to get our family, friends, neighbors, and co-workers registered. And we have to make sure they get to the polls. We need to give our active support and involvement to those groups in the black community which are right now engaged in registering voters.

The vote was once taken away from us and denied for many years by violence, fraud, and statute. Today the danger is that we will let it slip away through apathy, despair, and cynicism.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 8, 1976

Rustin's Column

THE MESSAGE OF THE SOWETO RIOTS

The three days of riots in the South African township of Soweto resulted in 176 deaths and over 1,000 injuries and delivered a message which must not be ignored. The violence was touched off when a march of 10,000 black students protesting the compulsory use of the Afrikaans language ended with a volley of police bullets and the death of a 13 year-old boy. South African leaders, in the manner of Southern segregationists, denounced the riots as the product of agitators. But if there were any agitators, they can be found in the pattern of discriminatory laws known as apartheid.

Afrikaans, the language of the Boer settlers of South Africa that evolved from 17th century Dutch, is the symbol of authority and of apartheid. In the words of The Rand Daily Mail, the leading liberal Johannesburg newspaper, it "is the language of the police station, the pass office, and the oppressor." Yet in 1975 the government mandated that Afrikaans and English were to be used equally in black secondary schools.

South African leaders appear unable to realize the discriminatory nature of the decision, for they described the objections to the imposition of the Afrikaans language as a "pretext" for the riots. White students in the country's English speaking communities are required to study Afrikaans as a language in state schools, but, unlike blacks, they are not obliged to use it as a medium of instruction. Moreover, Afrikaans is considered by linguists to be especially difficult to learn. Black parents and teachers protested that the ruling would retard the students' education since most had grown up speaking an African language and English. Between the introduction of the regulation and the outbreak of violence, 15 responsible protests from organizations ranging from the African Teachers' Association to the white Progressive Reform Party were ignored by the Minister of Education.

After the riots the South African government rescinded the requirement that Afrikaans be used in instruction. But the reform may well have been too little, too late. Rather than being the first step of a process of reform, it appears more likely to be a palliative that means no real change in apartheid. In defending itself against charges of brutality in handling the protests, the South Africans described the language issue as a pretext; in eliminating the requirement they have treated it as the only issue of black dissatisfaction. The truth, of course, is that the real issue is apartheid and racial domination.

The violence was a clear signal that the continuation of South Africa's apartheid policy is likely to lead to racial war in that country. The reform leaves untouched the basic grievances of the blacks. Though it may temporarily defuse the tension, in the long run the blacks of South Africa will demand nothing less than full civil and legal equality and an end to a system of instituionalized discrimination and inequality.

The South African government has missed an opportunity to initiate a genuine dialogue between black and white South Africans. The machinery for a meaningful discussion between blacks and whites is lacking because even moderate political activity of blacks has been outlawed for so long. Responsible black national leaders have been jailed or exiled. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, elected head of the Zulu homeland and one of the few blacks with a larger than local or tribal following, called on Prime Minister John Vorster to convene a national convention as soon as the immediate crisis had passed "so that we can face South Africa's problems together." His suggestion was totally ignored and a one-man (white) commission of inquiry was established to investigate the riots. The commissioner can be expected to follow the line of Vorster and Minister of Justice Kruger who blamed the riot on outside agitators, while totally ignoring the real cause of apartheid and contributing nothing to the peaceful solution of South Africa's problems.

There is yet another reason to be pessimistic about the prospects for peaceful evolution in South Africa. Since the rioting, the government has made widespread use of laws that permit indefinite detention without trial. An official report issued on June 25, before the latest series of arrests, said a total of 1,298 people had been arrested since the outbreak of violence, although no breakdown was given on how many were held under detention laws. The arrests have dampened criticism of the government's handling of the riots. Many opponents of apartheid have been silent because they fear that to say anything would invite imprisonment, A bill, passed just before the outbreak of violence, authorizes the indefinite detention of anybody considered to be a threat to state security or public order. Police state measures of this sort have prevented the emergence of white political forces which might convince the majority of white South Africans that apartheid will not work.

Yet despite all the grounds for despair, there are some reasons for hope in South Africa. The tiny Progressive Reform Party, which opposes apartheid, has recently won some important electoral advances. There have been some small cracks in the wall of apartheid. More significantly, Prime Minister Vorster has sought a detente with the nations of black Africa. But after the riots it should be clear to Vorster that the only reforms which will improve South Africa's international image are those that begin to alter the position of hopeless inferiority to which apartheid has assigned blacks.

It is unlikely that fundamental changes will come without pressure from the outside. Though we cannot expect to produce change overnight, the United States can do much to end apartheid.

The message of the Soweto riots for both South Africa and the United States is that the hour is late. South Africa cannot long hesitate in reaching the decision to dismantle apartheid. The United States must clearly and effectively act on its stated opposition to white minority rule in Rhodesia and apartheid in South Africa.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 22, 1976

Rustin Column

THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The 1976 Democratic national convention was a product of the civil rights movement. Twenty years ago no-one would have predicted that the Democratic party would nominate a presidential candidate from the Deep South, much less that many blacks would be enthusiastic about his nomination. Never more clearly has the political revolution worked by the civil rights movement been more clearly demonstrated than at this convention.

Even without a quota system, more than 10 percent of the delegates were black. But the political impact of blacks was larger even than their representation on the floor. Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan inspired the convention and the nation with her opening night keynote address. After her speech there was even talk of running her as a symbolic protest candidate for the vice-presidential nomination. Rep. Jordan rejected the idea, saying that if she ever allowed her name to be placed in nomination for the national ticket it would be a serious effort. It would not surprise me in the least if a black becomes the presidential or vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic party in the near future.

At this convention the most important black leader may well have been Andrew Young. Indeed, he was Carter's most important supporter. Young symbolizes the changes that have taken place in the civil rights movement in the last two decades. He got his start as a minister active in Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Today as Congressman from Atlanta, he has made the shift from protest to politics, from confrontation to compromise.

That shift is not the result of selling out, but of finding new strategies for a new political period. The civil rights movement has not won all of its goals, but has won enough to work a fundamental transformation in American politics. It was the successes of the civil rights movement which made possible the nomination of a Southerner as the Democratic presidential candidate. The more than doubling of the number of black voters in the South in a few short years as a result of the 1965 Voting Rights Act stimulated the emergence of moderate and liberal Southerners like Jimmy Carter, Dale Bumpers, and Reuben Askew. By challenging the legality and morality of segregation the civil rights movement worked a profound ethical and psychological change in the attitudes of white Southerners. As such, it contributed to the decline of racial politics. We now have much more than ever before a national politics, which can only be of benefit to black Americans.

The political transformation was also seen in the selection of Walter Mondale as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, in the Democratic platform, and in the acceptance speeches of Carter and Mondale. The selection of Mondale, a leading liberal and a protege of Hubert Humphrey, was filled with historical irony. For it was Humphrey's 1948 convention speech in support of integration that led to the bolt of the Dixiecrats. All of the people considered by Carter for the vice-presidential nomination had good civil rights records, but Mondale was most closely identified with the kind of civil rights activism that was once anathema to the South.

Carter's acceptance speech was clear, forthright, and encouraging. Carter identified himself with the aspirations of blacks and other Americans who suffer from unemployment and poverty in his attack on "a political and economic elite who have shaped decisions and never had to account for mistakes nor to suffer from injustice. When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job." Carter supported full employment, universal voter registration, a comprehensive national health program, tax reform, and welfare reform.

The Democratic platform also reflected the input and needs of black Americans. It commits the Democrats to guaranteeing jobs to all Americans who want to work and to reducing the adult unemployment rate to three percent within four years. The most significant innovation in the Democratic platform recommended combining existing welfare programs into a single income maintenance program substantially financed by the federal government. Even on foreign policy, the platform reflected the aspirations of black Americans as it proposed stronger sanctions against the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

The civil rights movement has worked a fundamental transformation in American politics. To take full advantage of the new political situation our strategy must complete the transition from protest to politics, from symbolism to accomplishment, from confrontation to coalitions. The uncompleted portion of the civil rights agenda is economic and thus requires an approach which is not exclusively black, but which appeals to the needs of all Americans who suffer from poverty, unemployment, poor housing, and inadequate health care.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
August 5, 1976

Rustin Column

THE TERRORIST PLAGUE

International terrorism is a new, growing, and ugly phenomenon. In the past six years there have been 500 major acts of international terrorism, including over sixty-five kidnappings. That technological advances have made it possible for acts of violence to take part across national borders is only one of the significant developments of international terrorism. The nature as well as the scope of terrorism has also changed. The intellectual revolutionaries and anarchists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not take political hostages. They did not randomnly kill innocent bystanders. If they resorted to political violence it was against an individual tyrant. Today's terrorism on the other hand, is actually a modern version of the non-political kidnappings for money ransom by sea pirates, medieval highway robbers, and twentieth century gangsters.

Although terrorists claim to represent the "people," they are in fact a self-proclaimed elite which has set itself above politics and above responsibility to anyone. Most terrorists are not motivated by political programs. Rather their slogans of revolution and retribution are covers for disturbances of mind and soul.

While it is true that successful democratic revolutions have been ushered in by violence, they are the exceptions. Political violence more often results in the imposition of a new despotism. Moreover, the attitude of democratic revolutionaries toward violence is entirely different from that of terrorists. It is not true, as is sometimes contended, that "one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist." There is much more than political disagreement which defines political terrorism.

The modern terrorist is not a revolutionary, but a gangster. For terrorists violence is not simply an instrument of change, it assumes a value in and of itself.

It displaces whatever political grievances might have originally motivated the terrorist. Terrorists reject the possibility that their political goals might be achieved by means other than violence. They will turn on any of their own gang who reject terrorism and seek peaceful change. Consequently, it is almost always true that terrorists do not become responsible and respectable rulers if they gain power.

Terrorism, by striking randomnly at the citizen who is not responsible, threatens the whole of society, the entire body of mores and morals. Intellectuals have sometime defended terrorism as a short-cut to political change. In reality, terrorism more often paralyzes the political process and weakens democracy and the forces which might make for a peaceful reconciliation. If terrorists are moderately successful, fear and suspicion become the dominant characteristics of society. Even the most dramatic system must in the face of violence by a handful of terrorists adopt some repressive measures.

Terrorism is an even greater threat to the developing countries than to the industrialized West. Developing countries are "soft states." They have a fragile margin of resources which can be devoted to the political and economic modernization of the country. Terrorist violence forces the governments of developing countries to take repressive measures, thereby alienating the citizens and decreasing the government's ability to make needed reforms. As the government loses popular support it is forced to adopt ever more repressive measures.

Eight years after the death of Martin Luther King and thirty years after the death of Mahatma Gandhi, we can see even more clearly the reasons they advocated non-violence. Martin Luther King preached non-violence not only for moral reasons, but for the pragmatic reason that the use of violence would be counter-productive and would increase the forces of the extreme right. The bloodshed and mindless violence that flows naturally from terrorism is best seen in Lebanon and Northern Ireland.

It is not always easy to draw a line between domestic and international terrorism. Both are reprehensible and destructive, but international terrorism is especially so. The targets of international terrorists--principally airlines with overseas routes--are symbols of international interdependence. International terrorism would not be possible without the collaboration of some states. Significantly, the collaborating states are ones in which terrorists have gained power and which terrorize their own citizens and the world. A recent example is Idi Amin's complicity in the hijacking of the French airliner.

The Israeli rescue mission was a heroic and humane operation. Israel acted in self-defense under thoroughly established doctrines of international law. International law does not prohibit states from protecting their nationals whose lives are imperiled by political conditions in another state, provided the degree of physical presence employed in their protection is proportional to the situation. Israel's action certainly met those standards.

Israel's rescue mission was a defense of democracy and world peace against terrorism. But the problem of political gangsterism will not be ended by the heroism of the Israelis. If anything, terrorism will grow worse. If progress is to be made within nations and if world peace and justice is to be furthered, it is essential that the attack of terrorists against the political process and civilized society be defeated.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
August 19, 1976

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE ISSUE IS JOBS

The Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill is the most important piece of legislation before the Congress. A landmark bill like the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, it is the fulfillment of the theme of the 1963 March on Washington--"Jobs and Freedom." Symbolically, this can be seen in the fact that not only is the Congressional Black Caucus fully supporting the bill, but that one member of the Caucus, Congressman Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, is a co-author.

Distortions, misinterpretations, and outright lies are being spread by the opponents of Humphrey-Hawkins in an attempt to discredit it. But the discouraging economic news of the last several months will make jobs a major issue in this election year and will force Humphrey-Hawkins to be examined on its merits.

Unemployment has increased each of the last three months and is now officially at 7.8 percent. But if one wants to get a more accurate picture one has to include workers who have become so discouraged that they have given up looking for jobs that no longer exist and part-time workers who want full-time jobs. If these people are counted, unemployment is really over ten percent.

These figures reflect a continuing crisis in the American economy. We are faced with a significant unemployment problem for many years to come. Many economists project that unemployment will still be at six percent four years from now; others warn that we may be headed for another economic slowdown or even a recession.

There are two basic approaches to unemployment. One says that we should define as acceptable whatever level of joblessness is prevailing at the time. In 1946, full employment was thought to be three percent, by 1960 it had been redefined upwards to four percent, and today some "experts" are telling us that five and-a-half or six percent unemployment is the best we can do.

The other approach, which is both better morality and better economics, recognizes that unemployment is not only a burden on the individual, but a loss to the nation. It is typified by the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment and balanced growth bill. Humphrey-Hawkins recognizes that in a complex, modern economy like ours we need intelligent, coordinated policies to achieve full employment; and that national policy must be devoted to the goal of full employment.

Like most good ideas whose time has come, there is bitter opposition to Humphrey-Hawkins. Its opponents may criticize this or that feature of the bill, as unrealistic but if you listen carefully what they really object to is the idea that the government has any obligation to make sure that everyone has an opportunity for useful work at decent wages.

Like every piece of progressive legislation since Franklin D. Roosevelt, Humphrey-Hawkins is being smeared. It has been denounced as a boondoggle that would bankrupt the country by putting all the unemployed on the government payroll. This allegation is simply untrue. In fact, two-thirds to three-fourths of the jobs created under Humphrey-Hawkins would be in the private sector, and most government jobs would be at the local or state level.

Nor is Humphrey-Hawkins a make-work, leaf-raking measure. There are many desperately needed national priorities which can be provided by the federal, local, or state government--urban mass transportation, hospitals, and the environment to name just a few.

It is sometimes said that the nation cannot afford full employment, but it is too rarely asked whether we can afford unemployment. Unemployed workers mean idle resources, and dollars which do not go for the purchase of other goods. Unemployment means lost production. Because of five recessions from 1953 to 1975, we lost $3 trillion worth of goods and services.

Full employment would actually be a bargain. If the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is enacted during the four years 1977-1980 total national production will be about $725 billion more than under present policy. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the budget cost of the bill as $12 billion a year, an estimate many observers believe to be too high. But the bill would also add $36 billion a year to the federal budget, because of fuller production. With full employment the federal budget could be balanced and a surplus produced by 1981.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill has been denounced as inflationary, but this is not true. The Congressional Budget Office has stated that if the bill's comprehensive approach to reducing unemployment "were adopted and were effective, a non-inflationary unemployment rate could be potentially even lower than 3 percent." Our worst period of inflation have come under Presidents Nixon and Ford who never had any kind of commitment to full employment and who in fact deliberately produced recessions in the vain hope of restraining inflation.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill is a sound approach to national economic policy. It establishes a commitment to reduce unemployment to three percent within four years and creates a framework within our democratic system which makes that commitment realizable. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill sets an ambitious goal, but one that is well within our capabilities. The passage and implementation of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill would do more to advance racial equality than any other possible action.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 2, 1976

For further information, contact: Bayard Rustin Column

STEREOTYPING THE CITIES

The most harmful stereotypes are ones held and spread by those who are interested in solving a problem. Stereotypes about the cities are making solutions more difficult. During the 1960s, the anti-poverty coalition, government, the media, and scholars painted a bleak picture of uniform poverty in the inner cities. They were certainly right in pointing to the intolerable poverty in the inner cities and they were right in using this as an argument for increased aid to the cities. But the picture may have been too simplistic and thus counter-productive.

A recent study by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs of 87 working class neighborhoods in our older industrial cities shows just how wrong many of the stereotypes are. The image of the neighborhoods as "cultures of poverty" is very misleading. Of course, there is much poverty, but even the poorest neighborhoods had about one-third of their families with incomes above $10,000 in 1970. The neighborhoods, whether predominantly white, Hispanic, or black, have large numbers of people who have moderate, or even high education and income levels. In fact, during the sixties the neighborhoods increased their percent of moderate, middle, and upper income families at a faster rate than did the suburbs, or the metropolitan areas as a whole.

Because the inner cities are retaining substantial percentages of moderate and middle income families and the well-educated, there is a base for economic growth which has been overlooked. This potential suggests a plan for urban development aimed at increasing the stability of neighborhoods, rather than the present erroneous assumption that center city neighborhoods can only be the staging grounds for the more affluent who will always move to the suburbs at the first available opportunity. The stereotype of deteriorating inner cities has kept public and private decision-makers from adopting the policies needed to make the inner cities truly viable communities.

Among the worst stereotypes of cities is the notion that the white working class neighborhoods have reached levels of affluence and stability approaching middle status and that black and Hispanic neighborhoods were exclusively cultures of poverty. This stereotype has distorted the views of political and private leadership and of the inner city residents themselves. This false image may be one reason so many inner city whites resist integration. It has certainly contributed to the political divisions between white ethnic and blacks in the cities, groups which should be political allies.

By measures of income, services, educational problems, the white, black and Hispanic neighborhoods have more in common with each other than they do with the suburbs. The increased economic and social pressures in the neighborhoods are creating a high degree of family disintegration not only in black and Hispanic neighborhoods, but in the white neighborhoods as well, despite the fact that the Catholic neighborhoods have been thought to be strong family oriented communities. Both the black and white neighborhoods have the same percentage of youth between 16 and 21 who are not in school--two-and-a-half times the rate of the suburbs.

A common set of problems creates an as yet untapped base for coalition in the creation of political demands and public policy. Relations between black, Hispanic and white ethnic groups will be a decisive factor in the future of our older industrial cities and in the quality of urban life. If the cities are to be saved, all three groups must operate from an accurate perception of the problems of the others and the realization that their problems can only be solved by a common effort.

In trying to correct the stereotypes of the cities, I don't wish to create a new optimistic stereotype. In many respects the hard-core problems of the inner city neighborhoods are still as severe as they were at the beginning of the nineteen sixties. These neighborhoods did not catch up, but rather fell further behind despite major governmental and private efforts and a decade of vigorous economic growth. With the downturn of the economy since 1970, the very stability of the center city neighborhoods and urban life in general is at stake.

We need a new national urban policy that breaks with the stereotypes of defeatism and negativism. We must see the strengths as well as the problems of the cities. Unless the working class neighborhoods are seen as potentially very attractive places to live, we won't be able to save the cities.

[[[[[[[[[ ]]]]]]]]]

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
September 16,1976

For further information, contact: Bayard Rustin Column

THE POLITICS OF VOTING

The largest political group in the United States is now made up of non-voters. Recent estimates are that 70 million qualified voting age Americans will not vote on November 2. Less than half of the possible electorate may take part in this presidential election. Seventy percent of the eligible voters could easily choose either to vote against the winner or not to vote at all. As has often been pointed out, this low participation is a disgrace to American democracy. What is sometimes forgotten is that low voting participation weakens our democratic system and lessens our ability to respond to social problems.

The declining voting participation has itself become a political issue. It was the real issue in the recent congressional debate on national postcard registration. The voting participation issue reflects two different conceptions of what a democracy is about. According to one way of thinking, voting is a privilege which must be acquired by the voters' initiative. The other conception is that voting is a right and that the government has a responsibility to encourage voters to register.

The opponents of postcard voter participation allege without much foundation that postcard registration will lead to voting fraud, but what they really fear is that it will lead to increased voting. There has been no indication of voting fraud in those states that do have postcard registration. In fact, the national postcard registration bill, which would affect only registration for federal elections, contains careful provisions to insure honesty. The restrictive registration laws which actually discourage people from voting are a form of political cheating.

It is no accident that some politicians oppose postcard registration, for they have an interest in low voter participation. The largest increase in turnout would be among blacks, Southerners, and people with little formal education.

The postcard registration bill will not be enacted this year largely because of the threat of a presidential veto. Even as passed by the House, the bill was not all that might be desired. The effect of postcard registration will be limited unless the government mails the postcards to every household. Nonetheless, the House killed this provision because of the extensive lobbying of state and local election officials who feared the additional paperwork. Congress was badly mistaken in listening to those officials for two reasons. First, the concern should be not to make the lives of registration officials comfortable, but to make registration easier. Second with few exceptions, election officials have rarely made an equally intensive effort to change state registration laws.

The debate about reforming our election laws has been confused by the discussion about the reasons for the lower turnout. The expansion of voting rights to 18 year olds has resulted in lower percentage turnouts. Younger voters have always voted in lower numbers. Only half of the 18 to 29 year olds are registered, while almost three out of four of those between 30 and 49 are registered and more than four out of five of those 50 and older are registered. But the increase in the number of young potential voters should only account for a relative decline in participation, not an absolute and dramatic decline in voting participation. At the present time, 5 million fewer people are registered than in 1972. Part of this decline is undoubtedly due to disillusionment with politics because of Watergate. For many voters between 18 and 34 the usual low voting rates of the young and the political disillusionment have created the danger that non-voting will be accepted as the norm.

But to respond to low voting participation with the argument that we should make no reforms of the election laws because people who don't vote aren't interested will only compound the problem. Only by making registration simple and convenient will we be able to increase voting participation.

If registration is made easier, turnouts in presidential elections would probably increase by more than ten percent. The most important reform would be to keep the voter rolls open until just a few days before the election, when interest is highest. Other barriers to voting which should be removed are long residency requirements, irregular registration hours, the periodic purging of non-voters from the rolls, inconvenient location of registration offices, and the lack of absentee registration in some states.

Voters who are concerned about the health of our democracy should make the easing of registration laws an issue with candidates for office. Attitudes toward postcard registration are perhaps the best measure of whether a candidate truly wants to make voting a right instead of a privilege.

####################

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
September 30, 1976

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

A CLEAR AND UNMISTAKABLE DIFFERENCE

More than anything else, it is the election of the president which determines whether black Americans will go forward or backward. The black struggle for equality, after making impressive gains during the nineteen-sixties, has been at a standstill for the past eight years. But this November black Americans will have a unique opportunity to get things moving in the right direction again.

The problems is that even many of the victims of present policy--the teenager who can't find his first job, the worker who has been laid off--are saying it doesn't make any difference who is elected. This cynicism is understandable after eight years during which government policy has seemed only to make things worse, but it couldn't be more wrong. For without the right kind of President, things will continue to get worse.

In a race that is extremely close there are clear and unmistakable differences between presidential candidates Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. They differ not merely in style and personality, but in their approach to the basic issues confronting the nation. On every important issue--from the cities to taxes to health care--Carter is obviously superior.

President Ford is running on a record which deserves to be thoroughly repudiated. His platform flaunts an ultra-conservatism and disregard for human problems that was out-dated when it was the creed of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover.

Ford's election would mean the continuation of policies initiated under Richard Nixon that have been disastrous for all working Americans, and especially for blacks. Nearly eight million Americans are unemployed, two-and-a-half million more than when Ford assumed office. And there is little hope of improvement given present policies. In the last year alone, the number of Americans living in poverty increased by more than two million. Since 1970 black unemployment has averaged more than 10 percent. Today nearly one out of seven black workers can't find a job. The gap between black and white income which was narrowing in the sixties is growing again. The average black family is worse off than it was six years agao.

It would be bad enough if Ford had simply followed a wrong course of economic action. But what is worse is that he seems totally oblivious to the human and social cost of unemployment. Rather than being a leader in civil rights, Ford has attempted to exploit racial tensions for political advantage. Overall, his performance has been dismal. He has substituted obstructionism for program. He has shown no capacity for the imagination and vision needed to inspire and unite the American people.

In contrast to Ford's insensitivity and lack of sympathy for the poor and unemployed, Jimmy Carter offers compassion and understanding. Carter forged an admirable and courageous civil rights record as governor of Georgia. He promises to be a dynamic and agressive President who can work effectively with Congress to pass much needed legislation.

On the issue of jobs Carter differs most fundamentally with Ford. Rather than more of the same, Carter is committed to effective and vigorous action to reduce the jobless rate. He knows that unemployment is not just a statistic, but something that affects real people. He recognizes that while government has limits, it also has responsibilities which cannot be postponed or ignored. He has articulated the aspirations of the American people for a responsive and effective government as an instrument for forging a more just and equitable society.

Blacks have responded with enthusiasm to the candidacy of Jimmy Carter. He involved blacks in important positions in his campaign from its earliest days not as tokenism, but as a reflection of his basic commitment to racial justice. He has put forward a program that is responsive to the needs of black Americans.

The choice has rarely been clearer, but the outcome is uncertain. Black voters are potentially the decisive factor on November 2. If blacks had voted in the same proportion as whites in 1968, Hubert Humphrey would have been elected President. With so much at stake, blacks cannot afford to stay at home this time. Political apathy which rewards our enemies and punishes our friends hurts black Americans most of all.

Jimmy Carter deserves our support on November 2, because black Americans need a friend in the White House.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
October 14, 1976

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

SAVING THE NAACP

The NAACP barely escaped a legal lynching on October 8. It was endangered because it had worked so diligently to protect the rights of black Americans. Already facing a recession-induced financial crisis, a new and more ominous threat to the most important civil rights organization arose over the summer.

In the early 1960's the NAACP organized a selective buying campaign against merchants in Port Gibson, Mississippi to counteract job discrimination. The merchants sued in the Mississippi courts, alleging restraint of trade, and won a damage suite of $1.25 million.

To make matters worse, Mississippi requires a bond of 125 percent of the judgement, in this case $1.6 million, to be posted within 45 days if the judge's decision is to be appealed. That bond was originally due on October 1, but a federal judge in Mississippi issued a restraining order and pushed back the deadline for a week pending a full hearing of the issue.

Throughout its history there have been attempts to destroy the NAACP. But for many years intimidation, violence, and legislation has threatened only local or state branches. The Mississippi suit, in contrast, threatens the entire NAACP. The bond which the NAACP was required to post amounts to almost half of its annual budget, the awarded damages by themselves to over one-third. At a minimum, the NAACP was facing a drastic cut back in its activities.

Although most lawyers and constitutional experts agreed that the Mississippi bond requirement was unconstitutional and the NAACP was confident the suit would be overturned on appeal, it meant nothing unless the NAACP could raise the money.

Faced with this desperate situation, the NAACP mounted a vigorous effort to raise the needed $1.6 million. Serious obstacles handicapped the effort. Many blacks, not to mention whites, found it impossible to believe that in 1976 the

NAACP was under a crippling, potentially fatal assault. The leadership of the NAACP and black churches formed a coalition last year which elected Governor Charles Finch, a moderate. For the first time in modern history, blacks now play an integral role in the state's Democratic party. But all the past and future accomplishments of the NAACP were, nonetheless, threatened by the suit. The national media virtually ignored the threat to the NAACP, although the black press implored its readers to help and black leaders called upon their supporters.

Blacks across the country responded to the NAACP's crisis by the tens of thousands. When I was at the NAACP's national headquarters the day before the deadline, a black woman, who works as a cleaning lady, brought in a contribution of $25. The day of the deadline, she returned with another $25. The sacrifice and commitment of this woman was typical of the responses of black Americans. The bulk of the money raised came in small contributions from NAACP branches.

Yet as the deadline approached, the NAACP was still $800,000 short. In moments of crisis like this we find out who our real friends are. No corporation, no foundation, no philanthropist stepped forward to save the NAACP. But the labor movement was there. The AFL-CIO guaranteed the additional $800,000 needed for the bond. The AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department and the United Auto Workers each agreed to reimburse the federation for up to $200,000 should the NAACP lose its appeal in the courts.

Lane Kirkland, the AFL CIO's Secretary-Treasurer, pointed out that "It should come as no surprise to anyone that the labor movement is taking action. We have never been passive spectators when our friends were in trouble and we never will be." Unfortunately, for many people it probably came as an enormous surprise. All too often the labor movement has been scorned as racist and reactionary, when, in fact, it has been the leading ally of the civil rights movement. Black Americans owe the labor movement a debt of gratitude for its assistance at this time of crisis.

We also owe an incalculable debt to the NAACP. The immediate crisis has passed, but the NAACP still needs contributions so that it can continue the fight for freedom and justice.

You can do your part by sending a contribution to the NAACP, 1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
October 28, 1976

Rustin Column

WHITHER THE CITIES?

During the presidential debates there was almost no mention of the problems of the cities. This was not a tribute to the success of national urban policy. Nor was it an indication that the candidates had identical philosophies toward the cities. It was more a confession that neither candidate was confident that he had a program that would really do the job.

There is a widespread feeling that the cities are hopeless. Certainly city life has grown less pleasant and more burdensome in recent years. The financial crunch in New York and other cities has directly diminished the daily lives of millions. Services and facilities necessary to urban living have been cut back. In New York the public library is closed on weekends, in Detroit the school athletic program has been eliminated. Teacher-pupil ratios in many cities are so large that education is nearly impossible. The problems of unemployment, crime and decaying housing continue to grow worse.

Blacks have an immense stake in the fate of our cities and not simply because that is where many live. For if cities controlled politically by blacks fall apart, blacks will be blamed, unfairly, and the growth of black political influence will be slowed. The notion that the cities are doomed to further decline breeds a pervasive pessimism towards all social programs. Thus blacks have more than enough reasons to be part of a national crusade to save the cities.

It is important that the fatalism and defeatism about the cities be reversed. We must see the cities not as problems, but as a challenge. It is true that past programs and approaches have been inadequate. Some policies did not go far enough; others have proven counterproductive or ineffective. Still, not everything that was tried in the past failed. Nor is the future hopeless.

Some leading students of urban policy have concluded that the prospects for saving the cities are much brighter than is commonly thought.

It would be foolish to expect instant solutions to urban problems which have been building up over decades. But the recognition that the problems of the cities cannot be solved overnight may be the first step toward developing the type of long range programs that are needed. Neither despair nor wishful thinking will do the cities any good. Optimism about the possibility of progress and realism about the means of achieving it are what is required.

Immediately after the flourish of social experimentation in the sixties, it was frequently said that we needed to rethink the problems of the cities. Too often the rethinking turned out to be nothing more than an excuse for doing nothing. For the last eight years, our urban policy has seemed to consist of a hope that the cities would disappear. Nonetheless, the need to rethink the cities is still there and cannot be avoided merely because it was once used as a dodge.

Those who are committed most passionately to the cities, to the poor, and to the expansion of social justice must be willing to reexamine some of their conventional wisdom. For without the creative ideas that come from such a process of rethinking, it will be difficult to move urban policy off dead center, much less to know where we want to move it. The resources to aid the cities are limited, but the biggest shortage has been the lack of intelligence and imagination.

Some immediate steps must obviously be taken to give the cities some breathing space to deal with their more fundamental problems. The two most urgent measures needed are a healthy economy and a federal takeover of welfare.

But beyond these steps, we need a vision of what our cities can be, an understanding of the historical, social, and economic forces which have produced the urban crisis, and a plan for the recovery of our cities.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
November 4, 1976

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

A SWEET VICTORY

It has been almost eight years since black Americans have had a friend in the White House. Now, come January, we will have one in Jimmy Carter. Black progress, which was rapid throughout the sixties, but which has been halted since 1969, can now begin again.

There have been few elections in American history as close as the one just completed. In 14 states Carter and Ford were separated by less than two percent of the votes. Although the margin was small, Carter did defeat an incumbent president for only the eighth time in our history and the fourth time in this century. The election was a tremendous victory for Jimmy Carter, but he could not have done it alone.

In an extremely close election like this one, there are many groups without whom victory would have been transformed into defeat. But the two most important factors clearly were the labor movement and black voters. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education and individual unions made their biggest effort ever. Labor's concerted election drive reversed the trend toward voter apathy and turned out a vote of several million more than expected. The strong vote of union members for Carter was a crucial part of his victory.

In state after state Carter's margin was provided by black voters. And this was true not only in the traditional swing states of the North, but also in such Southern states as Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida. The significance of the black vote was not simply that at least 80 percent and perhaps as many as 90 percent of blacks voted for Carter. It was the impressive black turnout which was really remarkable and which made the difference.

The large black turnout must have surprised those who underestimate the maturity and sophistication of the black voter. Unlike recent presidential contests there were no polarizing racial issues. The atmosphere of this election was more tranquil than 1968 or 1972. Although Ford displayed a lack of sensitivity in hesitating to fire Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz after his crude racial joke, his campaign did not attempt to stir up racial fears through the use of code words.

The absence of a racial issue tested the maturity and sophistication of black voters and permitted concentration on the real issues. The real issues in the campaign for blacks and for whites were economic--jobs, tax justice, and national health insurance. While it has been increasingly recognized that black progress depends more upon the overall condition of the national economy than on any other factor, some have doubted that black voters have the sophistication to turn out in large numbers in the absence of a clear-cut "black" issue. Those doubts were proven wrong on November 2. Blacks understood that Carter would be good for jobs and that Ford would be bad and they understood that this made all the difference between progress and continued stagnation.

With the election won, Carter must now turn his attention to leading the nation as President. The next four years will be a time of great challenge. Over ten million are unemployed. Our cities are in crisis. The nation has been drifting without purpose. It can be a period of renewed trust between the people and their government, a new opportunity to expand social justice.

Though still formidable, the barriers to equality and justice can be conquered by an intelligent and persistent attack. In that battle blacks will have a crucial role to play.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y.10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
November 11, 1976

Rustin Column

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

After the ballots have been cast and the winner determined, there comes the analysis of the elections. Almost every election postscript has emphasized that black voters made the difference in Carter's election. But the deeper political significance of the election for blacks has yet to be fully digested. In 1976 black politics emerged from the ghetto. No longer willing to play a subsidiary role and with a clear perception of the requirements for progress, the black voter came of age.

An impressive black turnout in 1976 came despite the fact that Gerald Ford was not an anti-black candidate and despite the lack of a prospect for new breakthroughs by blacks into elected office. Black voters have clearly shown their potential to determine the outcome of elections. The black vote proved to be the margin of Carter's narrow victory in such key states as Missouri, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Maryland, South Carolina, and Florida. All in all the black vote may have provided the margin for as many as 219 of Carter's 297 electoral votes.

But if there is reason to be enthusiastic about the results there is also reason to be concerned. The Joint Center for Political Studies estimates that only about 43 percent of all blacks of voting age went to the polls, a significant drop from 1972. The only reason that the black vote was almost as large as four years ago was that a larger percentage of registered blacks voted. Even while we recognize the importance of the black vote in this election we must understand those forces which limit our political influence--and a low rate of black political participation is certainly among them.

The reasons for lower registration which has affected whites as well as blacks are complex. One factor is that the new Federal limitations on campaign spending made it difficult to get people excited enough about the elections to register. Early cutoff dates for registration then prevented many from registering when the election got into full swing.

Watergate and other scandals have been frequently cited as reasons for declining voter participation. While this has undoubtedly disillusioned some blacks, it is not a primary cause of lower black participation. The decline in black voter participation which began in 1970 has mirrored a stagnating economy that has meant the slowing or reversal or black progress.

Now that the power of the black vote through its size and strategic location has been demonstrated, there is good reason to hope that the black turnout will be better in the future. A primary condition for improving the black turnout is a healthy, growing economy and an administration which is sympathetic to blacks. There is now a potential to increase black political participation and power; the question is whether the potential will be realized.

The real measure of growing black political power is not the number of blacks elected to public office, though that is an important by-product. Rather it is the ability of black voters to shape national policies by electing candidates who are responsive to the economic needs that blacks share with other working Americans. Black voters recognize this, perhaps more clearly than some black politicians. In New York, black voters saw through peripheral issues and unfair allegations and voted for Daniel Patrick Moynihan, providing the margin to elect him to the Senate. Over 80 percent of blacks voted for Moynihan, even though he was not endorsed by the Council of Black Elected Officials, because they knew Moynihan was a domestic liberal with a commitment to helping the poor.

Only a political strategy which is national in scope, which reflects the political maturity of black Americans, and which recognizes the preeminence of economic issues can take full advantage of the new opportunities created by the election of Jimmy Carter.

###########################

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
November 24, 1976

Rustin Column

OBITUARY FOR THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY

The South has been a key battleground in national politics in the last decade. After his election Richard Nixon developed a Southern Strategy designed to provide the political base for an emerging and permanent Republican majority. The thesis of Nixon's strategy was that dissatisfied Southern whites could be won over to the Republican party with veiled and, if necessary, open appeals to segregationism and that racial hatred and fear could turn the New Deal Southern whites into conservatives. From this there would eventually emerge a politically solid South--only now committed to the Republican party. Ever since Eisenhower had carried parts of the South the Republicans had been searching for an opportunity to take advantage of the decline of the old one-party South. But with the nomination of Barry Goldwater they increasingly abandoned the option of building a moderate, urban-based, forward-looking party that could attract important numbers of black voters. Instead the base of the Republican party in the South became converted Dixiecrats.

It was in Tennessee that Nixon's Southern Strategy had its greatest success. At their highpoint the state's Republicans held the two Senate seats, the Governor, and four of the nine Congressmen. The great battle of the Southern Strategy was in 1970 when Republicans launched a hard-hitting campaign against three-term incumbent liberal-populist Senator Albert Gore. Agnew and Nixon campaigned for Republican Congressman Bill Brock. Gore, one of the most effective spokesmen for the little man against the big interests, was painted as a radical liberal and a tool of outside interests. Brock was narrowly elected and became a leading light of the conservative wing of the Republican party, generally considered to be a potential presidential or vice-presidential nominee.

The Southern Strategy won some notable victories for the Republicans.

After the 1972 election they held nearly a third of the House seats in the region. But this strategy soon reached its limit. Nowhere was this more evident than in Tennessee. Not only did Carter carry the state by a comfortable margin, but Albert Gore's old seat was reclaimed from Bill Brock by a young Nashville attorney Jim Sasser. And with poetic justice, Albert Gore, Jr. was elected to the House seat once held by his father. Black voters played a key role in both these elections, but the important development is the strength of multi-racial coalitions throughout the South. Black Congressman Harold Ford of Memphis, who won by only 800 votes in 1974, was elected by a comfortable margin. Race did not become a pivotal issue in this district that is almost evenly split between blacks and whites, and Ford dramatically increased the percentage of the white vote he received.

Some Republicans will contend that the only reason for the failure of their Southern Strategy was the fact that Jimmy Carter is a Southerner. While Carter's roots did win some votes that a Northern Democrat would not have gotten, that is not the complete story. The Republicans based their strategy on the idea that the South was a rigid and unchanging area. They cast their lot with the Old South, hoping only to change the party label.

But a New South was in creation under the combined impact of urbanization, industrialization, and the civil rights movement. A new school of Southern politicians--moderate and concerned with human rights--grew to maturity. The labor movements of the South, although they still face tremendous difficulties, are imbued with a dynamism and a sense of social responsibility that is tremendously encouraging. It is no longer so easy to divide white and black workers. Although a majority of Southern whites voted for Ford, a majority of union members voted for Carter.

The election of progressive candidates like Jimmy Carter, Jim Sasser, and Albert Gore, Jr. pays tribute to the courage, decency, and faith of men like Albert Gore, who opposed segregation when it was exceedingly unpopular. The South will never again be a one-party region. Conservative Republicans will continue to challenge moderate Democrats. But one cannot help but feel that the Old South of segregation, despair, and backwardness is being eclipsed by a New outh of racial equality and social justice.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
December 9, 1976

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

BLACKS AND COLLEGE

It is no secret that minority admissions programs are being questioned. But it is sometimes forgotten that the value and usefullness of college is being questioned as well. Ten years ago education was being criticized for failing to meet the needs of black students. Today education is being attacked as failing to do its job. The debate about the role and effectiveness of education could well have a greater impact on black Americans than the fate of minority admissions programs.

The attacks on education have been concentrated on the value of going to college. It no longer pays to go to college, some are saying, so there is no reason to hold out the dream of free or inexpensive college education. There is an element of truth in this argument, but it has been overstated. The rapid expansion of college attendance could not continue at the same rate as it did through the sixties. But there is no doubt that many young people are being misled about their opportunities and are not going to college when they should More tragically, the possibility of a declining economic benefit from college has been used to justify increased tuition and plans for more unequal college systems. The attacks upon college could well lead to lower budgets for education at every level and a lack of enthusiasm for needed reforms.

The percentage of American young people going to college has been declining since 1970, but the proportion of blacks has been increasing. The proportion of college students who are black has more than doubled since 1964 from 5 percent to nearly 10 percent. Black high school graduates now go on to post-high school education at a rate approaching that of whites. Gains at the graduate and professional levels are smaller but follow the same pattern.

The picture is not quite so bright as these figures would seems to indicate.

Blacks got only 5.3 percent of the bachelor's degrees awarded in 1974. Blacks are disproportionately represented in community colleges and the less selective four-year institutions. The rate of black college students who do not finish their degree is half again as high as that of whites. Because the high school drop out rate is so high, the percentage of college age blacks getting some form of higher education has improved little.

Throughout the sixties the emphasis was on increasing the number of blacks who went to college by whatever means were available. This strategy had remarkable success but its very success created problems and the approach had inherent limitations. It did little good to get black students into colleges if they were not prepared to succeed. Most did extremely well, but too many were handicapped by poor high school educations. Remedial education at the college level can overcome some of this, but it can't do the job alone. Improving the level of high school instruction would be a more productive course. Progress in the future will depend upon increasing the number of qualified black students and enhancing the qualifications of those who are potential college students. The issue is becoming less one of access to education and more one of the quality of education.

The success of black students at college can only be improved by a total perspective on the American education system. Improving college opportunities for blacks cannot be considered in isolation. The false allegation that the increasing number of black students is responsible for a deterioration of academic standards is the most obvious example. It points up the formidable social tensions which are involved and which blacks must confront intelligently and responsibly. Higher tuition coupled with more generous aid programs for low-income students has put a squeeze on middle-income and working class families. As these families see the opportunity for their children to advance through a college education being blocked, there is always a danger that they will blame blacks.

But this need not happen. The fundamental interests of blacks and working class whites have much in common in this as in other areas. Blacks and working-class whites both have an interest in improving the level of education in high schools. This is crucial not only for college-bound students, but for youth who will go directly to work. They have a common interest in preventing the development of a rigid, stratified college system in which access to the outstanding public universities is substantially limited to the children of the wealthy, while black and working class students are restricted to community colleges that are little more than educational ghettos. They have a common interest in working for an education system in which young people are truly free to choose to go to college or not, according to their talents and tastes and are not forced to make their decisions on the basis of the income and wealth of their families.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
December 23, 1976

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

YOUNG AND HARRIS: TWO GREAT CHOICES

The appointment of two extremely well-qualified blacks, Andy Young and Patricia Harris, to cabinet level posts by President-elect Carter is a welcome development. Neither Young nor Mrs. Harris are flamboyant, charismatic figures. They have gotten where they are by hard work, dedication, and a genuine commitment to public service. They have earned their offices by records of excellence.

Patricia Harris comes to the Department of Housing and Urban Development from an impressive career in law and as a public servant. She has a record of responsible activism that is most impressive. In her student days she participated in a sit-in at a Washington white-only cafeteria. As a lawyer, Democratic party official, and public servant she has demonstrated competence, firmness, and courage. She has never been afraid to take an unpopular position. Less than a month after becoming Dean of the Howard Law School in 1969 Mrs. Harris resigned rather than yield to the rash demands of students who would have undermined the educational excellence of the school. In the Democratic Party she showed she knew how to be tough in political in-fighting.

Some have described her new job as less important than the Secretary of Defense or the Secretary of State. Mrs. Harris gave an apt response to this view when she rejected the view that "the agencies that deal with the immediate needs of individual human beings are agencies which somehow rank below those which are concerned with more arcane problems...." If anything is going to be done about the cities, the ideas will have to come from her department. The problems of the cities are likely to emerge as the central domestic issue of the next decade. Mrs. Harris has the personal qualities of toughness and dedication which are needed to tackle the enormous task of revitalizing America's cities.

Congressman Andy Young joins the select and prestigious list of Americans who have served as Ambassador to the United Nations. His is not the usual background for a diplomatic post, but perhaps it is a better one. He worked closely with Dr. Martin Luther King in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and in 1972 was elected to the House of Representatives from a district that is 56 percent white. He became an effective member of Congress and in 1976 emerged as one of the key figures in Jimmy Carter's drive for the Presidency. He has given up a safe House seat and a path that would have made him an increasingly influential member of Congress for new challenges and responsibilities.

Young's appointment is a recognition that the values which have guided the civil rights movement are the values of America when it is at its best. Those principles--democracy, equality, justice, and peaceful change--clearly need to be applied on the global level. The vision which animated the civil rights movement cannot be contained in one geographical entity, nor can it take a back seat to power politics. It is to be hoped that Young will not only work for majority rule in southern Africa and a more equitable world economy, but that he will also become a vigorous spokesman for human rights throughout the world. The too often cynical and manipulative world of the United Nations cannot help but benefit from the presence and example of a real human rights activist.

Andy Young and Patricia Harris will serve in critical posts which require the maximum of creativity, determination, and principle. President-elect Carter is to be commended for appointing individuals whose abilities and convictions match the demands of their offices. The nation is fortunate to have their services.

$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
January 6, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE NEW LABOR SECRETARY: A SIGN FROM CARTER

Few tasks facing the Carter administration are more urgent than attacking unemployment, especially as it affects minorities. Eight years of Republican rule have left a tragic legacy of millions unemployed. A stagnating economy has halted, if not reversed, the black progress that was so rapid during the 1960s.

We do not yet know the exact shape of Carter's program, but he has selected a fairly liberal cabinet and can be expected to follow an expansionary economic policy. One cabinet department, Labor, will play a crucial role in any effective strategy to attack unemployment. The experience of the last fifteen years demonstrates that full employment without inflation cannot be achieved unless, besides other steps, there are selective programs to employ the young, train the unskilled, combat discrimination, and promote the development of lagging regions and areas.

Fortunately, in Ray Marshall, Carter has made an excellent selection for his Secretary of Labor. Marshall is among the nation's outstanding manpower economists He has won the admiration and respect of nearly everyone he has worked with. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has rightly described him as one of the few American professors who understands working people.

Unlike many academic experts, Marshall knows poverty first hand. He grew up in an orphanage in Mississippi and entered college under the G.I. Bill. After getting his doctorate in economics, he returned to the South and stayed there despite lucrative job offers from prestigious universities. During the late 1950's and early '60's he was an outspoken champion of integration when that was not a popular position to take in Southern universities. Marshall has a deep and abiding commitment to developing programs to uplift the poor and disadvantaged.

Marshall may become one of Carter's chief economic advisors. The kind of advice that Marshall will give the new President was indicated in his testimony on the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress in mid-1976. He stated that it is mistaken to believe that full employment will necessarily lead to intolerable levels of inflation. "The best attack on inflation," he declared, "is to increase output and efficiency through fully utilizing the nation's productive potential." The most effective way in Marshall's view of overcoming our most serious social and economic problems is to improve the quantity and quality of jobs available to the poor and near-poor.

Marshall has been a leading figure in developing programs and approaches to increase minority employment in the construction industry. We can expect this to be one of his major priorities as Secretary of Labor. In his opinion a major obstacle to increasing minority employment in the construction trades is the high level of cyclical and seasonal unemployment--there are two construction workers for every job. A scarcity of jobs places the interests of employed white workers in direct opposition to those of minorities seeking to enter the industry, thus slowing minority economic advancement. In a recent study Marshall concluded that a high level of national employment is among the "essential measures for achieving racial equity in the construction industry."

Marshall recognizes the complexity of the construction industry and warns of the limited effectiveness of legal approaches or quota schemes, such as the Philadelphia plan, as the main instruments to promote real and lasting integration. Those who thought union racism was entirely at fault "assumed that there were many qualified blacks available for employment and they could easily be recruited. This proved untrue." The primary market for union construction is commercial and industrial building which demands high levels of skills and training. Consequently, the most effective approach, and one that is supported by the labor movement, is apprenticeship outreach. According to Marshall outreach programs, particularly the Recruitment and Training Program, have been successful in increasing the number and proportion of minorities in the skilled crafts with a minimum of conflict. Today, as a result, twenty percent of construction union apprentices are minorities.

Because Marshall enjoys the confidence of both labor and blacks he may be able to put together a program that both can support. The central element of such a program would be the need to create more jobs, while continuing to increase the effort to open more opportunities for minorities.

Ray Marshall will be an active and creative Labor Secretary. His presence in the cabinet is a welcome sign that the Carter administration intends to take vigorous action to create more and better jobs.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
January 20, 1977

Rustin Column

"IPI TOMBI": A QUESTION OF FREEDOM

The proper relationship between art and politics created a controversy recently in New York with the opening of "Ipi Tombi," a musical featuring black singers and dancers from South Africa. Shortly before it opened, a protest committee called for a boycott of the play alleging that it supported apartheid and that the cast members were exploited. Some of the people who picketed "Ipi Tombi" no doubt sincerely believed that their actions were constructive, but their behavior was actually destructive to the artists, to the theater, and to the cause of freedom in South Africa.

I have long opposed the repressive regime of South Africa. More than twenty-five years ago, I was one of the founding members of the Committee for South African Resistance, which later became today's American Committee on Africa. I worked in Africa with Azikiwe in Nigeria, Nkrumah in Ghana, Nyerere in Tanzania, and Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia during the liberation struggles in those countries. It is my desire to do anything I can for the freedom of all peoples in southern Africa that caused me to be concerned about the implications of this protest.

The organizers of the protest made a number of charges that on examination proved to be untrue. They charged that the salaries the dancers and singers received in London and New York are exploitative. Frederick O'Neal, president of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, investigated the charge and found that the salaries were correct according to union regulations. The actors in the New York company are receiving Actors' Equity road scale, $395 a week, far more than they could ever hope to make in South Africa.

It was also alleged that the South African government is sponsoring the show. In fact, "Ipi Tombi" is an independent production and has no financial or other connection with the South African government. Surely, the Nigerian National

Theater, which invited the show to perform in Lagos, would not have done so if the play was sponsored by the South African government.

Another charge was that the contents of the play are humiliating as they show Africans as happy-go-lucky children uninterested in dignity and freedom. The people who have made this charge, so far as I can tell, have not seen the play. I was deeply touched by the play's sensitive portrayal of conditions in the mines, menial work, the separation of families, the lack of opportunities, the difficulties that accompany urbanization, the longing for home, and the concern for helping young people cope with the lot of blacks in South Africa. Several songs were banned from the play when it was performed in South Africa precisely because they realistically portray the situation of blacks.

The nature of the protest was clearly shown when it continued even after these facts were known and after the New York cast rebuked the protest. The issues involved apparently had less to do with South Africa than with the fundamental issues of free speech and artistic freedom. The real objection of the protesters was that any play that does not explicitly and clearly condemn South Africa should not be performed. This thinking not only represents an attack on the theater, but also reveals a double standard on the part of a large number of people picketing--a number of whom I know. They praised "Porgy and Bess," which certainly did not address itself to the tragic condition of blacks living in the South at the time of its creation. Those who attacked the play for being non-political have set themselves up as censors. They would turn upside down the censorship of the South African government in order to replace it not with free expression, but with their own version of censorship. They would reduce theater from art to propaganda--a development all who support freedom should abhor.

Finally, it was said that even if all the other charges are untrue that the musical somehow supports South Africa's racial policies merely because it comes from South Africa. I fail to understand how depriving men and women from South Africa of the right to earn a living can do anything but reinforce the apartheid policy. That "Ipi Tombi" has won critical acclaim and financial success around the world seems to me to be a blow against apartheid. The play's performance before integrated audiences in New York will contribute to the self-confidence and determination to resist apartheid of blacks in South Africa. The health and vitality of the culture of black South Africans should be as much our concern as the more directly political struggle. I believe that "Ipi Tombi," because it is a healthy, positive, and honest expression of that culture, is also a statement for freedom and dignity.

The protest against "Ipi Tombi" was misguided, misinformed, and mistaken. It has done nothing to aid the cause of black South Africans. I can understand the sense of urgency and commitment that involved some in the protest, but freedom nowhere--neither here nor in South Africa--can be advanced by the undemocratic methods and attitudes employed against "Ipi Tombi."

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
February 3, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE SUPREME COURT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The era that began with the 1954 Brown decision, which declared segregated schools unconstitutional, has ended. No longer can the civil rights movement count on favorable decisions from the Supreme Court. Transformed by the appointments made by Richard Nixon, the court, under Chief Justice Warren Burger, has established a new trend that breaks sharply with its earlier course when it led the nation in fighting racial discrimination.

For some time the court has been handing down rulings that some experts believe would have made it difficult, if not impossible, to win many of the landmark civil rights cases of the 1950s and 1960s. Though the rulings have often been procedural or technical and have even come in some cases which had nothing to do with racial or sexual discrimination, their implications are deeply disturbing to civil rights activists. What the court has done is threefold. First, it has made it harder to bring suits on behalf of a class composed of all others in a similar situation--a technique that is frequently necessary to remedy civil rights violations. Second, those who get into court may find that they don't have a legitimate claim of discrimination. The Burger court has given a narrow interpretation to federal civil rights laws and the Constitution's guarantees of equal protection. Finally, the court is now stressing the need for proof that there was an actual discriminatory "intent" or "purpose" as opposed to clear proof of discriminatory "impact."

In January, the Court applied the "intent" ruling to a case challenging exclusionary suburban zoning. The court said that it was not inherently unconstitutional to refuse to change zoning regulations whose real effect is to block racially integrated housing. According to the court's reasoning, for such discrimination to be unconstitutional, there would have to be proof of intention to discriminate. Regardless of the motives in this particular case, there can be no doubt that many suburbs have deliberately manipulated zoning regulations to keep blacks out. They have now been encouraged to believe that it is safe to continue discriminatory zoning because it will be difficult, if not impossible, to prove an intention to discriminate. The court decision has created additional barriers for those who are working to achieve racially integrated housing patterns.

As the zoning decision indicates, it is becoming increasingly improbable that new and significant civil rights victories can be won in the courts. Indeed, where court decisions make a difference to racial progress they are more likely to have a negative impact. The great judicial and legislative victories of the 1950s and 1960s will not be overturned, but new court decisions are likely to protect existing patterns of inequality and privilege. The question is no longer whether litigation or political action offers the best avenue to progress for black Americans. Rather it is how the black community and others committed to a just society will react to a new and troubling situation. Will defeats or lack of progress in the legal sphere lead to political defeatism, apathy, and despair? Or will a clear political strategy, as sophisticated as the legal strategies that won the great victories in the courts, be able to bring renewed vitality to the civil rights movement?

The adverse turn taken by the Supreme Court does not mean that racial progress must come to an end. For a long time, the important victories of the civil rights movement have not been dependent upon judicial decisions. The civil rights legislation of the sixties was a political victory, as was the economic progress that resulted from the Great Society programs. Although the legal protection of rights remains essential, the most important needs of blacks today cannot be won in the courts. No court decision can guarantee full employment, rebuild the cities, or establish effective job training for unemployed youth.

The retreat of the Supreme Court from civil rights activism emphasizes more than ever the necessity of politics if we are to reach our goals.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
February 17, 1977

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

Economics has been much in the news lately--from the energy crisis to President Carter's economic package. We appear to be entering an era of renewed debate and discussion on economic policy that is sure to bring both new uncertainities and new challenges. Although President Carter's economic stimulation program is the immediate focus of discussion, it is also possible to discern a much broader and more fundamental discussion developing.

Like many others I was disappointed in the size and composition of Carter's recovery program. But our disappointment should not obscure the fact that the Carter program is a positive step that would not have been proposed if Gerald Ford had been re-elected. Moreover, it raises the hope that more vigorous action will be taken in the future. Even if the Carter program accomplishes its modest objectives, there are a large number of crucial decisions having more to do with the fundamental nature of our economy than with short term objectives, which will have to be made in the years ahead. Most obviously, even spokesmen for the Carter administration admit that their recently proposed stimulus package will not be sufficient to produce genuine full employment. A concerted and comprehensive program to reduce joblessness to really low levels still remains to be developed. Moreover, such difficult problems as poverty, inner city deterioriation, concentration of wealth and economic power, genuine tax reform, national health insurance, and energy policy must be faced.

The Carter administration has been given advice from a number of directions. Prominent business leaders met with Carter several times before his inauguration and have not hesitated to make their views known since. The AFL-CIO has characterized the Carter program as a retreat from his campaign promises and proposed an alternative program of direct job creation that would provide an additional two million jobs. Labor's program has received the support of a number of black leaders. Sadly, there has been no coherent program emerging from the liberal community. Although many liberals were less than satisfied with Carter's program, they have hesitated to criticize a president of their own party.

Because the Carter administration, however inadequate its initial program, is committed to full employment and because of the stubborness of economic problems a discussion of fundamental economic issues is shaping up. Blacks are not yet contributing to the debate in the way that we need to be. Traditionally, blacks have been in the position of simply demanding more. Many of us have had neither the time nor the expertise to develop theoretical and abstract understandings of the economy. Still, the gut feeling blacks share with most working people that unemployment is wrong and that society can achieve full employment is more economic wisdom than possessed by many economists. But to translate this superior vision into reality requires greater attention to detail.

Thus, the question today is becoming more one of how we are to get more. What instruments and policies are needed to reach our goals? By what criteria do we measure progress? Some may understandably fear that attempting to gain a more sophisticated approach to economic issues in the black community will detract from the strength and effectiveness of our demands for a fair share in the economy. However, we can ignore the large economic issues only at our own peril. The black demand for more runs head on into the fashionable talk about the limits of growth. Many one-time supporters of civil rights now endorse the proposition that we no longer need economic growth without bothering to examine the effect of no growth on the economic progress of black Americans. The fear of inflation continues to be a major barrier against the achievement of full employment. The solution finally adopted to the energy crisis will have a profound effect on the future progress of black Americans.

We have no need to fear the complexity of the economic question. Blacks have moved in recent years from a reliance on protest to the development of political power. Now that growing political power must be translated into programmatic politics.

Blacks have a tremendous stake in mastering the full range of economic issues. Otherwise, there is a great danger that bold and innovative proposals will be resisted because they clash with established ways of doing things and an opposite risk that some may be attracted to gimmicks and non-solutions out of a desperate desire to see change. While we cannot wait until we have all the answers to economic problems to take steps toward full employment, we will not get full employment until many of the difficult economic questions are answered.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

---

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

Immediately
February 23, 1977

For further information, contact:

Patricia Jones

BLACK LEADERS BLAST AMIN

Eight American leaders have denounced Ugandan President Idi Amin in a letter published in the February 23 New York Times. They declared that they were "outraged by the violations of human rights and the murders committed by President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda. Neither the character nor quality of oppression is altered when it is a black tyrant who is killing other blacks."

The letter described Amin's six-year rule in Uganda as "a series of savage incidents demonstrating a total contempt for human life." It cited estimates that from 50,000 to 300,000 Ugandans have been killed by Amin's murder squads. The black leaders wrote that, "No one should believe that in criticizing Amin they are criticizing black Africa. The leading statesmen of Africa have denounced his atrocities. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has called him a 'murderer,' while President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has termed him a 'racialist.'"

The black leaders closed with the appeal that "All Americans, black and white, should join in vigorously condemning Amin's reign of terror and should do whatever is possible to defend his victims--hundreds of whom are exiles living in the United States."

The letter was signed by Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Vernon Jordan, Executive Director, National Urban League; Eleanor Holmes Norton, N.Y.C. Commissioner of Human Rights; Frederick O'Neal, President Associated Actors and Artistes; William Pollard, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department; A. Philip Randolph, President Emeritus, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Director of the 1963 March on Washington; Bayard Rustin, President, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, N.A.A.C.P.

The letter follows the arrest and death last week of Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum of Uganda. The suspicious circumstances surrounding his death have caused most observers to doubt the Ugandan government's claim that the death was accidental. Church and other groups have called for an investigation of the Archbishop's death, while newspapers in neighboring Tanzania have reported that, while being tortured, the Archbishop was murdered by Amin.

Andrew Young American Ambassador to the United Nations, in a press conference on February 17, said that the assassination of the Anglican Archbishop "has to be condemned in the court of world opinion and public opinion, and those malicious and sadistic elements in every society need to be confronted, and people of goodwill within every society, including South Africa and Uganda, need to be encouraged."

In describing the purpose of the letter, Bayard Rustin said, "No service is done for the freedom movements of Africa nor for the freedom of Africa's independent states by failing to criticize injustice wherever it occurs. As part of the world-wide outcry against the barbarism of Amin's regime, this letter expresses the shock and anguish which I am sure is felt by every American."

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

For further information, contact:

MEMORANDUM

TO: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH PRESS LIST

FROM: STUART ELLIOTT

RE: MARCH 3 COLUMN ON IDI AMIN

The March 3 news release containing the Rustin column "Amin's Reign of Terror" had a major typographical error. On page 3, line 2 it referred to the "United States Human Rights Commission" when it should have read the "United Nations Human Rights Commission."

We apologize for this error.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
March 3, 1977

Rustin Column

AMIN'S REIGN OF TERROR

To be silent about the tragedy in Uganda would be to betray our principles, our values, and ourselves. On February 23 a letter to the editor appeared in the New York Times from eight black leaders condemning "Amin's reign of terror."

The letter was signed by Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, Eleanor Holmes Norton of the N.Y.City Human Rights Commission, Frederick O'Neal of the Associated Actors and artistes, William Pollard of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, A. Philip Randolph, President Emeritus of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, and myself.

We wrote that we were "outraged by the violations of human rights and the murders committed by President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda. Neither the character nor the quality of oppression is altered when it is a black tyrant who is killing other blacks."

The letter expressed our deep anguish and concern. We pointed out that Amin's six-year rule has been a series of savage incidents demonstrating a total contempt for human life. But in February a new chapter of cruelty and barbarism began. In his first press conference at the United Nations, Ambassador Andrew Young, to his credit, denounced the assassination of an Anglican archbishop and two members of the Ugandan cabinet as "sadistic and malicious acts that need to be condemned." Later, the Tanzanian Daily News reported that the archbishop, after being tortured, was killed by Amin himself.

The full horror of Amin's rule in Uganda has only slowly and belatedly been fully revealed. It is sometimes easy to mistake a madman for a buffoon, but there can be no doubt that Amin is the former and not the latter. In 1972 Amin gave the 80,000 Asians living in Uganda three months to get out of the country, including those who held Ugandan citizenship. What he has done since is even more outrageous. He has systematically persecuted the country's Christians, who make up eighty percent of Uganda's population. It is estimated that from 50,000 to 300,000 Ugandans have been killed by Amin's murder squads. Thousands of Ugandans are in prison and tens of thousands have flown to other African nations, Europe, and the United States. The country's chief justice, a former Prime Minister, was dragged from his courtroom by Amin's gunmen and has not been seen since. And he was not the only prominent Ugandan to meet that end. Every barrier that might have protected Ugandans from the abuses and crimes of Amin has been destroyed. The social, political, and economic structure of Uganda has been shattered.

During the 1950s and early 1960s I worked in four liberation movements in Africa, so I have no hesitation in declaring that Amin's rule in Uganda is a gross betrayal of Africa's struggle against colonialism, injustice, and oppression. To suppose that criticizing Amin is also to criticize black Africa would defile the lofty principles that guided the movements for national independence. Leading African statesmen have denounced Amin's atrocities. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has called him "a murderer," while President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has termed him "a racialist." A Kenyan government radio broadcast in July 1976 declared that "it is a pity that the peace loving people of Uganda should now find themselves under the world's greatest dictator in modern history."

Any notion that Amin's crimes are to any degree excusable because he is black can only harm the moral and political cause of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and minority rule in Rhodesia. Violations of human rights in Uganda do not justify those in South Africa and Rhodesia. Ian Smith does not justify Idi Amin. Oppression and injustice must be opposed wherever it occurs if freedom and human dignity are to flourish anywhere.

While American and world attention was focused on the fate of the two hundred Americans Amin had ordered to stay in Uganda, he, a Muslim, was launching a purge of thousands of predominantly Christian Lango and Acholi tribesmen in Uganda's army, airforce, police forces, and prison forces. Thousands of tribesmen have been massacred and hundreds of students from those tribes have been arrested in Kampala.

We are thankful that the Americans have escaped harm, but innocent people continue to be killed in Uganda, while many of the world's leaders remain silent. The United States Human Rights Commission has rejected a British proposal for an investigation of the entire human rights situation in Uganda. Black people especially must understand the harmful effect this will have on our efforts to build a world-wide moral crusade against the terrible oppression in South Africa and Rhodesia. The cowardice and cynicism of diplomats must not be allowed to erode our indignation at violations of human rights anywhere in the world. All Americans, black and white, who are dedicated to human rights and freedom, must join in condemning Amin's reign of terror and must do whatever is possible to defend his victims, many of whom are refugees in the United States.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
March 17, 1977

Rustin Column

THE HUMAN RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The new spirit in the foreign policy of Jimmy Carter is the focus that has been placed on human rights. The administration's initiatives in defending dissidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and expressions of concern over human rights violations in Uganda, South Africa, and elsewhere are encouraging signs to those who live in free societies and to those who are suffering from dictatorship and oppression.

Although Carter's statements are important, the most crucial impetus for the cause of human rights is a growing world-wide movement that insists that international affairs should be judged by their impact on human beings and not by the changing power relationships and ambitions of states. The key issue involved is a simple one. There are internationally recognized human rights which have been defined in various international agreements. Not only can it be said that morally there are no internal affairs left anywhere on earth, but it is also true that the basic human rights now bear the protection of international law. The small and persecuted human rights groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have courageously called for the full implementation of those rights. Their determination may mean that international politics will never be the same again.

This human rights revolution derives its strength not only from the extraordinary heroism and courage of the human rights advocates in totalitarian and authoritarian countries but also from the sympathy and concern of democratic world opinion. Without the support of those of us who enjoy the advantages of democracy, the sacrifices of brave figures like Andrei Sakharov would be futile.

There are some who say an emphasis on human rights, whether expressed by governments or private individuals, is ineffective. While our statements of concern do not guarantee change, humanity compels us to protest. Moreover, our statements can make a difference. If the world had cynically accepted Indira Ghandi's imposition of dictatorship, there would have been no prospect for a return to democracy. But there were protests in Western Europe and the United States and Mrs. Ghandi has removed the state of emergency and elections have recently been held.

Others warn that human rights advocacy threatens world peace. But one has to ask what kind of world we will have if dictators continue to believe that they can violate basic human rights with impunity. There is little prospect that dangerous world problems can be peacefully resolved unless human rights are more widely respected.

The protest of the dictators that violations of human rights are purely internal affairs sounds strikingly familiar to American blacks. It is exactly the same argument that we heard twenty and thirty years ago from segregationists who said that race relations were a Southern matter.

The great odds against which the dissidents in the Communist countries must struggle merely to survive is a vivid reminder of the value of even an imperfect democracy. The civil rights movement in the United States was able to achieve remarkable progress in a comparatively short period. Such far-reaching changes are virtually impossible under dictatorships.

The infatuation with the Third World as an ideal has faded because the systematic and often brutal violations of human rights in so many of the third world countries is becoming increasingly well-known. The savagery and cruelty of Idi Amin's rule is among the most extreme, but unfortunately it is not unique. It would be a bitter and cruel hoax to pretend that ignoring human rights violations or apologizing for them does anything to help the people of the developing countries.

There are both historical and philosophical connections between the American civil rights movement and the international human rights movement. Both movements have demanded that human rights must be observed in practice if they are to have any meaning. If we are to be true to the principles that have guided the black struggle for equality and justice, every struggle for human rights, whether in the Soviet Union,Czechoslovakia, or South Africa, must also be our struggle.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
March 31, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

BLACKS SHOULD SUPPORT STEVENS BOYCOTT

The boycott of the J.P. Stevens Company by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union deserves the enthusiastic support of black Americans. Stevens, the nation's second largest textile manufacturer with 89 plants in the South, has violated labor laws, while exploiting its workers through low wages, poor working conditions, arbitrary firings, and dangerous health and safety conditions. The boycott, which has already been launched in 35 cities has attracted the support of key civil rights, church, and community leaders.

Having suffered so grievously from injustice, blacks are sympathetic to the plight of the Stevens workers. Practical considerations and moral values require that that sympathy be translated into active concern and support.

Although the connection might not seem apparent at first, the effort to organize workers in the South is a continuation of the civil rights struggle. A large number of workers at Stevens and the other textile plants in the South are black--an estimated 20 percent of the 700,000 textile workers in the region. Until these workers are represented by unions, their chances for economic advancement will be poor. Like many companies in the South, Stevens continues to discriminate. In December 1975, a federal judge ruled that Stevens was guilty of hiring on the basis of race, reserving clerical jobs for white employees, discrimination against blacks in job assignments, discrimination in lay-offs and recalls, and other discriminatory employment practices. The judge discovered that blacks with ten years seniority were making less than whites with only two years seniority, while blacks with a twelfth grade education were paid less than whites with a third grade education.

Blacks have a profound interest in a strong labor movement. Unions are capable of uplifting hundreds of thousands of black Americans from poverty to achieve a measure of economic dignity and security. The labor movement has been the major ally of the civil rights movement in passing legislation. Moreover, labor has an economic and legislative program that addresses the needs of black Americans, of the poor, and of working people. If the boycott of J. P. Stevens is successful, then the coalition for economic and social justice will be strengthened in all its dimensions.

An influential and effective labor movement in the South is an essential precondition to completing the social transformation begun by the civil rights movement. When blacks and whites work together in the same union old attitudes of suspicion and distrust are replaced by a new spirit of cooperation, understanding, and mutual commitment to social justice. By decreasing the poverty of blacks and poor whites, unions can put an end to the economic rivalry which lies at the roots of so much of the South's racial tensions.

Like the civil rights movement, the workers at the J.P. Stevens plants, as well as other workers in the South, are dependent upon the support of public opinion if they are to gain justice. A Federal Court of Appeals ruling said that Stevens "has initiated and pursued a pattern of conduct the purpose of which was to crush the union movement...." Stevens has exploited weaknesses in the nation's labor laws to create a climate of fear that makes it impossible to hold fair elections to determine whether the workers want to be represented by a union. In the one instance where a strict court ruling partially restrained the company's anti-union activities, 3500 workers in seven plants in Roanoke Rapids, N.C. voted for union representation. But Stevens has refused to bargain in good faith. As a result the workers called for a public support for a campaign against the company to stop its law violations. The labor movement responded by launching a massive consumer boycott designed to awaken J.P. Stevens to its obligation to stop coercing and threatening its workers, to end its climate of fear so that fair elections can be held, and to bargain in good faith when its workers vote to bargain collectively through a union of their own choice.

Only by moblizing the concern of people all over the country in support of the boycott of J.P. Stevens can a start be made to bringing economic and social justice to the working people of the South, both black and white. Supporting the boycott should become a central element in the struggle of black Americans to achieve full equality.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

Immediately
April 14, 1977

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

INCREASE THE MINIMUM WAGE

America's lowest-paid workers need a fair minimum wage. This is the message of a coalition headed by Clarence Mitchell of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Dorothy Height, President of the National Council of Negro Women, AFL-CIO President George Meany, and Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University and a former Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

It has always been the case that even presidents who are sympathetic to social reforms are never sympathetic enough unless there are some outside forces pushing them in the right direction. The formation of the Coalition for a Fair Minimum Wage recognizes this fact. It makes it clear that blacks, labor, and others committed to social justice are not going to be satisfied merely with good appointments and rhetoric from the new administration. We want and need concrete actions.

The fight for a fair minimum wage faces an uphill battle. Business groups and conservatives are as strongly opposed to an increase in the minimum wage as they were to the first minimum wage of 25 cents an hour back in 1937. So this would be a tough fight under any circumstances. But to make matters worse, it is going to be more difficult to mobilize the broad coalition that once worked for so much important social legislation. Too many people of liberal inclinations have been taken in by the spurious argument that an increase in the minimum wage would increase inflation and harm the poor.

Of course, the perpetrators of the arguments against an increase in the minimum wage have never been noted for their support of the poor or civil rights. It is doubtful that they have suddenly been converted to a more enlightened view. Despite all the claims of the minimum-wage opponents there is no credible evidence that any of the past increases in the minimum wage have caused increases in unemployment. There is no reason to think that it would be different this time.

Nor is the minimum wage increase likely to cause inflation. The truth is that when labor is cheap, it is usually employed wastefully. In fact, studies by the Department of Labor and other experts have concluded that minimum wage increases have provided widespread benefits for the economy as a whole and substantial gains for those at the lowest-end of the wage scale.

The case for an increase in the minimum wage is as convincing as the arguments against it are weak. The estimated 3 million workers now being paid the $2.30 federal minimum wage are receiving 61 cents an hour less than would be needed to reach the family poverty cutoff level. An additional 5 million workers earn only a little more than the minimum wage. It would take a minimum wage increase of at least 53 cents just to restore the buying power lost to inflation since 1974, when the minimum wage law was last amended.

The Carter administration has advocated an increase in the minimum wage, but not nearly a big enough increase. Their proposal to raise the wage floor a mere 20 cents and in the future tie it to 50 per cent of the average wage level is inadequate and unfair. It would lock the lowest-paid workers into a poverty-wage for the future. Many full-time minimum wage workers would still have to seek supplemental welfare assistance in order to have a decent standard of living.

The issue of a fair minimum wage is a challenge to the conscience of America. It asks that the plight of the poorest paid Americans not be forgotten. As unemployment recedes--and it has not yet receded very far--enormous economic hardships will remain for millions of Americans. When workers are poor, they can move out of poverty only if they are paid a decent wage. An increase in the minimum wage is the most important step that can be taken to help the working poor. It will be a sign that the United States is still committed to economic and social justice.

In contrast to the administration's disappointing proposal, Congressman John Dent has introduced a bill which offers some hope for the working poor. His bill would start with a rise in the wage floor to $2.85 and beginning next January would link the minimum wage to 60 percent of the average manufacturing wage. It deserves our active support. We can have a fair minimum wage, if people write their Congressional representatives and ask them to support the Dent bill.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
April 28, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

A DANGEROUS COMPLACENCY

The growing complacency about unemployment is misplaced and betrays a lack of concern for the less fortunate members of society. An old saying has been amended. It now appears that familiarity breeds tolerance. There seems to be no other way to explain the lack of concern about an unemployment rate that is scandalously high.

We are now more than two years past the peak of joblessness, but the situation has improved only marginally. A historical comparison demonstrates that the job crisis is still real. The lowest rate of unemployment during this recession is equal to the highest rate of unemployment in any other previous post-war recession. Officially, there are still over seven million people unemployed. The official figures, however, badly underestimate the real extent of joblessness. They take no account of the workers who have become so discouraged that they have quit looking for work. And they do not include the workers who have been forced to take part-time jobs, even though they need and want full-time jobs. Thus, the real unemployment rate is around 10 percent.

Not only is the situation bad today, but there is little prospect for quick or significant improvement. It is unlikely that unemployment will fall below five percent, which is still too high, within the next four years. Even this modest improvement will require more rapid economic growth over the next several years than will be possible unless there is vigorous government action to reduce joblessness.

So it is particularly unfortunate that the Carter administration has dropped its tax rebate proposal, which was the major portion of its economic recovery program. Whether or not tax rebates were the best way to create jobs, dropping them is a major blow against the type of vigorous economic recovery needed to cut joblessness. This action is in conflict with the administration's own rhetoric and intentions. There is no doubt that reducing unemployment is a difficult task, perhaps more difficult than the President and his advisors had originally thought. The difficulty of the task, however, should not be an excuse for abandoning the effort or for pretending that it is already on the way to solution. Nor should it be reason to back away from making the goal of jobs for all a fundamental commitment of national policy.

The administration's retreat from full employment creates a number of dangers. Without full employment it will be impossible to achieve needed social reforms and improvements. But a greater danger is that complacency about unemployment will be contagious and frustrate other measures that are needed to improve the lives of the poor, minorities, and workers.

The Republican-inspired attempt to pass a permanent tax reduction, which has been defeated by the Senate, was a political gimmick not a serious proposal to create jobs. Under the guise of an effort to revive the economy, it would have foreclosed the possibility of enacting important reforms to which the administration is committed. It would have made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to achieve a comprehensive tax reform later this year or next year. More importantly, it would have removed the revenue base that is needed for such long-overdue programs as national health insurance.

There is still a need to stimulate the economy. The $11 billion that was saved when President Carter abandoned the tax rebate should not be used just to cut the deficit; instead it should be used to directly put people to work. There is no way to get a balanced budget without full employment. Employment in public work programs can be substantially increased without creating any danger of inflation. Moreover, in addition to helping the general economy, these jobs can be aimed primarily at areas of high unemployment, where they will do the most good. Increased spending for public service and public works programs must now be supported by everyone who is committed to reducing joblessness.

Complacency about unemployment, in thought and action, must end. Social justice cannot be achieved until there are jobs for all our workers. We have waited long enough for vigorous action to put America back to work.

#############################

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

Immediately
May 12, 1977

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE SOVIET THREAT TO AFRICA

The Soviet Union is up to something new and dangerous in Africa. It is adopting a beligerent and aggressive policy that threatens the independence and development of Africa. A recent report by the Library of Congress called attention to unprecedented Soviet involvement in Angola. After having won its independence from Portugal, Angola is increasingly falling under the influence of the Russians. Their influence is neither indirect nor subtle. In fact, it is so direct and pervasive that it is nothing less than neo-colonialism. There are 25,000 Cubans in Angola, which is close to 10 percent of the Cuban army and more than were present during the height of the Angolan civil war. In addition, there are as many as 2,000 East Germans. The Soviet secret police have established effective control over the important departments of information and security.

Angola is not an isolated case. Cuba, which does the Soviet's dirty work in Africa, has troops in six other African countries and possibly in three or four more . In Sierra Leone, the Cubans are training an internal security unit. They are also active in Equatorial Guinea, where President Macias has established one of the bloodiest dictatorships in the world. About one-fourth of that country's original inhabitants have fled into exile. Fifty thousand people have been killed without trial or charges and Macias has reportedly introduced a system of slavery. A Cuban military mission recently visited Uganda. The Soviet Union is already helping to keep Idi Amin in power by supplying him with at least 50 MIGs and other weapons.

The Soviet Union has built naval and air bases in Somalia and through generous military aid has won over the military junta in neighboring, strife-torn Ethiopia

Soviet actions are destructive to moderate African regimes and dangerous to

Africa itself. Their aid to Uganda, Ethiopia, and Somalia appears to be part of a long-term strategy against Kenya, which has the smallest army in the region because it has invested its resources in education and development rather than in arms. The recent invasion of the mineral-rich Shaba province of Zaire could not have taken place without the support of the Angolans and Cubans, who supplied arms and training to the rebels and planned the attack. If the national integrity of Zaire is undermined, the whole continent of Africa could be wracked by separatist conflicts.

The Soviet Union and Cuba have little interest in a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia and South-West Africa. Their goal is to increase their own power by frustrating the American effort to negotiate a settlement. They are actively encouraging a military solution, regardless of the cost to black Africans. Because of the superior training and fire power of the whites, it is estimated that the violent liberation of Rhodesia and South-West Africa would cost from ten to twenty black lives for every white one. Moreover, if white minority rule in Rhodesia is ended by military force, there is a great danger that a civil war will break out between the rival black nationalist factions. But this does not disturb the Soviet Union. In fact, they would welcome such a development, because it would provide them with the opportunity to establish control over the winning side.

Unlike the leaders of black Africa, the Russians aren't particularly interested in seeing black Rhodesians win majority rule by their own efforts. They hope that in a "war of liberation", the nationalists will be compelled to ask for "assistance" from the Cubans. Thus, Angola will be repeated in Rhodesia.

The manner in which majority rule is established in Rhodesia will determine the future course in South Africa. If it is by war, there will be increased repression of the 18 million blacks in South Africa.

The worst impact of increased Soviet influence in Africa is on the people themselves. Without exception, the growing number of African states which have declared themselves to be Marxist-Leninist, including Angola, Mozambique, Benin, and Ethiopia, are brutally repressive and dictatorial regimes. They run roughshod over traditional ethnic and social interests. Any attempt to impose a political system on African countries which does not recognize the force of tribalism can only result in severe repression. Communism is alien to Africa; it will do nothing to improve the lives of average Africans.

It is not surprising that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and other African leaders are becoming increasingly concerned about the growing Soviet intervention in Africa. Americans should recognize that the Soviet Union is a threat to the future progress of Africa.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

Immediately
May 26, 1977

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

CARTER: STYLE OR SUBSTANCE?

While Jimmy Carter's presidential style has been imaginative and impressive, his performance has been less than inspiring. One wants to allow a new President plenty of time to prove himself, but surely enough has happened to form some judgments. President Carter has done an admirable job of communicating a sense of openness to the American people and he has established an extraordinary degree of personal popularity. But as one who wishes the President well and who still has high hopes for his administration, I believe he is doing less well on the issues than he should.

Of course, not everything the President has done has been bad. He has come up with some good ideas, particularly in the field of foreign policy. But the general drift of the administration's policy is deeply disturbing. It's economic philosophy is almost as conservative as that of Gerald Ford. Achieving full employment has taken the back seat to controlling inflation and balancing the budget. It has even been reported that Carter plans to reappoint Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, whose conservative policies have done much to aggravate our economic difficulties. Whether true or not, this rumor is a reflection of the fact that the administration's economic policies and rhetoric seem to be designed to please business and conservatives.

The administration's minimum wage proposal was abominable. They proposed a small increase which would leave the minimum wage forty-two cents an hour below the poverty line. This small increase was justified on the grounds that a larger one would be inflationary. Yet the administration's energy program includes the deregulation of natural gas, a most inflationary proposal, which would benefit the rich and penalize the poor.

The welfare reform proposal presented by the Carter administration was a vague, unspecific set of principles. The administration is still working out the details and will not present the finished package to the Congress before the fall. Even worse, HEW Secretary Califano has said that he does not expect the reform to go into effect before the fall of 1980. The top priority of the administration seems to be that the new program cost no more than the present programs. It is hard to see how such a program is any sort of reform at all, for it will mean that large numbers of the poor will be made worse off. Moreover, it will mean virtually no fiscal relief to local governments.

There is no doubt that Carter has appointed blacks and women to many important positions, but this has done nothing to help those in greatest need.

All this is more tragic since it was the poor, workers, and minorities who elected Carter. Their commitment was not to a man, but to the economic and social policies Carter proclaimed in his campaign speeches and which promised significant reforms and full employment.

The administration's domestic program is uncertain in purpose, lacks a clear focus, or motivating principle. The only consistent theme seems to be the need for better management. One has the feeling that the problems of poverty, welfare reform, and unemployment are being approached as engineering problems and that the human dimension of the suffering they cause is being overlooked. Without a philosophy of democratic social change, without a clear concern for improving the lives of working people and the poor, the Carter administration will fail to realize its potential. Without a vision, even the good parts of the administration's program will have a difficult time being passed.

Presidential leadership is the most important factor in rallying the Congress and the American people to the cause of reform. At the Democratic convention, Jimmy Carter identified himself with the great reforming Presidents--Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson. Thus far that identification has not been matched by a dynamic and concrete program to benefit working people, the poor, and minorities. The task of the labor movement, the civil rights community, and others is to persuade the President to make a bold, determined commitment to fight for social justice.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
June 9, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

GIVE WORKERS A CHANCE

The nation's labor laws need to be reformed to give workers a fair chance to organize. Enlightened opinion has long recognized that unions are essential if workers are to have any hope of dealing on an equal basis with their employers. The nation's basic labor relations policy was expressed in the Wagner Act of 1935 as "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of their own choosing." The Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffith amendments to the Wagner Act undermined those principles by creating an imbalance in favor of employers. Although companies no longer employ the brutal anti-union methods of the past, many have adopted a sophisticated arsenal of devices--legal, illegal, and extralegal--to interfere with and frustrate the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively.

There is a basic inequality in the nation's labor laws. There are prompt, effective, harsh, even vindictive, penalties against union violations of the law. However, there are no comparable remedies against employer violations--even the most flagrant violations during union organizing campaigns. The National Labor Relations Act provides speedy action to protect the rights of employers, but allows delay after delay to frustrate the rights of workers. Violations of equal severity are treated with unequal punishment. The law has naively and erroneously assumed that employers would accept the spirit of the law and respect the rights of workers.

Employers exploit procedural delays to prevent the law from being enforced for several years. The promise of collective bargaining can be dragged through the National Labor Relations Board and the courts for years and never become a reality.

The new brand of union-busters carry briefcases instead of clubs and brass knuckles. Their main strategy is delay. As one union-buster put it: "the name of the game is to prevent the election and chill the union off." It now takes an average of six months for an election to be held to determine if workers want to be represented by a union. There is no reason that elections cannot be held within a specified and short period of time. In fact, such a reform is essential if workers are to have an effective right to organize.

Workers fired by their employers because of their union activities must wait years for legal remedies. The employer may be forced to hire back the workers after two or three years, but the promise of eventual justice will not feed a family.

When an unfair labor practice charge is filed by a union it takes an average of one year for a cease-and-desist order to be issued by the National Labor Relations Board. After that it takes another year or two for a court order to be issued and the employer can still delay by refusing to bargain in good faith. In one-fourth of the union representation elections won in 197[illegible], contracts had still not been signed five years later. For workers, justice delayed is truly justice denied.

Employers who illegally fire workers for supporting a union and employers who refuse to bargain in good faith after an election should be subject to prompt, enforceable court orders to stop such illegal activities.

Another vitally needed reform is that the government should stop subsidizing employers who consistently and repeatedly violate the national labor laws. Government contracts should no more be awarded to companies that violate labor laws than to those that violate laws against discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or sex.

Big business is mounting a huge and expensive campaign to oppose labor law reform. Those who have always placed property rights above human rights continue to oppose their employees' attempts to exercise their right to representation and self-organization. They are going to be spending millions of dollars spreading the lie that labor law reform is a selfish power grab by big labor. They couldn't be farther from the truth.

Labor law reform is needed to insure the rights of unorganized and exploited workers. The right to organize and bargain collectively is still effectively denied to millions of workers. Black workers, who have shown an extraordinary interest in unions, are special victims of this unjust situation. They make up a large percentage of the workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and area where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions--the service industries, the South, and government employment. A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of black workers.

Every worker must have the right to self-organization and collective bargaining, with speedy processes and effective remedies to guarantee those rights.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
June 23, 1977

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

In light of the recent Supreme Court's decision on limiting state assistance for abortions, I would like to reprint some words I wrote in 1970. It is sad to note that instead of progressing in this area of women's rights, we have regressed.

FEMINISM AND EQUALITY

The modern feminist movement differs from the suffragette movement of a half-century ago in that its demands have to do more with economic equality than with political rights. To a considerable degree, this is a reflection of technological changes that have taken place in the society -- changes which have freed the more affluent women from household chores and enables them to gain a high degree of education. These women are now demanding that jobs and other opportunities be opened to them on a nondiscriminatory basis. The force of their argument is reflected in economic statistics showing that the income differential between men and women is greater than it is between whites and blacks.

If the women's liberation movement should be criticized, it is not because its demands are unjust but because they do not go far enough. The three demands put forth at the August 26 demonstrations were for free abortions, twenty-four-hour day-care centers for children of working mothers, and equal education and employment opportunities.

I would personally take issue with none of these demands, but they are inadequate in that they are proposed in isolation from the broad social and economic context of American life. The feminists are making the same mistake that many other social protesters have made: they do not relate their demands to the larger issues which ultimately will determine whether the demands are met.

For example, I am entirely for free abortions on demand, since I think women should be able to choose whether they want to have children. But I think that the feminists would be wiser to make this specific demand part of a larger demand for socialized medicine. Our current health system does not permit all women, or all Americans, to obtain adequate medical care, and good health is a prerequisite for "liberation," however one cares to define that word. Similarly, it is not enough to have day-care centers that will free mothers from constant supervision of their children. There should also be a demand for the expansion of preschool education and for high-quality integrated schools that will liberate the minds of the children and enable them to develop their potential to the fullest. Finally, the demand for equal employment opportunities cannot be met in the absence of full employment. As long as a sizable portion of the population is unemployed, workers, regardless of their sex or race, will have to compete for jobs and employers will be able to hire those willing to work for the least pay. Here it should be added that the demand for female equality is too often stated in terms of giving women the same rights as men. What happens then is that women consider their own special rights -- such as the legal protection of women workers -- to be expendable. Rather than give up these rights, they should be demanding that such provisions be extended to all workers.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
July 7, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE NAACP FACES CHANGE

The news accounts of the recent NAACP convention gave the impression of an organization consumed by crisis and division. These reports, of course, suffer from the distortions and exaggerations which are so prevalent in news coverage of race relations. It is the media's credo that a bridge which does not fall down is a far too dull subject for the general public.

Nonetheless, I would be less than honest if I did not acknowledge that the NAACP does in fact face some serious difficulties over the coming period. That problems should emerge at this particular time really should come as no surprise. The NAACP, after all, is undergoing a time of far-reaching change: change of leadership, change in tactics, change in long-term objectives. Change never comes easily; a certain amount of upheaval and pain is often a necessary part of the process.

The question that many must be asking themselves after the St. Louis convention is whether the NAACP will emerge from this time of change with the strength and vitality that, for almost the entire century, have made it the foremost voice for racial justice in America.

Here it is important to place the NAACP's troubles in their historical perspective. The organization today remains the largest and most powerful spokesman for the needs and aspirations of black Americans. It has, moreover, endured much more trying periods--times when there seemed no support at all among whites for racial change; times when the very integrationist values on which it was based were the target for attack from vocal minorities within the black community.

The NAACP triumphed in the past because while it stood fast to its convictions, it was flexible enough to perceive the need to face new goals and adopt new strategies in pursuit of those goals. Most of the convention coverage emphasized the internal problems entailed in the transition of leadership from

Roy Wilkins to Benjamin Hooks. However, I strongly suspect that the resolution of the organization's current difficulties will depend on how it meets the external challenges tied in with changing realities in American society.

To go a bit further, I believe that the most crucial problem confronting the NAACP is its ambivalence towards its traditional allies and its choice of strategies for achieving equality. Let me deal with the latter problem first.

For years the NAACP has seen court action as the main tool for advancing racial justice. Until now, this approach has proven remarkably succesful, as barrier after barrier fell before skilled and determined NAACP attorneys.

But there is strong evidence to suggest that we are approaching, and may even have reached, the limits to judicial activism on race matters. There are those who blame the setbacks which the NAACP and other civil rights groups have received from the Supreme Court on the conservatism of the Nixon appointees. Certainly this is a factor.

But there is another problem here that relates to the nature of the demands which are being put forth on behalf of black people. Increasingly, the courts are being asked to find remedies to past practices of race discrimination which require quota systems of one sort or another. This the courts are increasingly refusing to do.

In so doing, the courts, whether consciously or not, reflecting the views of the vast number of Americans, including a majority of blacks. Americans favor vigorous legal and legislative action to wipe out race bias; they draw the line, however, at quotas or other schemes which institutionalize forms of race preference in employment or college admissions.

The recent trend of court decisions demands that civil rights organizations make a realistic assessment of goals and strategies. Simply because the Supreme Court has come down hard on quota systems obviously does not mean that we have reached the "end of the Second Reconstruction" or that blacks are "worse off than they were before the Brown decision in 1954."

The most pressing problem facing the black community is economic inequality. This is a problem, however, that must be addressed politically, not through the courts. Politics means making coalitions and alliances between groups with similar problems and interests. Affirmative action coupled with a programmatic commitment to full employment can be the basis for maintaining and strengthening the civil rights--labor--liberal alliance that has always been essential for progress.

One of the most publicized incidents at the St. Louis convention was an intemperate outburst by Herbert Hill, the NAACP's labor director, in which he accused the labor movement of being "committed to white male workers against the vital interests of women and minorities." In making this statement, Mr. Hill was expressing his own views, and not those of the NAACP or of its leadership, which has worked closely with organized labor in the pursuit of many goals throughout the years.

I mention Mr. Hill's remarks because I think they reflect just the sort of unwarranted bitterness and defeatism which obscures the reality of the black struggle today. Throughout history, no group has been able to achieve democratic economic transformation without the cooperation and support of other groups. We must keep this in mind as we begin to assess our successes and failures and as we move to come to grips with a new phase of our struggle.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
July 21, 1977

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

LOOTING: PAYING THE PRICE

Overshadowing the technological failures that plunged New York City into darkness for more than twenty four hours was a virtual breakdown of the social order in the city's ghettos. Unlike the 1965 blackout, there was widespread looting and arson. Almost four thousand people were arrested, more than during the New York riots of the 1960s. Inevitably, the tendency to interpret events in the light of past experience will lead to comparisons of the looting with those riots.

Nonetheless, the looting was not really a riot, much less a ghetto rebellion. Although it may have been produced by social conditions, the looting was not, in any meaningful sense, a protest against poverty. It was essentially non-political. Although many youngsters may have been caught up in the anarchic atmosphere and the opportunity to get something for nothing, over seventy percent of the looters had criminal records.

The significance of the looting was precisely that it was not politically inspired. It highlighted two important changes which have taken place since the 1960s. First, anti-white sentiment was not a factor in fueling the looting. Civil rights legislation and other changes have considerably opened up American society and decreased racial tensions. While this is encouraging, other developments are deeply disturbing. There is an overwhelming sense of despair and hopelessness in the inner cities. The ghettos were largely bypassed by the economic growth of the 1960s. During the last recession, inner city poverty areas lost more than ten percent of their jobs, while employment remained basically stable elsewhere.

There is little reason to suspect that the looting in New York will spark similar outbreaks in other cities. But, in any number of cities the combination of total darkness and blistering heat could easily set off a situation like New York's, if not worse.

The real issue, however, is not whether there will be similar outbursts of disorder. The problem is the day-to-day misery of unemployment, poverty, and crime. Ghetto life remains depressing, hard, and brutal. To react by blaming the looters can only obscure the social and economic roots that produced the looting and which, more importantly, oppress the poor everyday. Like most Americans, I was appalled by the looting. But I am more shocked that the poor are forgotten until there is looting or rioting.

The New York looting may momentarily focus attention upon the problems of the inner city, but it is unlikely to lead to a rapid expansion of funds for the cities as did the riots of the 1960s. Because those programs were largely emergency measures designed to prevent the cities from exploding, they were incapable of transforming the ghetto. Summer job programs for young people, for example, were often viewed as little more than anti-riot insurance. Inadequate programs led to inertia and demoralization. Efforts at reform became stalled by defeatism and a lack of concern and imagination. The problem lost its urgency and visibility. But just as the blackout will spur investigations and new efforts to guarantee a secure supply of electricity to New York and other cities, the looting should be seen as a warning sign that there must be renewed efforts to eliminate poverty.

We need long-range, sustained programs for full employment, job training, especially for young people, and urban recovery. We need programs which will give a sense of confidence and hope to the poorest of the poor.

It is not a question of knowing what to do, but of whether we have the will to do what needs to be done. The American people face a choice; either to eradicate poverty and unemployment or to be faced with the continual threat of outbreaks of disorder. One way or another society will pay a tremendous price. In the long run, it will be cheaper to spend billions to put people to work and rebuild our cities than to incur the costs of tension, fear, social disintegration, and wasted lives.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
August 3, 1977

For further information, contact:
Bayard Rustin Column

A MESSAGE TO CARTER: PERFORMANCE NOT PROMISES

by Bayard Rustin

A troubled relationship between the black community and the Carter administration has been dramatically highlighted by Jimmy Carter's response to Vernon Jordan's criticism of the administration. That the President reacted is not surprising; that he over-reacted is disturbing. While the President conceded that it was legitimate for the head of the Urban League or other organizations to speak out "if they think inadequate attention has been paid," he left the distinct impression that he thinks it irresponsible for black leaders to criticize his policies. Carter explained that "erroneous and demagogic statements" reporting that the President and the Congress do not care about the poor would damage the hopes of the poor. Not only did Carter misportray Jordan's speech, which was far from being demagogic, but he came close to warning the poor and blacks to be patient, keep quiet, and rely upon the good will of the President and the Congress.

The President would be making a serious mistake if he believes that Vernon Jordan's remarks were demagogic or did not reflect the concerns of black Americans. The administration has not grasped the fact that blacks are becoming increasingly disenchanted with the administration's performance. They have not been listening closely or carefully enough to black Americans. No one has accused the President of being hostile or indifferent to the needs and aspirations of blacks and the poor. Indeed, Jordan's speech specifically declared that the President's "devotion to equal opportunity is unquestioned."

The issue is not whether the President is concerned about the poor, but whether he and his administration will translate their concerns into policy. On the key issues of full employment, welfare reform, revitalization of the cities, and national health insurance, the administration has been disappointing.

-more-

Its programs have been inadequate or nonexistent. To be sure, the administration has made some small positive steps with its youth employment program, public service jobs, and public works programs, but these fall far short of what is required.

It is not Vernon Jordan's speech which threatens to damage the hopes of blacks and the poor. The hopes of the poor, the deprived, and the alienated are shaped quite differently from how the President imagines. Hopes cannot be sustained by statements of concern. Poverty and deprivation cannot be overcome by minor measures. Alienation cannot be combatted by vague promises. The absence of effective programs accompanied by a vision of a just, compassionate, and caring society can only lead to crushed hopes, despair, and frustrated lives.

A profound flaw lies at the very heart of the President's domestic policy. His avowed commitment to advancing social justice and promoting racial equality is simply not achievable so long as the administration makes its priorities a balanced budget, restrained social spending, and the reduction of inflation. This will harm not only black Americans and the poor, most of whom are white, but also all working Americans.

The lesson for labor, liberals, the cities, blacks, and other minorities is, as Vernon Jordan put it, "even an administration sympathetic to our needs and in harmony with our aspirations needs sustained pressure." The task before us is not to find fault with the Carter administration, but to help it "escape from the evils of premature political compromise, narrow fiscal conservatism, and indefinite delays in implementing reforms."

Thus the Carter-Jordan clash does not necessarily signal an impending or irrevocable break between blacks and the Carter administration. It does unmistakably announce that the black community will not sit back and allow the administration or the Congress to neglect its interests. There can be no doubt that we are going to judge the administration by its performance and not by its promises. We will mobilize our resources and rally our friends and allies to the fight for social justice.

Hopefully, the President will realize that the critical views of black leaders are not an attack, but a challenge to exercise bold leadership.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
August 18, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

SUBMINIMUM WAGE: HOW NOT TO ATTACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

by Bayard Rustin

The Carter administration's proposal for an increase in the minimum wage, supported by labor, civil rights, and religious groups, is being threatened by a sophisticated conservative and business counterattack. With remarkable audacity and courage, the opponents of the minimum wage are promoting themselves as the protectors of minorities, the poor, and the young. If this seems a strange role for conservatives and business, the protection they offer is even more peculiar. They maintain that low-income workers will be better off if the minimum wage is below the poverty line and if the minimum wage is not protected against inflation.

But the greatest success of the conservative and business interests has been the widespread confusion they have created by the contention that a youth subminimum wage is the way to attack the problems of teenage unemployment. It is more than a little suspicious when these interests suddenly "discover" high unemployment among young people at precisely the time when a proposal to increase the minimum wage is before the Congress. Of course, their real purpose is to defeat or weaken the minimum wage increase.

Unfortunately, the conservatives have so clouded the issue that even some liberal and moderate Congressmen are leaning toward support of the subminimum proposal. Youth unemployment is indeed a serious problem, but to think that a subminimum wage is the solution is to engage in wishful thinking. Supporting a subminimum wage is a cheap way to demonstrate a "concern" for youth unemployment, without doing anything to make a real impact on the problem.

There simply isn't much evidence that a subminimum wage will decrease teenage unemployment. There are only some exceedingly untrustworthy conjectures and the self-serving speculations of business groups.

On the other hand, there is abundant reason to conclude that a subminimum wage would be a disastrous mistake. The Department of Labor has studied the question and found that the general state of the economy is the major factor determining the level of youth employment and unemployment. When unemployment is high year after year, a lot of young people are going to encounter major difficulties in finding jobs. A subminimum wage will do nothing to create more jobs or to reverse the policies that have produced unemployment, recession and stagnation. The obvious answer that a better performing economy is the most effective instrument to cut joblessness among young workers seems to have escaped the misguided proponents of a youth subminimum wage.

The subminimum wage advocates have been less than candid about the probable effects of their idea. If the subminimum wage does anything at all, it puts older workers out of work. Employers would hire lower-paid teenage workers and fire higher-paid adults, many of whom have families to support. The only beneficiaries from a youth subminimum wage would be the employers who would reap greater profits. A policy that fires fathers in order to employ sons is morally bankrupt and socially disastrous.

Young workers don't need a subminimum wage. They need what other workers need, more jobs at decent wages. This is especially true for young people in the inner cities, who the conservatives would have us believe will benefit from lower wages. Low wage jobs typically provide few marketable skills, no real training, and no opportunities for career development and personal advancement. What is really needed is expanded job training programs, improved education, and meaningful job opportunities, none of which will be achieved by a subminimum wage.

The subminimum wage concept violates the principle that workers should be paid according to their work and not by their personal characteristics. Abandoning this principle could easily have a negative psychological impact on young workers. It would tell them that they are inferior workers. A subminimum wage would undermine the dignity, self-respect, and hope of young workers.

The youth subminimum wage proposal is not motivated by a genuine concern for the well-being of young people. Instead, it is the product of an intense opposition to any measure that is designed to help the disadvantaged and the poor. The United States has benefited immensely from a decent minimum wage floor. All of us, and particularly young people, will suffer if a subminimum wage is established.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: Immediately
September 1, 1977

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE BLACK "SUMMIT CONFERENCE"

by Bayard Rustin

The first "summit conference" of black leaders since the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. could well become a crossroads in the struggle for equality. In a very real sense, it is the beginning of a new and sustained drive for social justice.

These are my impressions after participating in the recent meeting of fifteen black leaders to develop common approaches, strategies, and policies to reverse the neglect of blacks, the poor, and America's cities.

The meeting underscored the dramatic changes that have taken place in the civil rights movement. Besides myself, only Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women also attended the black leadership meetings held during the 1960s. The meeting was a reminder that many who made invaluable contributions to the black struggle--Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Dr. King, Whitney Young--have retired or passed away during the past decade. It would be hard to overestimate how much we miss their leadership.

On the other hand, the meeting was also evidence of the rise of new, creative, young leaders in the black community. More is involved here than a change of generations, however. The character of black leadership has changed, as well. An obvious sign of this was that three women were involved in the meeting. The really important change, however, is that the leadership of the black community is broader and more diverse. In the last decade new areas of activity have become crucial to the progress of black Americans. New and dynamic organizations have been established. The Congressional Black Caucus, black mayors, and black elected officials are three examples of the expanding power and resource base of black Americans.

Nonetheless, black Americans continue to face difficult and complex problems. The failure of the Carter administration to meet the needs of blacks, the poor, and the cities has made cooperation a necessity. But an immediate political crisis was not the only, nor even the major reason for the meeting. If it had been, the purpose of the meeting would have been simply to wring this or that concession from a hesitant administration.

In reality, the meeting is to be the first in a series of conferences to develop approaches and coordinate strategies and tactics for fundamental social change. The conferences are necessary because the black agenda has undergone a profound transformation. Fifteen years ago, the issues of basic concern to blacks were voting rights, fair employment, fair housing, and the like. Today, the crucial issuesare fundamentally economic. Consequently, there is a feeling that the strategies and tactics which were effective in the 1960s will not be enough to solve the problems of today.

To develop programs and tactics adequate to solve today's problems will not be an easy task. Despite this, there is reason to be optimistic about the future. The most important sign of a vital movement is a leadership that is willing and able to evolve new approaches. By this test, the black movement is strong and healthy.

The leaders of the major black organizations are now cooperating in an effort to build a revitalized struggle for "full employment, rebuilding our cities, welfare reform, affirmative action, economic development, and the rejuvenation of moral and social purpose in this nation." Ultimately, the success of this struggle depends upon the involvement of the black community. For only through the active participation of the black masses can the President and the Congress be made to understand the urgency of full employment, adequate welfare, and rebuilding our cities.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
September 15, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

PLACING *BAKKE* IN PERSPECTIVE

by Bayard Rustin

Anyone who has lived in the ghetto knows the absurdity of the old saying, "Things just can't get any worse." Nothing demonstrates more clearly the fact that things in fact can get very much worse than the recently published unemployment figures. For the black community, the jobless rate of 14.5 percent is really no different than during the gloomiest months of the Ford and Nixon administrations. And to make matters worse, the Carter administration, although in many respects far superior to its predecessors, simply does not seem to recognize the awesome problems of black unemployment and underemployment.

But just as it is important that we do not deceive ourselves about the extent of our problems, it is also imperative to recognize that there are ways out of our dilemma. A. Philip Randolph has often said that you must struggle and fight to win anything worth winning. He has also said that in politics nothing is achieved without allies. Since jobs and economic progress are things that must be won in the political arena, one of our main tasks will be to find dependable and committed allies.

Here there is some extremely encouraging news. Although labor and the black community have often fought together for various political goals, I believe that the opportunity is ripe for an even closer and fulfilling alliance in the pursuit of economic change.

At least this is how I read George Meany's recent statement that "the greatest crime being committed today is being committed against the black community, against the black teenagers, and against the white teenagers," and his affirmation of solidarity with those blacks, such as Vernon Jordan, who have spoken out about Carter's failure to act on his campaign pledge to make jobs the number one goal of his administration.

-more-

There is, of course, an element of self-interest in labor's actions. The unions, too, are seeking to forge a broad coalition of social forces, blacks prominent among them, to support issues like minimum wage increases and the reform of labor relations laws. But coalitions are most successful when the partners are moved both by pragmatic need and moral commitment. Both qualities, I think, are clearly evident in the alliance between labor and blacks.

The subject of political coalition leads me to a different, but nonetheless related matter. I am referring to the lawsuit brought by Allen Bakke against the University of California at Davis medical school because of the university's having set aside a specified number of places for minority group applicants.

The Bakke case raises a whole series of issues related to the question of how society is to deal with the problems of present and past discrimination, inferior education opportunities, and "reverse" discrimination. I am not prepared here to deal with the merits of the Bakke case; what I wish to address is the perception of this case in the black community.

There is no question that Bakke raises intense passions among blacks who are concerned about affirmative action programs, and whites who are opposed to quota systems. What disturbs me, however, is the attitude of many blacks, most particularly some political and civil rights figures, who are predicting that nothing less than the future of the black person in America depends on the Supreme Court's ruling in this case.

Already some are asserting that if Bakke, the white student who complained of reverse discrimination, is upheld, the status of blacks will be set back to the period before the Brown decision struck down school segregation in 1954. Others are complaining that black gains in college admissions and hiring will be permanently reversed.

I believe that such fears are greatly exaggerated. The issue in the Bakke case, as I see it, is not affirmative action, but quotas; most affirmative action programs do not rely on rigid numerical quotas, a fact which has not prevented them from helping place thousands of blacks in jobs and in college programs.

The merits of quota systems aside, I believe that the defeatism now being expressed over the Bakke outcome is unfortunate for an important strategic reason. Expressions of unwarranted alarm, first of all, will unnecessarily discourage and embitter many people who are already upset by the failure of the Carter administration to take firm action in the jobs area. Second, by overestimating the significance of Bakke, we will only be setting up a situation which will encourage people to lash back at those, such as Jewish groups and some labor unions, who oppose the civil rights position on this issue, but who may be solid allies in the struggle for economic change.

The differences over the issue of racial quotas should not be reduced to a crude test of whether one is for or against blacks. The differences are legitimate; many individuals who have long worked for racial justice believe deeply that quotas are the wrong way to go about fighting discrimination. We ought not to separate ourselves from them. We need allies.

Furthermore, the affirmative action/quota question is not the cutting issue of racial progress today. Much more important is the question of how we are to create the jobs for those young blacks who have not even entered the workforce and how we are going to provide training for those who are unprepared to participate in an economy that demands increased skills and knowledge.

The issue, again, is jobs, just as it was last November, when Jimmy Carter was elected. If the medical school's admissions policies are upheld and quotas are legitimized, that will change nothing for the ghetto teenagers who are effectively "structured out" of the economy. If we are going to win the fight for jobs, we will need allies. This is a fact that should be kept firmly in mind as we consider our response to the Bakke case.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

Immediately
September 28, 1977

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE DEEPENING CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Bayard Rustin

More than forty political prisoners have died under suspicious circumstances in South African jails over the last fifteen years. The latest death is perhaps the most disturbing for the victim, Steven Biko, was thought by many to be the most influential young black leader in South Africa. A leading white editor described him as "one of the main hopes for a peaceful solution to the racial crisis in this country." Over 10,000 blacks attended his funeral despite stringent police controls. Although we may never know the full truth, there is reason to believe that Biko was beaten to death by prison guards. His death is not only a great tragedy, it is a grim omen for the future.

A little more than a year ago, South Africa was rocked by riots in the black township of Soweto which left over 1000 dead. The re-emergence of a sustained black protest movement and the spread of discontent to the Indian and "colored" or mixed race communities seemed to be forcing even the most conservative whites to recognize that things could not remain the same. However, it is now becoming clear that the South African whites are attempting to substitute the appearance of a vague willingness to change for the reality of beginning a long and difficult process of social transformation.

The leadership of the dominant Nationalist Party has not yet recognized the necessity of making major changes and of making them sooner rather than later. While there are a small number of influential white South Africans who recognize the need for fundamental change, their definition of fundamental change falls far short of the minimum demands of blacks. The liberal Progressive Reform Party is a minor political force and, if anything, the overwhelming majority of whites are more resistant to change than the leaders of the Nationalist Party.

Prime Minister John Vorster and his supporters have been both unable and unwilling to make more than minor domestic concession to the oppressed majority of Africans, "coloreds,"and Asians. It is doubtful that minor concessions will diffuse the anger and resentment of the blacks or persuade Western public opinion that South Africa is on the road to a socially just society.

Thus, it is not surprising that the South African leaders have been forced to resort to one of the oldest political gimmicks, that of divide and conquer. A new constitutional scheme has been proposed by Vorster in order to co-opt the coloreds and the Indians and keep them from uniting in common action with the country's black majority. The scheme would establish nominally independent assemblies for the coloreds and the Indians, while insuring that real political power remains the monopoly of the white minority. Vorster and other South African leaders have completely dismissed the possibility that at some time in the future the ten million urban blacks might be included in even this limited and primarily artificial restructuring of South Africa's political system.

This latest attempt to put a democratic veneer on an oppressive and unjust system of racial domination can only briefly postpone the deepening of South Africa's crisis. Even if it succeeds in splitting the non-white communities which is far from certain, it can only lead to a more united,determined and militant black community.

If whites continue to exclude blacks from the South African political community, escalating levels of violence and repression will be required to subjugate the blacks. Eventually, the whites will find themselves engulfed in the destruction. Ever since I helped initiate the American Committee Against Apartheid in the 1950s I have been haunted by the possibility that by time the whites realize that repression and apartheid will not work, it will be impossible for blacks and whites to reach the minimum level of trust necessary to produce a peaceful solution. With every passing day, this nighmare becomes more real. This fear was expressed by a leading black churchman at the funeral of Steven Biko when he pleaded, "For God's sake, let us move away from the edge of the precipice before all of us, blacks and whites, crash to our destruction."

There is still time for peaceful solutions in South Africa, but precious little time is left.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
October 13, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE NECESSITY OF ALLIES

by Bayard Rustin

A curious thing about politics is its puzzling inconsistency. It is not unusual for something to be given with one hand and to be taken away with the other. Recently, for instance, the Senate passed a minimum wage bill which was a definite improvement over the version passed by the House of Representatives. The Senate then turned around and voted to deregulate the price of natural gas, a move that would hurt most Americans and inflict special hardships on the poor. Ironically, this time, the House voted for a superior bill.

It would probably take a genius to make sense of the way the Senate and the House voted on these two issues. There are, nonetheless, some important lessons to be learned from these two recent votes. The first is the tremendous diversity of issues which affect the black community. Limited resources means that we can tackle only some issues. Thus, while many black organizations actively worked for the passage of an improved minimum wage bill (and are continuing to work for the superior Senate version), I doubt whether there is a major black organization which has made a determined effort to affect the natural gas vote.

The price of natural gas at first, may not, seem to be a civil rights or black issue. Certainly, the proponents of deregulation were not motivated by some anti-black spirit. Rather, the attraction of deregulation is that it appears to provide a simple, sweeping solution to a complex problem. There is, however, strong evidence that deregulation will lead to considerably larger consumer expenditures and only a negligible increase in natural gas production. If this view is correct, then, as the Congressional Budget Office observed, "the question becomes primarily one of income distribution." If natural gas prices are deregulated, an additional $76 billion will flow from consumers to the industry between now and 1985. If oil prices are also decontrolled, the effect could be as devastating to the economy as the four-fold increase in oil prices imposed by OPEC which was a major cause of the recession. When we recall the staggering and continuing damage inflicted on black Americans by the recession, it becomes clear that the issues of energy and economic growth may be as important to our future as the traditional civil rights agenda.

The importance of such issues as natural gas deregulation leads to a second lesson that can be drawn from the Senate vote on minimum wage and natural gas deregulation. Because civil rights organizations are unable to give their full attention to every issue vitally affecting black Americans, we must have a strategy or set of principles to guide us in dealing with the whole gamut of crucial issues. Otherwise, we will find ourselves outmaneuvered and outgunned. What we win in one vote will be taken away with another.

Our response must be based upon an analysis of allies and coalitions. It has occasionally been suggested that blacks should apply the philosophy of the British Prime Minister who proclaimed that his country had "no permanent allies, no permanent enemies, only permanent interests." The difficulty with this approach is that politics within a country differ profoundly from relations between countries. The victories won by the civil rights movement were largely possible because of the power of moral concerns in domestic politics.

More fundamentally, we are part of a community that is concerned with building a more just, decent, and responsible society. It is inevitable that, from time to time, serious differences will arise within that community. However, a disagreement with a friend is different than a disagreement with an enemy. One expects to be able to amicably resolve disagreements with friends and makes every possible effort to prevent disagreements from escalating into quarrels. It is no secret that there are today some issues on which the black community has important differences with our friends. But we must not allow disagreements on this or that issue to obscure the necessity to work together if we are to achieve the goals we believe in.

If, as I believe, new issues like natural gas deregulation are assuming a growing importance for black Americans, then it is essential to remember the special quality of our relationship with the labor movement, the liberal community, and other elements of the coalition for social justice. The questions which will increasingly determine black progress--full employment, economic growth, energy, and economic justice--cannot be solved unless the coalition is strong and united. The understanding that economic issues are central can form the basis for a renewed politics of equality.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
October 27, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

IMPORTS AGAINST BLACK WORKERS

by Bayard Rustin

Economic news usually doesn't become news until it is bad news. Unfortunately there has been a lot of economic news lately. In September there was a brief flourish of concern about the rising rate of unemployment among black Americans. More recently, community after community has been rocked in a series of steel plant closings. In rapid succession, 5,000 jobs were lost in Youngstown, Ohio; 3,500 lost in Lackawanna, New York; and 3,800 lost in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. These two seemingly diverse economic problems are actually closely interrelated. Both are products of recession and economic stagnation. More fundamentally, both blacks and Steelworkers are unemployed, in part, because of imports.

The Nixon-Ford policies of "cooling the economy" are often mentioned as a major factor in the dramatic loss of manufacturing jobs in so many of our cities, but they are not the only important causes. Another primary reason is the export of job opportunities to other countries. So far as I know no one has attempted to figure out how many minority workers have lost their jobs because of the flood of imports coming into the United States. There is no question, however, that the number is huge. Economists at Cornell University have estimated that more than two million American jobs have been lost because of the overseas operations of multinational corporations. The total job loss due to imports is probably much higher.

Many industries which employ large numbers of blacks and other minorities are being decimated by imports. In 1976, there were 150,000 fewer jobs in the textile and apparel industry than ten years earlier, while the boot and shoe industry has been virtually destroyed. To the doctrinaire "free traders" these labor-intensive industries are expendable. But for workers the result is unemployment. Often living in rural areas, with few alternative opportunities, or in large metropolitan centers where unemployment is extraordinarily high, thousands of workers are being shunted aside.

Lower-wage industries are not alone in being hurt by imports. Significant job losses have also occured in high technology industries--electronics, rubber, and steel being three prominent examples. Moreover, the effect of imports ripples throughout the entire economy creating unemployment in industries far removed from those most directly affected. Given the economic problems facing the steel industry, for instance, and the economy in general, imports act as a virus accelerating and deepening the industry's weaknesses and dragging down the entire economy.

This problem won't be solved unless we get rid of the confusing and inaccurate notion that everyone concerned about imports is a protectionist. If I understand labor leaders like Lloyd McBride of the Steelworkers and Sol Chaikin of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union correctly, they are something far different. For McBride, Chaikin, and the labor movement the issue is this: American foreign economic policy should not be determined by the slogans of free trade or the profits of multinational corporations. Rather, the over-riding objective should be America's needs for jobs in a strong, growing economy. Labor doesn't want to exclude imports. It merely seeks to insure that trade is fair to American workers. It insists that the United States has rights as well as responsibilities in international trade.

It is highly debatable whether "free trade" is even a meaningful concept. Most other countries have erected a series of trade barriers to protect their industries and many make special efforts to maintain employment and production during recessionary periods. Indirectly, these two factors encourage imports into the United States at the expense of American jobs. To make matters worse, American tax codes promote the export of technology and jobs by multinational corporations. At the same time, our laws provide preferential import into the United States of goods produced by oppressed labor in closed economies abroad. Such trade cannot really be considered free; it is enormously expensive in jobs, taxes, and prices.

The import problem requires complex answers. In the long run, as labor has pointed out, a fully employed and healthy economy is essential, but in the short run the jobs of American workers must be saved. Unless quick action is taken, imports may inflict permanent damage on the American economy. If there is to be a serious effort to bring down the rate of black unemployment, few issues are more urgent than confronting imports.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
November 10, 1977

Rustin Column

THUNDER ON THE NEW RIGHT

by Bayard Rustin

The "ultra-right" of the 1960s has been transformed into the "new right" of the 1970s. They have gained a new respectability by adopting a modern, sophisticated, and, sometimes subtle approach. Although the new right tends to be just as "pure" as the old right on the issues, they have become more pragmatic in pursuing their objectives. It is for just these reasons that they are all the more dangerous. Under present conditions, the new right is a far greater threat than if Senator Bilbo came back spouting his old racist rhetoric. To be sure, the new right is not openly anti-black. Nonetheless, the new activism on the right runs against the interests of black Americans and other minorities.

The new right is not a monolithic movement. It is divided by subtle differences in emphasis, style, and strategy and by the personal ambitions of its leaders. The new right is more of an interlocking network, exchanging support and information and united by a basic agreement on political issues. Calling heavily on such old right figures as Senators Strom Thurmond and Jessie Helms, the new right is still determined to exploit the discontents and manipulate the fears and insecurities of Americans to advance its narrow and divisive political ends.

One recent project of the new right is an impeachment drive against Ambassador Andrew Young led by Representative Larry McDonald of Georgia, a member of the national council of the John Birch Society. As Young is worth more to the right in office than out, the real goal of this effort is to raise money. The apparent moving force behind the effort is Richard Vigurie, "the Godfather of the New Right," who raised $6 million in 1976 for George Wallace. Vigurie runs a direct mail operation that raises $15 million a year for a wide variety of right-wing groups. Vigurie has used his control of mailing lists to spawn a whole network of new conservative entities and to extend his influence over established right-wing groups. The campaign against Young is a peripheral concern of the new right, their priorities lie elsewhere.

Like the old right, the new right depends on hate, but their villians have changed from civil rights "agitators" to "union bosses." If the right-wing's primary enemy is the labor movement, its main victims are millions of ordinary workers. Just as the right-wing attempted to destroy the civil rights movement, it now works to cripple the labor movement. The right wing has launched a well-financed and virulent campaign against labor law reform, employing its usual techniques of exaggeration, distortion, and fear-mongering. It is already gearing up for future attacks on every major goal of American working men and women--national health insurance, full employment, tax reform, and occupational health and safety.

That the right has switched enemies is of some importance. Just as the civil rights movement can be viewed as the engine of social change during the 1960s, as the new right recognizes, the labor movement is increasingly playing that role today. For millions of black Americans, a strong labor movement is the chief hope for economic progress. Interestingly enough, the right wing campaign is directed heavily against public employee unions, unions which have large black memberships. Labor is, moreover, central to the possibilities for progressive and democratic change in American politics. Whether in the workplace, at the ballot box, or in the legislative halls, unions are the means by which million of working men and women can obtain some degree of control over the powerful and arbitrary forces that shape their lives.

The new right has developed into a significant and powerful political movement, I think it will fail in its attempts to remake American society in its own image, if for no other reason than that its program is almost entirely negative. There is a danger, however, that it will be successful enough to frustrate the reforms that are needed to make America a more decent, just, and compassionate society.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
November 23, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE PROMISE OF HUMPHREY-HAWKINS

by Bayard Rustin

The most tragic aspect of the unemployment crisis affecting the black community has been the discouraging prospects of speedy and significant improvement. Over the last several years, the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill has come to express our concerns and represent our hopes. Unfortunately, despair and frustration have become so pervasive that now that President Carter is supporting the bill whispers have begun that Humphrey-Hawkins is an empty promise. Some people argue that the bill has been so watered down that it is now virtually meaningless.

Rarely has there been as much confusion about a single measure as about Humphrey-Hawkins. The contradictory press portrayals of the bill as both ineffectual and wildly inflationary have become close to transforming enthusiasm into skepticism. An unwarranted disillusionment with the bill could, in the end, prove more damaging to the cause of full employment than the onslaughts of outright opponents.

President Carter's support for the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act represents a major political victory for blacks and working people in general. The bill is still sufficiently advanced that an administration preferring caution and uncomfortable with bold domestic initiatives had to be persuaded to give its support by intense pressure from a broad coalition including the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the labor movement.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill is much more than a pious repetition of the Employment Act of 1946, which first committed the United States to the goal of full employment, though in a vague and ambiguous manner. It not only reaffirms the goal of full employment, but it also provides effective means to achieve that goal. For the first time there would be a declared ceiling on how much unemployment the United States is willing to tolerate. Targets for economic performance and jobs *would be established with a degree of specificity and concreteness never before known. The President would be required to prepare programs to cut the seven percent joblessness rate to four percent within five years, while reducing adult unemployment to three percent.*

Under Humphrey-Hawkins , the President will be required each year to give numerical goals for employment, unemployment, real income, and production. In addition, he must present his projections of the programs and appropriations necessary to achieve the goals. A third major proposal in the bill calls on the Federal Reserve System to explain to the Congress how its plans for monetary policy would affect the President's program. Finally, if, after two years, not enough jobs are being created to meet the 1983 goals, it will be the President's duty to present a program for "last resort" jobs in such priority fields as energy, mass transportation, environmental improvement, housing, and health.

The compromises which were necessary to gain the support of the Carter administration resulted in both less ambitious goals and a less realistic program for achieving full employment than contained in earlier versions of Humphrey-Hawkins. The bill will not itself immediately create new jobs, It may not even lead to significant inroads against unemployment until two years after its passage.

While the present version of Humphrey-Hawkins is not perfect, its shortcomings, nonetheless, are clearly outweighed by its promise. Without the clear goals and framework for policy-making provided by the bill, substantial progress in reducing unemployment will only happen accidentally and with extremely good fortune, In fact, if the bill is not passed, then the chances of yet another recession in the near future will be much greater. Although I would have preferred more ambitious and socially-conscious goals, the bill still merits strong support. The goals in the bill should be understood as a declaration of the minimum progress the nation aims to achieve in reducing unemployment. It is my hope that we can move more rapidly and effectively toward full employment than the bill envisions.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill will come before the Congress in 1978. It is an important first step, but achieving full employment will require on-going work: mobilizing support, registering more people to vote, and electing more creative and concerned people to office. It is essential that we wage a hard fight for the passage of Humphrey-Hawkins and then continue to fight just as hard for the job-creating and economic stimulus measures which are needed to make genuine full employment a reality.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
December 8, 1977

Rustin Column

HEALTH CARE: ILLUSION OR REFORM

by Bayard Rustin

President Carter has promised to outline the principles of a national health insurance program sometime early next year. Ordinarily this would be cause for rejoicing. However, there is a growing uncertainty that the administration will propose an adequate and acceptable program. These doubts are particularly disturbing because national health insurance is a long overdue reform. The goal of making adequate health care a right instead of a privilege has been on the agenda of reform since the 1930s. Continually frustrated by the fierce opposition of the American Medical Association and private insurance companies, national health insurance is surely an idea whose time has come.

Health care is one area where the American people are so concerned that there is substantial support for a new and major government program--and with good reason. Only one-fourth of all personal health care bills are paid by health insurance, while less than one-half of our citizens are reasonably well-protected against high medical expenses. Although the United States spends a much greater percentage of its national income on health care than any other industrialized country, we lag far behind on most measures of health. No other aspect of the cost of living has risen as fast as hospital and medical costs in recent years and the end is not in sight. According to one recent study, health costs, under the present system, will double again in only five years. Many Americans, particularly minorities and the poor, lack adequate access to medical care. In short, most Americans are underserved and overcharged by the present system of health care.

It is no wonder that people want something done about medical care and that they expect President Carter to do it. Unfortunately, it is hard to know how the President will respond. The administration still appears to be debating

-more-

which fundamental approach to take towards the health care issue. There is reason to be concerned that the administration may be tempted to propose a weak bill on the mistaken notion that it is possible to satisfy both the supporters of national health insurance and those who have always been fundamentally opposed to the concept. During the last decade, as the case for national health insurance has become stronger and clearer, corporate and medical interests have tried to sidetrack genuine health reform with dozens of phony compromises. These so-called compromises would provide for no cost controls, no quality controls, and total reliance on the private health insurance industry. An approach very similar to these earlier "compromises" is one of the proposals the administration is considering.

If the Carter administration retreats from the bold reforms that are needed it will be doubly tragic because an effective bill would have an excellent chance of passing and because a "compromise" measure would do little to solve the problem. The major factor delaying a national health insurance program has been the lack of Presidential support. There is widespread public backing for national health insurance; in one recent poll it was favored by two-thirds. Moreover, the concept has strong support in the Congress and vigorous backing from labor, civil rights, and religious organizations. On the other hand, a weak bill would only create the illusion that something meaningful is being done, while perpetuating an inadequate and inefficient system and delaying the task of real reform.

The President may yet decide that now is the time to seek a fundamental reform of the health care system. If so, the requirements for a national health insurance program that meets the needs of the American people are clear. The program should be based upon the principle that health care is a right for all Americans and not a privilege for the few who can afford to pay. Real reform should provide universal coverage, a single comprehensive standard of benefits, no financial barriers to health care, and fair and equitable financing. It should create new mechanisms to finance and organize health care in the United States. It would establish incentives to reform health delivery systems, strong cost and quality controls, and administrative costs lower than in existing private insurance programs. Of the many health insurance proposals, only one has so far met these standards: the Kennedy-Corman Health Security Act. This bill, which already has wide support in the Congress, provides a measuring rod to evaluate the administration's proposal. As President Carter and his advisors

-more-

prepare the administration's program, they should keep in mind that only a national health insurance program based on the approach adopted by the Health Security Act can provide a real answer to the medical needs of Americans.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
December 22, 1977

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

CUBAN INTERVENTION: A THREAT TO AFRICA'S INTEGRITY

by Bayard Rustin

American support for the well-being and political integrity of Africa is being undermined by a trend of thought in this country that minimizes the significance of the massive and widespread Cuban intervention in Africa. Rather than providing insights into one of the gravest political crises to threaten Africa since independence or proposing a positive and constructive American response, this approach avoids or prefers to wish away the problem.

Many statements from African leaders forcefully express grave concern over the extensive presence of Cuban forces on the continent. In January 1976, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda warned of "a plundering tiger with its deadly cubs now coming in through the back door," a clear reference to the intervention, with Soviet backing, of over 20,000 Cuban soldiers in the Angolan civil war. On April 19, 1977 a spokesman of the Zaire government charged that the invasion of Shaba province of Zaire "was masterminded by the Soviet-Cuban alliance using Angola as its puppet."

Among the other African leaders who have strongly expressed alarm over Cuban and Soviet intervention in Africa are President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, President Oman Bongo of Gabon, President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, President Houphet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, and Morocco's King Hassan. Moreover, at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity held in Libreville in July a resolution introduced by Senegal was adopted "inviting" all member states of the OAU "not to permit the use of their territory for foreign military bases."

President Houphet-Boigny said recently that "in less than two years, the Cubans have killed thousands of Angolans--our African brothers murdered in cold blood. More victims fell in this short period than in the 15 years of guerilla war against Portuguese colonialism. Yet the West rarely notes this gruesome *reality."*

In recent weeks, the Carter administration has begun to demonstrate a firmer grasp of African realities. Ambassador Andrew Young, who once described the Cuban army in Angola as "a stabilizing force," now realizes that "what we are seeing is a continuation of death and destruction almost everywhere there is a Cuban military presence. It's a new kind of colonialism." This shift cannot be explained as the product of some design to gain political support in the United States. Rather the Carter administration has had its mind changed by a year of contact with the views of Africa.

In the minds of too many Americans, however, Africa remains an abstraction. Consequently, their attitudes toward Africa are shaped largely by the priorities and symbols of American politics. There is a powerful impulse to ignore African realities in order to preserve certain illusions about the Soviet Union and to advance domestic and foreign policy views unrelated to Africa, to maintain that the normalization of relations with Cuba might be slowed if the United States took even the most minimal, moderate, and restrained steps to express our opposition to Cuban behavior in Africa.

Some have contended that if you just ignore the massive presence in Angola, Cuban involvement in Africa resembles a conventional foreign aid program. Cuban involvement is compared with earlier Israeli aid efforts, although it is hard to think of two more dissimilar programs. While the Israeli aid program was limited and primarily technical, Cuba's role is primarily military and without any self-imposed limitations. The Cuban involvement in Angola and over a dozen other African states, along with the presence of East German, Soviet, and other Communist "advisors," forms a menacing pattern which must be considered as a whole. To refuse to recognize that Cuba operates as an extension of Soviet power in a region that has always sought to avoid entanglement with the great powers, and to dismiss the Cuban-Soviet threat to Africa, ignoring the warnings of African leaders, demonstrates a shocking disregard for the well-being and political integrity of nations of Africa.

****

Where We Stand

by Albert Shanker President United Federation of Teachers

P m

BR Column

Drawer

U.S. to Admit 14,000 Per Month

Will Civilized World Rescue the Refugees?

[Today's guest columnist is Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader who is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a member of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees. He has made two visits with the Commission to the refugee camps.]

By Bayard Rustin

Human beings have an astounding capacity to postpone radical decisions—life and death decisions for thousands—by raising and debating all sorts of spurious issues. Today, as thousands of Indochinese refugees cling ever so tenuously to their lives, we hear Congressional representatives and world leaders discussing the problem as if it were a matter of pure economics with no human consequences.

In our own country, some people assert that new refugees will upset our social services, disrupt employment and wage levels, and become an unwelcome drain on hard-pressed state and federal treasuries. Others claim that we should only accept refugees if Western Europe and Japan increase their share of the burden.

These discussions, so dispassionate and rational because the calculus of economics places so little value on human flesh and blood, cleverly obscure the fundamental question: Will we, the American people, acquiesce in the inevitable death of thousands of people who seek nothing more costly than freedom?

By posing this central question in such a stark manner, I am not exaggerating in the slightest. The refugee problem, which began nearly five years ago, has now reached crisis proportions, and we have literally assumed a God-like power over the lives of thousands of Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese people.

Our serious moral responsibility, I believe, has become clearer in recent weeks as Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia—the main refugee havens—become more impatient and less willing to accept additional refugees. Just last week *The New York Times* reported that the Malaysians forced 13,000 Vietnamese "boat people" to return to the perilous seas in small boats and rafts. At one point, the Malaysians even threatened to shoot refugees on sight. Similarly the governments of Thailand and Indonesia have expressed new complaints and misgivings about the endless flood of Indochinese. They have reached the breaking point.

Quite understandably, Asian nations, especially Malaysia, have received harsh criticism in the American press. Their new "get tough" policies appear to be heartless and cruel. But such criticism distracts us from a central point. Asian countries are expelling Indochinese refugees because the international community has done so little to resettle the unwelcome and burdensome guests from Indochina.

We can begin to understand the harsh actions of some Asian countries by looking at recent statistics compiled by the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees. Since 1977, 230,000 "boat people" arrived in Asian countries of "first asylum." Of these, only 67,000—less than 30% of the total—were resettled in second countries. The vast majority of the unsettled refugees remain in the under-financed and chronically overcrowded camps of their reluctant hosts.

To add to the already unbearable pressures, recent trends suggest that the proportion of unresettled refugees will grow substantially during the coming year. Last month alone 59,000 additional "boat people" arrived in the countries of "first asylum," compared to an average of only 5,000 per month during 1978. Between 75% and 80% of these new arrivals are ethnic Chinese systematically expelled from Vietnam. About a million ethnic Chinese still remain in Vietnam, but they too face the almost certain prospect of expulsion. (Of course, those who urge Vietnam to cease expelling the ethnic Chinese should be careful. Expulsion, with at least the hope of life and freedom, is preferable to other "solutions" Vietnam might find for its unwanted minority. This century has already seen the nightmare of concentration camps, gas chambers and ovens.)

Continuing warfare in Cambodia has further aggravated the situation. Until last April, the number of Cambodian refugees in Thailand stabilized at 15,000. But by May as many as 90,000 new Cambodian refugees crossed the Thai border, escaping war, hunger and unheard of deprivation. Because of the overflow conditions in the camps, the Thais returned many of these new refugees to Cambodia. Many committed suicide, and many face death at the hands of their rulers. Added to this, we must remember that steady flow of Hmong refugees from Laos, of whom as many as 50,000 are expected to enter Thailand in the coming months.

As this is being written, good news has come over the radio, reporting that President Carter announced in Tokyo that the United States will double the number of refugees it accepts—going from 7,000 per month to 14,000 per month—starting this month. The White House press office confirms the report. The President is to be congratulated, for this is an important beginning. We should also—

- Provide immediate aid for endangered people threatened with death, by dispatching rescue ships to areas where refugees are being abandoned. And we should urge friendly Asian governments to rescind their "get tough" measures.
- Encourage other affluent nations to accept refugees. Japan, West Germany, Scandinavia—all rich societies—have done little. Hopefully, the President's announcement will convince them to assume a more equitable share of the burden.
- Lead the world community in demanding that Vietnam end its massive violation of human rights, those policies which have forced thousands to flee.

The choices in this matter are clear and simple. There are tens of thousands of human lives at stake, and the civilized world has an opportunity to rescue them. It dare not fail to do so—again.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear in this section every Sunday. Reader correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at United Federation of Teachers, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010. © 1979 by Albert Shanker.

BAYARD RUSTIN

High Tuition Jeopardizes Black Progress

As recently as ten or fifteen years ago, a black college graduate was indeed a rare species. In those days, only 1 out of every 20 young black adults held a bachelor's degree, and fewer than 285,000 black youngsters attended college classes on any kind of regular basis. Moreover, those who endured the economic hardships, and long hours of study in pursuit of their degrees frequently found themselves confined to low-paying, low-status jobs which offered little opportunity for further advancement. For many young people, the civil rights revolution had scarcely begun, and America seemed happily contented with the startling inequalities between black and white citizens.

> **"...Black people ...are rapidly discovering that they can no longer afford a college education for their children."**

Today, however, the once enormous occupational disparities between college-educated blacks and whites have declined significantly, and black college graduates and black students have become considerably less rare than they used to be. Since 1966 for instance, the black student population in institutions of higher education has grown from a miniscule 285,000 to 1,062,000 more than a three-fold increase. And between 1960 and 1976, the proportion of black youngsters with college degrees more than doubled.

As encouraging as these figures appear, one commits a serious error by assuming -- as some conservative social scientist and others have -- that this encouraging trend will continue on its own, that somehow black people have finally "made it," and that the great quest for racial equality has ended in final and decisive triumph. Such notions, while understandable, ignore some fundamental trends, trends that seriously threaten to reverse or halt the gradual movement toward greater equality.

> **"...Millions of black high school graduates ...will find it...impossible to earn a college degree..."**

It is important to note here that I am not referring to the new problems encountered by various affirmative action programs. These problems, of course, are important, but I think they are far surpassed in importance by a number of dangerous developments that threaten to bolt the college doors for the new generation of black students.

I can summarize the new problems facing black youngsters in three short words: inability to pay. Black people, and even working-class whites, are rapidly discovering that they can no longer afford a college education for their children. Some people, as expected, will quickly assert that financial aid programs have expanded in recent years, and that state-supported universities and local community colleges provide easily affordable education. But the facts tell a somewhat different story.

To begin with, few people without college--age children are fully aware of the huge increases in tuition, university fees, book prices, and campus living expenses. During the relatively short period between 1970 and 1976, tuition at private universities and colleges rose by 54%. The increase at state-supported schools was even higher, 57%. And the tuition hikes at community colleges, the schools supposedly designed to serve the needs of poor people, rose by a staggering 130%. To further aggravate the situation, the new "balance the budget" mania and Proposition 13 mentality threaten to undermine, existing financial aid programs, programs which are already noted for their stinginess and seemingly endless bureaucratic red tape.

To a very large extent, black advances in the area of higher education during the 1960's and 1970's were made possible by several factors: easy access to aid and low-interest student loans (70% of black students receive some form of financial assistance);the growth of relatively cheap community colleges and state university systems'; a national commitment to the active pursuit of racial equality; and the availability of part-time jobs for young students.

Unfortunately, in today's world decent-paying part-time jobs have become scarcer, student loans have become more expensive and tuition at state-supported universities has become anything but cheap. Consequently, millions of black high school graduates who leave school this June will find it more difficult if not impossible, to earn a college degree, the key which has unlocked the ghetto doors for many.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
January 5, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

by Bayard Rustin

It has been said that nothing is more crucial to the political success of the Carter presidency than achieving enough economic growth to bring about a significant and rapid reduction in unemployment. If anything, this is an understatement. The questions of how much economic growth is desirable and how it is to be achieved are emerging as central issues in American politics.

Although the economy remains mired in stagflation with high levels of both unemployment and inflation, there appears to be modest optimism about the prospects for a relatively healthy economy in 1978. Unfortunately, modest optimism means a rate of economic growth that will reduce joblessness only slightly. At the same time, there is still a real danger that growth will slow and unemployment will again worsen. There is also a smaller, though very troubling, possibility of another recession with negative real economic growth and an explosive increase of joblessness.

Even modest optimism about the state of the economy has extremely disturbing implications for society. Nobel Prize winning economist Paul Samuelson has recentl warned that the anticipated rate of economic growth is "not good enough to realize Jimmy Carter's promises to create jobs for youth, the unskilled, and minority workers." The longer we endure high unemployment, the harder it will be to achieve economic integration. Black unemployment already appears to be stuck at higher levels relative to whites. This trend can be expected to continue unless there is more rapid growth.

The economy has recovered somewhat from the depths of the recession, but it is still far from full health. Although we are less than half way back to prosperity and full employment, powerful and influential voices now argue that this is about as good as we can hope for. Herbert Stein, a leading Republican economist, and Arthur Burns, the powerful outgoing chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, believe that a seven percent jobless rate is full employment. While it is true that more youth, women, and minorities have entered the labor market, this is not, as Stein, Burns, and others would have us think, the cause of high unemployment. These new workers should be viewed as an opportunity not a burden. They increase the ability of the economy to achieve higher levels of non-inflationary growth. Our high unemployment rate cannot be explained away as a structural problem. Excessive unemployment is not restricted to "unemployables," secondary workers, or groups especially affected by government benefit programs.

The reason that unemployment remains so high is not really a mystery. Production simply has not grown enough to generate the jobs needed to get us back to prosperity. Between 1973 and 1977, our annual growth rate averaged only two percent.

Fear that growth will aggravate a persistent inflation has been a powerful brake on the economy. In both its extreme and mild forms, this fear has wrecked havoc without providing a solution to inflation. As demonstrated by Richard Nixon's deliberate slowing of the economy, a severe recession and massive unemployment on a scale far exceeding even our recent experience would be required to eliminate inflation. The slow growth policies of recent years, a milder product of this fear, are doing little to reduce inflation, while extracting a heavy economic and social cost. Slowing the economy enough to reduce inflation by one percentage point sacrifices $100 billion of output in goods and services. It is increasingly apparent that what we need is an anti-inflation program which is enthusiastically pro-growth and which does not place a burden on working people and the poor.

A common proposal for stimulating growth is a tax cut focused on investment. The idea is that jobs require capital and, therefore, investment. Since most investment is done by high income groups, it is contended that tax cuts should be concentrated on business and the rich. The final, and often unstated, part of the proposal is that because energy and social security taxes are going up any way, low-and middle-income earners must pay more absolutely and as a share of total taxes in order to provide "incentives" for the rich to invest. There is an element of truth in this argument, but far less than is usually imagined and certainly not enough to justify its obvious and profoundly inegalitarian results. Jobs do require capital, that is, plants, equipment, and so forth. But with almost twenty percent of existing productive capacity idle, it is not obvious that new investment is the way to generate jobs. Business is unlikely to invest in new plants when old ones are not being fully used. What is needed instead is more total demand for goods and services.

The economy is presently operating almost $200 billion below full employment levels. This is a waste and extravagance which a rational and humane society cannot afford. Moreover, with industry running well beneath capacity we should be able to achieve much faster economic growth without increasing inflation.

The differences between those who would accept continuing high unemployment and those who urge quicker growth and full employment are much more than economics. It is also a debate about what is a tolerable or just distribution of economic resources--jobs, income, and wealth--and the social priorities and moral values that guide a society. Economic growth is an essential precondition if we are to expand economic and social justice.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
January 19, 1978

Rustin Column

THE LEGACY OF HUBERT HUMPHREY

by Bayard Rustin

An emptiness, a void descended upon the nation with the death of Hubert Humphrey. We have lost a dear friend, a brave and enthusiastic warrior for social justice. He represented the best in America, the promise of decency and democracy for all our citizens, the continual renewal of freedom. He believed in the goodness of our people and in the responsibility of our institutions to create the conditions in which goodness might flourish. His was not a naive faith that ignored evil; he saw injustice as an enemy to be defeated by the forces of reason, compassion, and understanding.

No cause was dearer to Hubert than civil rights; no man's contributions were more crucial, untiring, or indispensable than his. The modern civil rights era can truly be said to have begun with his call for a strong civil rights platform at the 1948 Democratic national convention. "There are those who say to you 'We are rushing this issue of civil rights.' I say we are 172 years late. There are those who say, 'This issue of civil rights is an infringement of states' rights.' The time has arrived for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights. People--human beings--this is the issue of the 20th century." He was always at the head of that great, still uncompleted march, ever faithful to that dream. He rallied Congressional support for the 1963 March on Washington and guided the 1964 Civil Rights Act through the Senate, overcoming a bitter 57-day Southern filibuster. It was not only among the greatest legislative and moral dramas in the history of American politics, but also a landmark chapter in the expansion of freedom.

Never has one man, over so long a period, so fully and forcefully represented the aspirations and hopes of the deprived, downtrodden, and unfortunate. He embraced unfashionable causes and through a persistent and often lonely advocacy transformed them into reality. He was the prime mover behind medicare, the Peace Corps, the Food for Peace Program, and much of the most important social legislation of the last thirty years.

His politics combined imagination, moral idealism, and responsibility. He was not afraid to dream, to innovate, but he did not overlook the importance of achieving, rather than simply advocating, change. He understood the necessity of mastering political power for the service of social justice.

That he never served as President was a tragedy, not so much personally for Hubert Humphrey but for the nation. He could have done so much good for so many. It is an irony that many who not so long ago denounced him as passe and old hat came to recognize his continuing virtues only after they had helped contribute to his defeat.

Hubert Humphrey brought qualities to American life that will be sorely missed. There was an exuberance and caring about him that ran deep and was uniquely felt by workers, blacks, and the poor. He understood suffering and could see through the maze of statistics to people. His liberalism sprang not from a set of abstract principles, but from a vibrant search for solutions to human problems.

It is a measure of the constancy of his vision that in his final years he not only worked to complete unfinished projects, but also launched a new crusade for social justice: the fight for a meaningful national commitment to full employment. The finest and most fitting tribute we can pay to this man who did so much to make America a better country is the passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill.

Hubert Humphrey leaves a legacy that will long endure. Wherever men and women strive to ease the pain of suffering, work to bring hope and opportunity to the despairing and rejected, and struggle to replace injustice and hatred with fairness and compassion, his labors will be continued.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:

Immediately
February 2, 1978

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

BLACKS AND THE GOP?

by Bayard Rustin

The Republican party is showing a new interest in black voters, until now the most solidly Democratic group in American politics. The most dramatic indication of this is that the Rev. Jesse Jackson was invited to address a recent meeting of the Republican National Committee. In addition, party chairman Bill Brock has announced a well-financed program to recruit black candidates and convert black voters.

It is my conviction that blacks should always be ready to re-examine our political behavior, to explore new alternatives, and to entertain novel ideas. We can only benefit from a serious discussion of every conceivable political strategy. If this Republican initiative helps to spark such a discussion, it could make an important contribution to the development of an effective black political strategy even if, as I suspect, the initiative is rejected as offering very little to blacks.

There is as yet no rush of blacks to the Republican party. But that there is a willingness to consider the idea says something important about the present political situation. Blacks are disappointed with the performance of the Carter administration. Many feel that the Democratic party is beginning to take blacks for granted. Consequently, there is interest in discovering some means to regain political leverage.

Although it is a break with their recent past, the Republicans have reason to be interested in black votes. If they hope to compete on even terms, with the Democrats, they need to seek votes wherever they can find them. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act and growing political participation, black votes have become decisive in more and more elections, most dramatically in the last Presidential election.

The possibility that Republicans might be able to win more black votes is not inconceivable. There have always been some Republicans, such as New York Senator Jacob Javits, who have won--and deservingly so--large numbers of black votes. And like other voters, blacks are increasingly willing to split their tickets.

The road from deciding not to concede the black vote to the Democrats to actually winning significant numbers of blacks to the Republican ranks is likely to be a long and difficult one. It will take more than an attractive candidate here and there. It will require more than the tokenism and public relations gimmickry of inviting a civil rights leader to speak to Republican meetings. The decisive factor will be the program, policies, and direction of the Republican party. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that the Republicans will be able to attract blacks only by moving closer to Democratic positions. The prospects of this happening are not great. The Republicans have, if anything, become more, not less conservative in recent years and there is no solid indication that this course is about to be reversed. Even Republican National Chairman Bill Brock, who is spearheading the drive for black support, rarely voted correctly on any civil rights issues as a Senator from Tennessee. There is no sign that the Republicans have recognized the fundamental incompatibility between their traditional programs and the interests of their constituency, on the one hand, and the needs of the black community on the other.

It might even be speculated that the Republicans do not really hope to win a majority of black votes and that their goal is actually much more modest: to increase their share of the black vote from less than ten percent to perhaps twenty or twenty-five percent. With the declining importance of traditional civil rights issues, those blacks whose class interests largely coincide with the Republican philosophy may well be attracted to that party. It would not be surprising, if for instance, black businessmen join white businessmen in finding the Republican party a more congenial home than the Democrats.

For the overwhelming majority of blacks however, there are serious limitations to the Republican option. It would seem both counterproductive and foolish to attempt to punish Jimmy Carter for being too conservative, too much like a Republican, by embracing real Republicans who are likely to be even more conservative, even more unwilling to undertake the ambitious, activist programs necessary to overcome the problems afflicting black Americans. While we should welcom the newly-discovered Republican interest in black voters and help them to understand our problems, our main hope for salvation is likely to lie in other directions.

As of now, the Republican party (though not all Republicans) is rightly considered the enemy of blacks in the working class and blacks who are economic outcasts. If and when the Republican party stands for progressive measures that will alleviate poverty and social injustice, then we can take their wooing seriously.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
February 16, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

REASONS FOR HOPE

by Bayard Rustin

Recently a great deal of attention has been focused on the civil rights movement. According to many commentators its condition is far from healthy. An article in the New York Times talked about "murmurs of deep concern" for the future of the NAACP in the black community. The NAACP's national energy position, which broke with the stands of its traditional liberal and labor allies as well as with other civil rights organizations, provoked a storm of controversy that has not yet subsided. As a result, the movement seems disoriented and fragmented. Washington Post columnist William Raspberry recently wrote that the differences between the Carter administration and blacks are not only but large, but "may even be growing" and concluded that blacks have little political leverage to gain results from the President. And another writer observed that "the movement is unsure of its tactics."

All in all, a pretty discouraging picture. Yet, on examination, the portrayal of the civil rights movement as isolated, confused, weak, and ineffective is misleading. It exaggerates the difficulties, overlooks the achievements, and underestimates the strengths. There is no doubt that this is a time filled with challenges for the black community. But without an accounting of the pluses, as well as the minuses, we cannot hope to understand, much less overcome, the formidable problems that do exist.

It is too often forgotten that the difficulties facing the civil rights movement today are largely the consequence of its successes. The elimination of racially discriminatory legislation and the introduction of anti-discriminatory programs has substantially altered the requirements for achieving racial equality. It is not simply that the issues have become more complicated. The change is actually much deeper and far-reaching. While there has always been an economic dimension to the civil rights agenda, today the central issue is no longer the elimination of racial discrimination, but of economic inequality. The task is to begin a process of economic growth and reform that will bring economic progress not only to the "talented tenth," who have continued to make significant strides, but to the overwhelming majority of blacks, who are increasingly falling behind.

This requires a transition from a movement for equal rights for an oppressed minority to a movement for social justice that encompasses the needs of a constituency far broader than just blacks. Such a transition is inherently disruptive, painful, and awkward. Thus, it is most encouraging that the leadership of black organizations recognizes that economic issues form the new agenda for racial progress. That does not mean that there is agreement over the content of the economic agenda. Obviously, there are significant differences. Because the answers are neither obvious nor easy, it is probably inevitable that there will be occasional differences. But once the primacy of economics is fully understood, the possibilities for progress are immeasurably enhanced.

The past year, despite its plentiful disappointments, shows that this process of transition has considerable promise in addition to the often noted complications. Two developments in particular encourage the belief that the energy of the civil rights movement is far from exhausted. First, there was a growing practical unity and cooperation between black organizations. Second, there has been a conscious solidification and strengthening of the ties between organized labor and the civil rights community. This was demonstrated by the impressive support from the black community for labor's legislative initiatives, particularly labor law reform, and labor's strengthened determination to organize the South. This reflects the spreading and correct perception that the labor's programs for economic justice are essential to realizing the hopes and aspirations of millions of black workers and their families.

Taken together, these developments give a new impetus to the political dynamic that is our central hope for social progress and economic justice. The potential impact of this dynamic has already been demonstrated. In conjunction with labor and liberals, blacks have been able to apply pressure to the Carter administration with significant, though far from satisfactory, success. True, the administration's ambivalence and caution has not yet been transformed into a vigorous and unequivocal commitment to social justice. Nonetheless, this coalition represents a formidable political force to which attention must be paid.

What seems to be confusion and uncertainty in the civil rights community may emerge as the surface reflection of the creative process of evolving programs to meet the changing requirements for black progress.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
March 2, 1978

Rustin Column

LABOR LAW REFORM: THE BROADER ISSUE

by Bayard Rustin

For the past six months, American business groups and their erstwhile allies in the resurgent conservative movement have been beating the drums on labor law reform. "Big Labor," they tell us, is using the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978 as a battering ram against the gates of corporate America; if the gates swing open, they warn, hordes of power hungry labor bureaucrats will ravage the land, and bankrupt thousands of hapless businessmen.

Such a scenario is, of course, highly exaggerated, yet the opponents of the Williams-Javits bill have been extraordinarily successful in causing widespread confusion about the intent of the legislation. For one thing, frightened business leaders have labeled the reform package a "give-a-way to the Labor Bosses." If the bill passes, according to President Richard Lesher of the Chamber of Commerce, the nation's workers and consumer's "will be burdened with an unfair, imbalanced labor law designed to increase membership and economic and political clout of the big labor unions."

But the bill is not about "Union Power." It is, instead, a measure designed to revitalize and reinforce America's labor relations system, a system whose success or failure has an enormous impact on the economic well-being of low and middle-income Americans.

Black working people -- despite what some conservatives and black businessmen have argued -- have an especially large stake in the outcome of this debate: it is blacks who are disproportionately represented in those industries and geographic regions which have most steadfastly resisted trade union organizing drives -- the textile, clothing and service industries of the Deep South. Workers employed in those labor intensive industries receive meager wages (almost subsistence wages) and face the constant threat of temporary lay-off or outright dismissal. They exist on the economic fringes of society with little or no hope for advancement.

Trade unions do, however, make a difference. Recent studies have demonstrated that blacks with trade union cards fare substantially better than their brothers and sisters working in non-union enterprises. According to the most recent data, black union workers -- both men and women -- earned a median weekly income of $169 in 1974. Non-union blacks, on the other hand, earned only $124 per week: a difference of over 35%. Another study showed that black union members are less likely than non-union blacks to suffer from temporary layoffs.

It would be naive and misleading, of course, to argue that trade union membership per se will magically advance the economic position of Southern blacks and other low-wage workers. But strong trade unions do, nevertheless, serve as a solid foundation for future economic gains. And without them, workers cannot even begin to confront the other social and economic factors which perpetuate poverty.

Why haven't low-wage workers already organized themselves into trade unions? The answer is relatively simple: employers, because of their overwhelming political and economic power, have thwarted virtually every organizing drive, frequently by using illegal and unethical tactics.

Under the present law, there are few penalties which effectively deter unscrupulous employers from dismissing pro-union employees, interrogating workers about their union sympathies, or bargaining in "bad faith." Similarly, anti-union companies can slowly dissipate pro-union sentiment by continually delaying representation elections through clever -- but costly-legal maneuvers.

Some critics of the proposed reforms, such as Mr. Lesher of the Chamber of Commerce, complain that the bill "would transform the National Labor Relations Act from a remedial statute to a punitive law, designed to punish employers...." To a certain extent, Mr. Lesher is correct. But how else can one enforce a law which many employers find so tempting to violate?

The penalties included in the Williams-Javits bill are hardly draconian. Employers who repeatedly break the law and deny workers their most basic rights will be barred from receiving federal contracts. Who could possibly complain about that?

And employers who bargain in "bad faith" (as legally determined by the National Labor Relations Board) will be required to grant their employees retroactive wage increases comparable to those won by other workers. Without such sanctions -- and these are mild indeed -- workers have no protection whatsoever against law-breaking employers.

Business groups and Congressional conservatives on both sides of the aisle have derisively called the reform package "just another piece of self-interest legislation." But when the Senate votes on the Williams-Javits bill, it will be more than a yes or no to what conservatives call "the Labor Bosses." It will be a yes or no to the thousands of workers, especially black and low-wage workers, who want a fair chance to join the economic mainstream of America.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
March 16, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE REFUGEES: "DO NOT FORGET US!"

by Bayard Rustin

A new "invisible man" has been born within our midst -- the Southeast Asian refugee. Shunted from country to country, over 150,000 of these "invisible people" cling to a precarious existence in scores of refugee camps which dot non-Communist Asia. They have a simple and solitary message for the international community: "Do not forget us!"

Some well-meaning people have said to me: "The black community suffers from record high unemployment. Why should blacks be concerned about Southeast Asian refugees? They'll only take jobs and housing which black people desperately need." Such an attitude is understandable, but allow me to describe the enormity and urgency of the refugee problem.

Two months ago while serving on a delegation organized by the International Rescue Committee (an organization which has provided much assistance to the victims of apartheid and repression in Africa), I had an opportunity to speak with many refugees currently living in Thailand. They all told the same stories; they all had the same fears. If they return home, they said, the Communist regimes will almost certainly kill them. Many complained about the lack of food in the Thai camps, yet they fear their own governments more than they fear starvation.

Of all the refugee groups I encountered, the Cambodians were the most determined to resist returning to their now desolate homeland. When the brutal Khmer Rouge forces seized control of their country over two years ago, more than 15,000 people fled to Thailand, frequently with only the clothing on their backs.

At present, thousands of Cambodians are crowded into four camps in eastern Thailand. Most of these destitute people have lived in these poorly equipped camps for two years or more. Resettlement programs have advanced at a snail's pace; few foreign countries have any interest in "undesirable" and semi-literate Cambodians. Moreover, recent border clashes between Thai and Khmer Rouge troops have made the Cambodian refugees suspect in the eyes of the Thai government.

Cambodia's neighbor to the east -- Vietnam -- has produced thousands of its own refugees, many of whom have taken to the high seas in dangerous little boats. These courageous "Boat People" have suffered heavy losses in their quest for freedom. According to several reliable sources, as many as half of these people perish at sea (about the same mortality rate suffered by black slaves crossing the Atlantic from Africa), either through starvation, drowning or exposure. Merchant ships which pass these imperiled human beings rarely, if ever, offer assistance. And the Thai government has become increasingly reluctant in granting them landing rights on Thai shores.

Vietnamese "Boat People" who somehow survive the rigorous sea journey presently live in two temporary camps near the coastline. Since 1976, the number of refugees in these camps has risen to over 2,000. Another inland camp serves 1,500 Vietnamese who escaped through Laos.

I talked to several Vietnamese and they all described the "New Vietnam" as a harsh and oppressive society. Common people, they told me, have been uprooted and forced to re-locate in areas far from friends and family. Others have been sent to the so-called New Economic Zones. And still others have been compelled to change occupations. Trade unions, religious groups (both Buddhist and Christian), and student organizations -- all of which once flourished in South Vietnam -- have all but disappeared.

Two ethnic groups from Laos -- the Lao and Hmong peoples -- have even more refugees in Thailand than the Vietnamese and Cambodians combined. At present, over 72,000 Laotian refugees live in nine densely populated camps in the northern sections of Thailand. The refugee community includes urban and rural people, as well as a contingent of former military and government officials.

Conditions in Thailand's refugee camps, at least the ones I visited, are far from uniform. Certain camps have better facilities than others, but none of them deserve to be called "homes." Given its limited resources, the Thai government has, I believe, made an honest effort to provide decent facilities. Yet, most refugees lack toilets, adequate food and clothing, and even personal privacy. All of these amenities, which most of us consider indispensable, have become highly-prized luxuries. Indeed, life itself has become a costly luxury for these people.

-more-

It would be easy and politically expedient to conveniently forget these beleaguered people. We could, I suppose, sooth our collective conscience by sending a few dollars to the camps. But in seeking a "painless solution", blacks would ignore a basic lesson of the civil rights movement: the black struggle for freedom is intimately linked with the universal struggle for freedom, whether it be in South Africa, the Soviet Union, or Indochina.

How can we help these people? They do not want hand-outs or a "free ride." Instead, they want a fair opportunity to rebuild their shattered lives and earn a decent livelihood. And there is only one way we can help -- we must open the doors of America. Black people must recognize these people for what they are -- brothers and sisters, not enemies and competitors.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
March 30, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S DREAM

by Bayard Rustin

Last week, I was talking to a young man who -- at the time of Dr. King's assasination in 1968 -- was in 10th grade. He recalled that evening in early April when the shocking news of Dr. King's murder was broadcast to the world. But he had few, if any, meaningful recollections of the great civil rights struggles of the 1950's and the 1960's. Names and places like James Meredith, Birmingham, "Bull" Connor, and Little Rock, were blurred in his mind, vaguely remembered but not fully comprehended. He was, unlike his parents and older neighbors, untouched by the bitter reality of racial segregation. For him, the very concept of segregation seemed alien and peculiar, indeed unthinkable.

The attitudes of this young man, I think, testify to Dr. King's greatest accomplishment: racial segregation, whether de jure or de facto, has become politically and morally untenable in modern America. He showed America, through the beauty of non-violent witness, the true face of racism, a face which was hideous and inhuman.

But Dr. King's social dream consisted of two intimately linked components: first, the realization of civil and political rights (an area in which we have made substantial progress); and, secondly, the achievement of economic and social equality by black Americans. In short, Dr. King proposed what might be called "a package deal" for black liberation. Freedom, according to Dr. King, would not -- and could not -- come piecemeal; nor would it come through the sheer benevolence of the white power centers. It would come only as the result of a social revolution, non-violent to be sure, but a revolution, nevertheless, in the true sense of the word.

During the ten years since Dr. King's death, phase II of the civil rights movement -- the economic phase -- has produced a spotty and somewhat disappointing record. Although most blacks have improved their economic position, at least marginally, since the 1960's recent years have seen repeated setbacks for black people.

After years of a slow, but steady, narrowing of the white-black income gap, the gap is now becoming wider. And unemployment rates among black workers remain at intolerably high levels. For certain categories of black workers, teenagers for example, the unemployment rate is double that of white workers. But perhaps even worse, the labor force participation rate for black men of prime working age has fallen drastically since 1958 -- from 96% to 88.5%. This bleak statistic indicates that thousands of black workers have abandoned all hope of "making it" in contemporary America.

These disheartening trends are easily traced to the disastrous economic policies so stubbornly pursued by the Nixon and Ford Administrations. And now even with a Democratic president elected with the overwhelming support of black voters, the situation looks only slightly better. Many politicians -- and here I include some liberals -- fail to grasp the concept that economic policy has become, in a very real way, the civil rights policy of the 1970's.

There are, however, viable and time-proven strategies for attacking the economic afflictions which continue to torment the black community. For one thing, Dr. King -- who died while aiding a union of sanitation men -- recognized the necessity of uniting black workers and white workers in their common struggle for economic security and advancement. But black workers, no matter how well organized, cannot resume the slow march toward economic and social equality within the context of a chronically ill economy. We must continue to press for a firm commitment to full employment (the recent House vote on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is an encouraging sign). We must move ahead in the uphill battle for quality integrated education. And we must reaffirm our support for America's urban centers, so often the depressing havens of America's poorest and most dejected people.

No, Dr. King's dream has not been realized after ten long and sometimes cruel years. Nor do I really think that he expected us to see the dream fulfilled in ten, twenty, or even fifty years. He knew that endurance and perserverance are the distinguishing marks of any worthwhile movement for justice. "The hard truth," he told us in 1967, "is that neither Negro nor white has done enough to expect the dawn of a new day. While much has been done, it has been accomplished by too few and on a scale too limited for the breadth of the goal. Freedom is not won by a passive acceptance of suffering. Freedom is won by a struggle against suffering. By this measure, Negroes have not yet paid the full price for freedom. And whites have not yet faced the full cost of justice." Dr. King's words still ring true toda

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
April 13, 1978

Rustin Column

A BLACK TRADE UNION ENTERS A NEW ERA

by Bayard Rustin

Several weeks ago, many black newspapers throughout the country mournfully -- and mistakenly -- reported the "death" of the venerable Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. While it is certainly true that the 53 year old union of black porters signed a merger pact with the much larger Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the old Brotherhood is far from dead.

At the time of the merger decision last February, A. Philip Randolph, who is celebrating his 89th birthday this month, explained the significance of the agreement. "The merger," Mr. Randolph pointed out, "does not signal the end of the Brotherhood. Instead, it will provide the union with renewed strength and additional resources to better represent its members."

In deciding to affiliate with a larger and much more powerful railroad union, the sleeping car porters did not dissolve their historical union. Instead, they once again displayed a keen understanding of the principles that have guided their immensely successful organization since 1925. For in linking arms with other union members, the porters have reaffirmed their fundamental belief that the struggle of black workers cannot and must not be separated from the struggle of all workers.

When Mr. Randolph and his friends proposed this "coalition" strategy in the 1920's, they were regarded as radicals, utopians, and even fools. Given the social and racial attitudes of the time, such a reaction is quite understandable.

The old craft-dominated American Federation of Labor, the only significant labor group in those days, had few black workers in its ranks, and it showed little enthusiasm for vigorous recruiting among "the darker races." And within the black community, both North and South, there was little or no understanding of the tremendous potential of mass organization as an indispensable weapon in the black struggle for social, political and economic liberation.

Despite these seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Mr. Randolph and his union brothers moved ahead, ignoring the counsel of the ever present pessimists and defeatists. During the early days of the Brotherhood, the small band of activists pursued their objectives at great personal risk. Not only did they face almost certain dismissal from their Pullman jobs, they also feared for their personal safety. It was no easy task to organize their brothers spread across the vast United States.

Unlike some other unions of the time, the Brotherhood was more than an economic movement. It was also a civil rights movement. Although the porters recognized the importance of unifying workers of all races, they never pulled their punches in criticizing the bothersome racial practices of some AFL unions.

At every AFL convention, except the Vancouver meeting of 1929, Brotherhood delegates introduced and organized support for resolutions demanding the elimination of "color bars" and other discriminatory practices used by certain Federation affiliates. On occasion, the charges and counter-charges became somewhat bitter. But, like the porters, the AFL soon came to the realization that a racially divided work force benefited neither white nor black workers. Racial division, the Federation and Brotherhood understood, only strengthened the position of employers against all workers.

The recent merger agreement, I think, symbolizes the strengthened bonds between the labor movement and the black community. To be sure, certain problems persist, but during the last twenty-five years, the labor movement has experienced a dramatic social transformation.

Today, "color bars" have become curious anachronisms, and Jim Crow locals and "auxiliaries" have completely disappeared. Trade unions are, as I have argued before, the most fully integrated institutions in America. And, even more important, they have shown themselves to be the most dependable allies of black people in the quest for social and economic equality. The fact that a black union like the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has sufficient self-confidence and courage to merge with the predominantly white Railway and Airline Clerks is, I believe, the most convincing testament that real change -- and not just superficial change -- has been realized in the labor movement.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
April 27, 1978

Rustin Column

PUBLIC PAYMENT FOR PRIVATE PRIVILEDGE

by Bayard Rustin

During the next few months, the black community must pay careful attention to a well-intentioned but dangerous piece of legislation that threatens the continued viability of public education in America. If adopted, the so-called Tuition Tax Credit Act -- commonly known as the Moynihan-Packwood bill -- would signal the beginning of a potentially harmful redistribution of public funds away from public education. In providing new financial "blood" to non-public schools, the bill would leave the already battered public schools seriously weakened, and dying from financial anemia.

Why is this particular bill so objectionable, especially to black people? As presently written, the Senate version of the Moynihan-Packwood bill proposes that the government provide annual tax credits -- not simply tax deductions -- to parents who decide to send their children to private schools. According to objective estimates, such credits will reduce federal revenues by as much as $2.5 billion per year, a staggering amount by anyone's book.

If the bill is adopted by Congress, as seems likely at this time, taxpayers will be shouldered with the additional burden of paying half the tuition of every youngster attending private schools, including elite and upper-class institutions.

But the bill contains another feature which is even more objectionable: the tax credit plan will almost certainly be a financial bonanza for upper-income groups. Since many private schools have traditionally catered to the educational' needs of America's more affluent citizens, the relatively well-off -- who can already afford private education -- will enjoy a significantly reduced tax burden at the expense of poor and working people. Even with the proposed $500 tax credit, I honestly doubt that many working-class blacks could easily finance a private education for their children.

To further illustrate the anti-egalitarian bias of this proposal, it is worth noting the results of a recent study. If the bill passes, the study concludes, nearly 60% of the tax credits will end up in the bank accounts of families earning over $25,000 per year. With this in mind, it is quite clear that the Moynihan-Packwood proposal is hardly a "poor man's bill."

Considering the horrendous injustices of our tax system, it seems foolish -- even immoral -- to propose additional tax breaks for those who already escape their fair share. But the bill even goes beyond that: it threatens to erode the already precarious tax base which supports local public schools.

Thomas Shannon of the National Association of School Boards explained this point in a recent discussion of the tax credit proposal. By offering lucrative tuition tax credits, Shannon argues, a growing number of middle-class students will transfer to private schools.

As more students attend private schools, taxpayer support for public education will rapidly decline. With their children attending classes in private schools, middle-class voters will become even more reluctant to support local school bond issues which entail property tax hikes. As a result, blacks, and other low-income groups will be forced to use under-financed and inferior public schools while middle-income students flee to well-funded private institutions. Education in America, once the main agent of equal opportunity and minority advancement, will soon evolve into a two-caste system -- public schools for the poor and disposseesed; private schools for the moderately affluent and rich.

As terrible as the legislation is, we must remember that some of the bill's most outspoken supporters, including Senator Moynihan, are men of good will and long-time supporters of the civil rights movement. Their motives, I believe, reflect a genuine concern for the many hard-pressed urban families who have traditionally sent their children to local private schools. Such concerns are understandable, even commendable, but the present version of the Moynihan-Packwood bill simply goes too far, and, in many instances, will provide assistance to those who need it least.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
May 10, 1978

Rustin Column

KKK: DELUSIONS OF GRANDEUR

by Bayard Rustin

Not long ago, I switched on my radio hoping to catch the latest news bulletins. But instead of news, I accidently tuned in one of those marathon "talk shows" which seek to explore everything from Roslyn Carter's Spring wardrobe to the supposed benefits of eating natural yogurt. On that particular day, however, the subject was a little less trivial. The special guest was a self-proclaimed leader of the Ku Klux Klan.

I listened to the KKK leader for a few minutes, and then turned off the radio, confident that I would miss nothing I hadn't heard before. Although the Klan now couches its racism in somewhat more subtle terms, it still peddles the same, tired political line that inspired its birth over a century ago -- black inferiority, Jewish/Vatican conspiracies, and the perils of "race mixing."

Even though few Americans adhere to the Klan's twisted political ideas, our news media displays a growing fascination with the KKK and other far-right groups like the National White People's Socialist Party, more commonly known as Nazis. These days, cross burnings or a meager platton of swastika-bedecked storm troopers attract significantly more press coverage than a mainstream conservative meeting attended by thousands.

From a media standpoint, I can well understand the attraction of a colorful cross burning on a balmy May evening, but all too often the real story of the extreme right goes unwritten. Rather than shaking in our boots, dreading the possibility of a Klan resurgence, we should rest confident in the knowledge that extreme right-wing groups like the KKK and Nazis have made no substantial progress after decades of impassioned agitation. Quite the contrary, they are more isolated and insignificant than ever before.

Consider the history of the Klan. The so-called first Klan, which emerged shortly after the Civil War, proudly claimed responsibility for hanging, mutilating and torturing thousands of black people. In Louisiana alone, as many as 2,000 blacks perished at the hands of vengeful Klan members. Even with its lengthy record of brutality and crude racism, the Klan persisted into the present century. According to one estimate, the so-called second Klan -- which existed from 1915 but especially flourished during the 1920's -- had an active membership of between four and five million people,making it a formidable mass movement. Today, however, the combined membership of all the various progeny of the great Southern Klans is less than 10,000 -- a rather paltry offspring by anyone's measure.

By pointing to the tiny size of the Klan and assorted Nazi groups, I do not mean to dismiss them simply as bad jokes, unworthy of serious concern. Any political group, regardless of size, that seriously advocates or defends racist and fundamentally anti-democratic policies must be watched carefully. But at the same time we must remember that this tiny band of dedicated hate mongers is certainly not reflective of any real political tendencies within our well-established and time-tested democracy.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
May 24, 1978

Rustin Column

THE MEANING OF THE RAND REPORT

In more than a few respects, the current discussion of racial quota systems has acquired an almost theological flavor. Rather than focusing on earthly realities, the debaters prefer to discuss abstractions such as white guilt, the meaning of equal opportunity, and the legacy of black slavery.

As interesting as these subjects might be, they overshadow the real questions: Are quotas and other forms of affirmative action really effective means for advancing the economic and social position of minority groups in America? A new report just issued by the RAND Corporation says no. And its conclusions are well worth examining.

Contrary to the dominant social mythology, the RAND report concludes that affirmative action programs have been "a relatively minor contributor" in raising black income relative to white income. "Our results," the report states, "suggest that the effect of Government on the aggregate black-white wage ratio is quite small and that the popular notion that these recent changes are being driven by Government pressure has little empirical support."

What then accounts for the gradual narrowing of the black-white income gap? "Blacks and whites," according to the study, "are simply becoming more alike in those attributes producing higher wages." Specifically, blacks have made significant gains in the area of education, in proving their competitive position in the labor market. In 1930 the average black worker had nearly 4 fewer years of formal education compared to white workers. By 1970, the gap had dropped to a little over 1 year.

Another major factor, the report points out, has been the steady industrialization of the South. The transformation of the South from a backward, tradition-bound province into a modern industrial region has produced steadily increasing wage rates for blacks who were once confined to the fringes of the Southern economy. "There is no question," the researchers said, "that blacks are at least equal participants with whites in the recent economic resurgence in the South."

While the report contains some good news for blacks, it also describes some persistent problems, especially economic inequality. Even with steady economic gains, the incomes of black males are still only three-fourths of those earned by white males. And, even worse, the report predicts that white-black income will not approach full equality during the current century.

Like all statistical reports, the RAND study should be treated with a fair amount of skepticism. But, the report -- even with all its flaws -- deserves thoughtful consideration within the black community. It should not be dismissed automatically as another "establishment" attempt to ignore the problems of black Americans.

As I see it, the RAND study offers the black community an opportunity to re-examine old strategies and preconceptions. Most importantly, the report strongly suggests that a civil rights movement concerned exclusively with racial issues will soon become obsolete. While few will deny that racial discrimination stubbornly persists in certain industries and regions, it is no longer the major determinant of black economic well-being.

Rather than concentrating on issues like the Bakke case, and the further advancement of quota-oriented affirmative action plans, the RAND study suggests another, more promising strategy for the civil rights movement -- that strategy, simply stated, the formation of a racially-integrated political coalition around the issues of full employment, improved education, and expanded social services.

As we all know, there are dangerous political forces in America that thrive on racial conflict. For many of the more doctrinaire conservatives, racial issues serve as a convenient cover for their disastrous economic policies. Unable to win on a platform promising high unemployment, unfair tax policies, and cutbacks in social services, conservatives can frequently win votes by appealing to widespread opposition against quotas and other devices perceived as instruments of "preferential treatment."

For years I have argued that black people cannot even hope for economic liberation without solid allies. In the recent past, especially during the period from 1968 until quite recently, racial animosity nearly destroyed the political coalition which united blacks, white workers, and liberals.

-more-

Now, with the needless re-emergence of racial issues in the form of a bitter and highly divisive debate on quotas, the progressive political coalition is once again endangered. Some of us, I fear, seem all too eager to sacrifice programs and approaches ensuring real economic gains in defense of highly questionable social mythology, namely the dubious utility of racial quotas.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
May 26, 1978

For further information, contact: Michael Kerper

RANDOLPH INSTITUTE CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON LABOR LAW REFORM

Black workers have more to gain from the passage of labor law reform than any other group in America, Bayard Rustin told 1400 black trade unionists at the ninth annual conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Atlanta.

The Institute, which is committed to strengthening the bonds between the labor movement and minorities, works closely with AFL-CIO affiliates in organizing voter registration drives and labor support activities in minority communities throughout the country.

"The issue of labor law reform is central because of one simple fact: blacks who work and are organized make substantially more than blacks who are not organized," Rustin declared.

Rustin, the Institute's president and a senior leader in the black community, urged local affiliates to step up their labor law reform activities during the final weeks of the Senate debate on the bill.

During the conference, participants endorsed a statement calling for speedy Senate approval of the reform proposals.

"We believe that this legislation is a fair and modest effort to adjust the current imbalances in our labor relations system. Its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low income workers," the statement declared.

"There is only one place where the poor and working people of different races can cooperate, and that is in the labor movement," Rustin emphasized. "The labor movement is the only institution which represents their economic interests."

Because of the growth of a black middle-class in recent years, the veteran civil rights leader argued that black workers "must move beyond seeing everything in terms of race." Economic and class issues, he stressed, must become the main concerns of black trade unionists.

Middle and upper income blacks, he said, have become more concerned with thei own "class interests", sometimes to the detriment of working class blacks. Illustrating the point, Rustin pointed to recent attempts by several black employers to decertify trade unions representing black workers.

As racial issues become less significant, black people must turn their attention to economic problems. While noting that some black workers continue to suffer from discrimination, Rustin insisted that "now many more blacks lose jobs because of automation, cybernation, and unfair trade practices."

Rustin called for a comprehensive economic program as the best means for helping black people. He criticized those who suggest "racial quotas" as a solution for black unemployment. "Black workers need full employment, housing, and adequate welfare benefits--not quotas," he declared.

Dorothy Height, a longtime civil rights activist and President of the National Council of Negro Women, received the 1978 A. Philip Randolph Freedom Award in recognition of her longstanding commitment to the civil rights and labor movements.

In accepting the award, Height praised the Institute for "trying to help us understand what is meaningful and significant" on the social and political scene.

She said her early discussions with Randolph taught her much about the trade union movement and "the importance of solidarity."

During the three day conference, participants from 180 local affiliates attended workshops on labor law reform, public relations, and support activities for workers employed by J.P. Stevens and Winn-Dixie.

Other conference speakers included Retail Clerks President William Wynn, Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch, COPE Director Al Barkan, AFL-CIO Organization and Field Services Director Alan Kistler, and Institute Executive Director Norman Hill.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
June 7, 1978

Rustin Column

PRICE TAGS ON WORKERS

by Bayard Rustin

American workers have once again become the first casualties in the renewed "war on inflation." Caught between the crossfire of problem and solution, workers are steadily bombarded by rapidly rising prices while simultaneously confronted with corporate and government attempts to impose wage "restraint" and "moderation." The prospects for victory -- even stalemate -- seem dim. But for 800,000 workers in the cotton industry, many of them black, the battle is even more dangerous.

While thousands of workers toiled at their daily tasks in the textile and cotton mills, two of President Carter's top economic advisors -- Charles Schultze and Barry Bosworth -- solemnly pondered the "economic impact" of long awaited regulations to protect cotton workers from byssinosis, a serious disease more commonly known as "Brown Lung."

Numerous medical studies have shown that a significant number of cotton workers, perhaps as many as 20% of the total work force, eventually contract "Brown Lung" in one form or another. Early signs of the disease involve chronic coughing and shortness of breath. As the disease progresses, workers experience more advanced and painful breathing difficulties leading to total disability and eventually a pre-mature death.

Writing to some obscure governmental body known as the Regulatory Analysis Review Group, Charles Schultze -- once known as a liberal -- warned "it is important to insure that any new regulations (to protect the health of cotton workers) do not impose unnecessary or uneconomic costs on American industry."

In effect, Schultze was saying that the health -- even the very lives -- of American workers has a price tag. In this particular instance, Bosworth's economists at the Council on Wage and Price Stability calculated the cost of saving one life at $440,000, a figure deemed highly "uneconomic."

Perhaps I am naive or old-fashioned, but the thought of producing "economic impact statements" about the biological organs of human beings leaves me cold -- and dismayed. If modern economists have become so sophisticated that they can now "accurately" calculate the monetary worth of each human breath, and each drop of human blood without looking into a worker's pitiful eyes, I fear they have lost touch with the human values that motivated the generous, and far-sighted economic policies which characterized most of the post-war era, especially during Democratic Administrations.

While the Carter Administration's handling of the cotton dust affair leaves me deeply disappointed and shocked, the role of Labor Secretary Ray Marshall fills me with genuine hope. Indeed, the labor secretary seems to be the Administration's only economic advisor with compassion and an informed understanding of the needs and aspirations of America's working people.

As the New York Times reported, Secretary Marshall strongly and quickly protested Schultze's callous disregard for health and safety of cotton workers. In a memorandum to President Carter, Marshall opposed any delay in implementing anti-Brown Lung measures in America's cotton mills.

Moreover, Marshall personally appealed to the President on behalf of America's cotton workers. Unfortunately, the Administration's econometric technicians, who have difficulty discerning the difference between a living human being and a pile of machinery, prevailed on President Carter.

To a very large extent, the cotton dust affair illustrates some disturbing aspects of President Carter's approach to controlling inflation. Like his conservative Republican predecessors -- men who at least never pretended to be friends of working people -- President Carter and his economic advisors have pushed American workers into the frontlines of the "war on inflation."

While workers have their wages suppressed and their jobs threatened, the real causes of inflation -- exhorbitant interest rates, fat salaries for corporate executives, lawyers and doctors, and high fuel and food prices -- slip by virtually unchallenged.

If the President persists in his largely ineffective and misguided anti-inflation strategy, we can rest assured that the 150,000 victims of Brown Lung will be the first of many helpless people sacrificed in the name of "price stability."

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
June 22, 1978

Rustin Column

FOCUSING ON THE OTHER ECONOMY

by Bayard Rustin

Anyone concerned with the economic squeeze on workers and poor people should read Gus Tyler's penetrating new study entitled The Other Economy: America's Working Poor. Appearing in a recent issue of a small -- but spirited -- magazine known as The New Leader, the study lays bare the poverty, deprivation, and glaring inequalities that co-exist with affluence and wealth.

Tyler's study effectively challenges two dangerous political trends that seem to be sweeping America. The first -- which is especially popular among some intellectuals and politicians -- is a curious and premature celebration of universal or near-universal "affluence." According to the proponents of this new social myth, we need only "mop up" the remaining vestiges of poverty by either motivating or quietly abandoning those who cling so stubbornly to the nefarious "welfare ethic." America, we are confidently told, has achieved plenty in our own time.

This smug complacency has given birth to a second disturbing trend -- the ever popular idea that social problems are best solved by the nimble fingers of the market's "invisible hand." Neo-conservatives and business figures solemnly lecture us about the limits of government, and the great untapped potential of an expanding private sector (i.e. profit-motivated enterprise) as it displaces a parasitical, inflation-producing, and morally corrupt public sector. For conservatives then, affluence is best preserved and expanded by a gradual "withering away of the state" and the gradual elimination of "unnecessary" social services for the poor and non-affluent.

Tyler shows these myths for what they are -- simple myths. All is not so rosy, according to the study, and the root causes of our social problems won't be found in bloated federal budgets, fat workers, welfare chislers, or a tax system which unfairly penalizes business activity. Quite the contrary, many of our most serious social problems have deep roots in the very economic system which conservatives claim has been so efficient, so egalitarian, and so victimized by government "interference."

By illustrating the endemic and almost radical inequality that characterizes the American economic system, Tyler reminds us that the problem is so serious, and so broad-based, that it requires a social solution, not a "trickle-down" strategy. By a social solution, I mean far-reaching efforts directed toward the transformation of our economy from a system based exclusively on private profit to a system far more responsive to social needs.

A social solution, of course, presupposes the existence of a strong political coalition -- including black people -- capable of mobilizing mass support for fundamental change in the American economic system. But in light of recent political events (i.e. Proposition 13 in California, the defeat of Senator Case, etc.), I fear we will face increasing difficulties in protecting and enlarging the progressive coalition, a coalition which is, ironically, losing the votes of many Americans who live and work in Tyler's "Other Economy."

Here is the central paradox arising from Tyler's study: because of apathy, internal division, and simple confusion, the political power of "The Other Economy" is either under-utilized or unwittingly aligned with forces committed to the continued subjugation of "The Other Economy." In a very real sense, "The Other Economy" is its own jailer and prosecutor. But it also has the potential for becoming its own liberator.

As I see it, those of us concerned with the problems of "The Other Economy" must once again become the molders of political debate in America. Through our own programmatic sloppiness and intellectual exhaustion, we have virtually abandoned the field to the slick "anti-tax" hucksters who contend that every decent social welfare program of the last twenty years has somehow been a disaster for the economy. And the fact that so many in "The Other Economy" eagerly buy these new economic fallacies is, in large measure, our own fault.

If we are to succeed in reversing the conservative trend, a trend which will perpetuate and aggravate the problems of black workers in "The Other Economy," we must vigorously confront the essentially regressive policies of the so-called New Right. We must unmask the blatant injustices of the present tax system, and advocate meaningful reform. And, most importantly, we must intelligently counter the increasingly popular belief that any and all public action inevitably worsens economic and social problems it sets out to solve.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 6, 1978

Rustin Column

THOUGHTS ON THE BAKKE DECISION

by Bayard Rustin

Contrary to our worst fears, the Supreme Court's decision in the controversial Bakke case clearly upholds the principle of affirmative action. While firmly rejecting the racial quota system used by the University of California at Davis, the Court simultaneously approved flexible and equitable affirmative action programs. The decision was, to use the words of Benjamin Hooks, "a clear-cut victory for voluntary affirmative action, not only in the field of admissions to schools and universities, but in other civil rights areas as well."

But the Bakke decision is in no way a definitive statement on all aspects of affirmative action. True, the Court decisively rejected strict and rigidly-imposed racial quota systems, However, the Court's opinion is filled with dozens of unresolved ambiguities and gaps. Just as the 1954 Brown decision did not end litigation regarding school desegregation cases, we can be certain that the Bakke decision will not end legal challenges to varying forms of "reverse discrimination." We are only at the beginning.

As I see it, we in the civil rights movement are now confronted with one overwhelming challenge: We must use the Court's decision as a foundation for advancing authentic affirmative action programs. In the wake of Bakke, we have an unparalleled opportunity to counter the widespread and destructive belief that racial quotas and affirmative action are the same thing. As a result of the Bakke discussion, Americans -- both black and white -- are at last beginning to understand that minorities do not seek "preferential treatment". Quite the contrary, they seek fair treatment.

Now that the Court has ruled on the Bakke case, supporters of affirmative action must once again seize the initiative. As a start, I propose that we free ourselves from the old obsession with quotas and numerical targets. The Court has clearly ruled that racial quotas are illegal and unconstitutional. If we now attempt to cleverly devise de facto quota systems tailored to fit the legal limits set by the Court, we will only deceive ourselves. Strict legality, as black people have cruelly learned is never a guarantee of fairness, or effectiveness.

Rather than relying on discredited and highly unpopular racial quota systems, the civil rights movement now has a serious obligation to examine and develop creative forms of affirmative action. For in destroying the popular misconception that affirmative action systems are designed to advance "incompetent blacks" at the expense of white people, we will be creating the proper atmosphere for the expansion of authentic affirmative action.

When I speak of authentic affirmative action, I have in mind several highly successful outreach programs such as the Recruitment and Training Program, Minority Women's Employment Program, The Urban League's LEAP, The Human Resources Development Institute and the paraprofessional program sponsored by the United Federation of Teachers. These programs, unlike simple quota systems, provide blacks and other minorities with valuable job skills that facilitate fair and equal competition in the labor market. All this is accomplished without stigmatizing blacks as "special cases," without diluting fair and acceptable standards, and without provoking widespread anger about "preferential treatment" and "reverse discrimination."

Because of our pre-occupation with quotas, we in the black community have never organized a thorough discussion of the goals and techniques of affirmative action. In the past, our approach has been overly narrow, and emotion-laden. Now, however, it is imperative that we have such a discussion, not only among ourselves but with our allies in the labor movement, the liberal community, and other ethnic groups. As we learned from the civil rights struggle, black Americans are powerless without allies. Unless we build a solid constituency for affirmative action, we will have only oursleves to blame for its failure.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 20, 1978

Rustin Column

ANDY YOUNG AND THE DISSIDENTS
by Bayard Rustin

Following his recent statement about "political prisoners" in the United States a number of individuals pounced on Andy Young, hoping to score a few political points against the embattled Carter Administration. But few, if any, dealt with the substance of Young's comments. Instead, many critics -- like Republican Chairman Bill Brock -- focused their attacks on Young's personal character and competence.

Brock, who patiently endured Gerald Ford's ridiculous assertion that Eastern Europe is free from Soviet domination, fired off a harsh condemnation charging Young with "puerile ignorance and incompetence." But the issue at hand transcends the question of competence, timing, or motives. The real issue is the radical differences between totalitarianism as practiced in the Soviet Union, and democracy as practiced in America.

It is true, as Andy pointed out, that he and countless others -- including myself -- were arrested and imprisoned during the great civil rights struggle. Every step toward racial equality and freedom was met with a barrage of political attacks and, in certain instances, even physical violence. Freedom riders and demonstrators were beaten and kicked while local police looked away. And some of our closest friends and most respected leaders died in the struggle. Yet there are important, differences between the American system and the Soviet system. Let's look at the basic and indisputable facts.

Even in the darkest days of the civil rights movement, black Americans had two important advantages not enjoyed by today's Soviet dissidents. First, America has always been a relatively open society. Blacks in the North had strong and influential organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League to champion the cause of equality. Through the free press, through free speech, and through peaceful assembly, blacks could appeal to the conscience of white America for justice and compassion. Indeed, it was this openness and free flow of information which prevented a wholesale assault on Southern blacks.

The second advantage was equally important: blacks did not confront a monolithic government committed to the preservation of segregation and injustice. Quite the contrary, while some state and local governments vehemently resisted integration, the federal government was, in large measure, an indispensable ally of the civil rights movement.

In the Soviet Union, however, dissidents can neither appeal to public opinion, nor expect protection from the government. The Soviet version of Bull Connor never appears on television, and the dissidents -- unlike American civil rights leaders -- remain anonymous figures among the masses. Indeed, anonymity is the greatest handicap for protest movements in totalitarian states. A faceless, nameless movement is easily crushed by the iron heel of the state.

The equation of American "political prisoners" with Soviet dissidents becomes even more foolish when we look at the alleged "crimes," and the severe penalties. For example, Aleksandr Ginzburg was charged with dispensing monies to the families of jailed dissidents. By that standard, any American involved with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, trade union strike funds, or any other organization raising and distributing funds for law-breakers could expect a trial and almost certain conviction.

Anatoly Shcharansky, was convicted in Moscow on treason charges. The charge, of course, was a cover for his "real crime," his prominent role in the Jewish emigration movement. He was convicted and sentenced because he and other Soviet Jews requested permission to leave the Soviet Union for Israel.

For their so-called crimes, Shcharansky and Ginzburg received extraordinary sentences -- for Shchransky, three years in prison and ten years in a labor camp; for Ginzburg, eight years in a labor camp.

Unlike most American prisons, Soviet labor camps have strict regulations and no grievance procedures. Shcharansky and Ginzburg will be permitted only one family visit per year. Their diet will consist of gruel, bread, and an occasional piece of fish. Meat is served only twice a year. And neither will be allowed books, newspapers or magazines. There will be no inspectors from Amnesty International, no meetings of "prison reform groups," and no appeals by ACLU lawyers. Shcharansky and Ginzburg will be abandoned men, helpless in the hands of the Soviet state.

While we have problems and injustices in the United States, I think it is important to remember that even in the worst of times America was never totalitarian. By contrast, the Soviet Union, even during its most "liberal" periods, was never less than brutally totalitarian. And those who deny or ignore the crucial difference between relative freedom and absolute slavery are either blind or foolish. Andy Young, I hope, understands the difference.

653

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:

Immediately
August 3, 1978

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

NEO-CONSERVATIVES AND TAX POLICY

by Bayard Rustin

Every time I pick up the New York Times and find one of those slick cleverly written advertisements from Mobil, I gain new insight into the varieties of conservative thought in America. Unlike the rather crude and half-baked positions of the New Right and its allies, the neo-conservatism of the Mobil ads is supremely intelligent and proper. For the average reader, the philosophy espoused by Mobil and its intellectual disciples appears moderate and sensible. But as harmless as it appears, it poses a serious threat to the movement for equality and justice in America.

In the area of tax policy, for example, the neo-conservatives in both political parties have already emerged as a powerful force for increased inequality. According to their model, society is divided into two broad "classes," the productive and unproductive. To insure continued economic growth and prosperity, the neo-conservatives propose a further redistribution of income and resources away from the so-called "unproductive" elements of society to the productive sector.

Stripped of its elegant ideological garments, the neo-conservative position is little more than a rehashed version of classical economic conservatism, the same conservatism made so unpopular by the disastrous economic policies of Coolidge, Hoover, and, as more recently, Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford.

While the New Right engages in various forms of morality plays, the neo-conservatives have been busy transforming their philosophy into concrete legislative proposals. For example, on tax policy they have already produced two highly seductive bills which will almost surely receive even more attention during the upcoming Congressional elections. Both bills, I think, would be disastrous if adopted.

In writing the "Tax Reduction Act", Congressman Jack Kemp (R-New York) has relied on the old strategy of coating vile medicine with sweet sugar. To sweeten the effects of a $122 billion loss of revenue, Kemp's bill provides some tax relief to everyone. But the thought of reducing the federal budget by such an enormous amount is simply staggering. Everyone, from the poorest pauper to the richest corporate president is going to feel it.

Kemp, of course, has a quick retort. By reducing taxes by 30% over the next three years, we will stimulate investment in the private sector which, according to the optimistic Congressman, will create millions of jobs and produce billions in revenue. As proof for this highly dubious theory, Kemp points to the Kennedy tax cuts and the beneficial results they produced. Unfortunately, as Walter Heller has pointed out, the economic environment in the early 1960's was substantially different from the dismal economic environment of today. Heller warns that the Kemp-Roth analysis is as misleading as the old "Free Lunch" signs in bars.

Kemp's bill is misleading in another way as well. Although he claims to be a friend of minorities, workers, and middle-class people(all of them hard pressed by high taxes), Kemp's bill is a lucrative tax bonanza for the rich, that is the truly "productive elements" of society. According to Kemp, our present tax system "is strangling the incentive for investment and saving that are so necessary to the production of goods and services."

I find it difficult to believe Kemp's assertion when I look at a Congressional report indicating that huge corporations like Texaco, ARCO, United States Steel, Xerox, ITT, and Union Carbide all enjoy effective tax rates below 20%. Interestingly enough, Mobil Oil, which provides us with reams of brow-beating essays, had an effective tax rate of under 2% in 1975!

To boost production, Kemp proposes massive tax reductions for those who already enjoy a high standard of living. Under the Kemp bill, 44.5% of the $122 billion in lower taxes will go to the richest tenth of the American population. A family with an income of $100,000 will receive $8700 in tax reduction, more than many working people earn in a full year. By contrast, a family earning $15,000 will receive a mere $500 or $600 in tax savings.

This same type of "welfare for the rich" is provided in a companion bill known as the Hansen-Steiger amendment. Like the Kemp-Roth bill, this legislation -- which drastically reduces the capital gains tax -- is aimed at "stimulating" investment by providing even more wealth to the rich, and shifting the tax burden even more heavily on those least able to bear it.

If we accept the political line so beautifully summarized in the Mobil ads, we should greet the Kemp-Roth and Hansen-Steiger bills with humble gratitude. For according to the neo-conservative, we -- meaning blacks, workers, and middle-income people -- are the lucky, but unworthy, beneficiaries of the great wisdom and generosity of the "productive elite," those who own and operate the great corporations.

But if we reject this new corporate paternalism, we and our allies must present rational and creative alternatives aimed at increasing economic equality in America. By doing anything less than that, the moderate gains achieved after years of struggle will be swept away by the rising tide of business conservatism.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
August 17, 1978

Rustin Column

CETA: A PROGRAM WORTH DEFENDING
by Bayard Rustin

As I listen to the arguments of those who are so committed to gutting the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), my thoughts return to a memorable passage from the New Testament: "For everyone who has will be given more than enough; but for the man who has not, even what he has will be taken away."

Those few lines of Scripture, I think serve as an exceptionally appropriate epigram for the social and economic policies espoused by the resurgent conservative movement, and its allies in the business community. Whether it be tax policy, welfare policy, educational policy, or labor policy, one dominant idea reigns supreme -- every failure of our economic system is blamed on the alleged greed and laziness of the poor, the young, and the supposedly "unproductive" public sector.

To remedy our chronic economic ills, conservatives smugly tell us to forcibly tighten the belts of the poor -- "the man who has not" -- while simultaneously enriching the wealthy with tax breaks and business subsidies. While asserting that business needs more "incentives," the same political leaders and economists call for a lower minimum wage, lower living standards for workers, and lower wages for public employees. In line with this Victorian economic reasoning, the "anti-Big Government" forces have set out to cripple the CETA program. As they see it, the current debate about CETA offers a highly lucrative opportunity to attack and threaten other social welfare and employment programs as well. Every week, newspapers and magazines uncover some new instance of CETA-related corruption or waste. Some politicians, especially those who hope to exploit the "tax revolt", enjoy characterizing CETA as a fat government program which pays enormous salaries for little or no work. CETA, according to many of its most outspoken critics, is another obvious cause of runaway inflation, burdensome taxes, and general economic malaise.

The steady attacks and distortions have taken their toll. CETA is, I believe, perhaps one of the most unpopular and misunderstood federal programs in existence. However, a careful look at the facts can quickly dispell some of the more troublesome anti-CETA arguments.

For one thing, CETA is hardly the gargantuan monster as portrayed by its opponents. Compared to other federal programs, CETA is relatively small. During fiscal year 1978, CETA received only $9.6 billion. By contrast, tax loopholes that benefit business -- and only business -- cost the United States Treasury 31.8 billion, three times the cost of CETA. In overall terms, only about 2 cents of every tax dollar went to CETA.

Despite CETA's small size, many critics contend that even this stingy expenditure for training and public service employment should be drastically curtailed. CETA programs, they argue, have outlived their usefulness because we have now supposedly achieved "full employment." Such an argument is persuasive only for those who consider 6.2% unemployment as "full employment." I, for one, soundly reject such reasoning.

While it is certainly true that unemployment has decreased during the last year and a half (President Carter deserves some credit here), the moderate decline hardly justifies scrapping or reducing CETA. In fact, the scandalously high jobless rates among blacks, teenagers, women and unskilled workers strongly suggest that we need to expand rather than trim the CETA program.

Some CETA opponents, especially those concerned with persistent unemployment, suggest that it would be far more efficient to subsidize low-paying jobs in the private sector. While such an approach seems attractive, it ignores some fundamental economic realities, including the highly selective impact of unemployment on specific groups of workers, such as minorities, young people, and the unskilled.

Unlike the "trickle down" strategies which emphasize investment tax credits and lower tax rates for corporations, CETA provides effective and immediate relief to special "target groups," which, in all probability, would gain little even if the overall economy experienced a sudden upturn. By selectively assisting groups like young people, migrants, women, minorities, and workers with obsolete skills, CETA provides job and training opportunities which the private sector alone cannot produce. Moreover, without a program like CETA, thousands of workers would be condemned to permanent unemployment; they would soon form a new and growing "underclass" in American society.

In addition to offering jobs and sorely needed income, CETA also provides workers with useful training, solid job experience and good work habits. At the same time, the overall community benefits from a wide range of CETA public works projects, such as the restoration of municipal parks, the construction of new roads, expanded recreational activities, and scores of other services. And all this is accomplished at a relatively small cost to the taxpayer.

Moreover, CETA jobs are not "dead end" careers as some critics charge. Nor are they a form of economic opium designed to lull the unemployed into political complacency. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall recently pointed out that the program "is not a short-term band-aid to cover up serious unemployment." Instead, he emphasized that CETA "is designed to be a transitional program for the unemployed and the disadvantaged rather than a permanent government subsidy." Marshall's point is convincingly demonstrated by concrete evidence. For example, according to one recent study, about 60% of all CETA workers receive regular jobs within three months of leaving the program and a substantial number of others enter military service, or return to school.

There are, of course, some disturbing flaws. Like most federal programs, CETA has some wasteful features and questionable procedures. But minor imperfections are not an adequate cause for killing or crippling the program. To eliminate the more serious abuses Secretary Marshall and the Labor Department have assembled a package of far-reaching and well designed reforms.

Although the Carter Administration is firmly committed to the reauthorization of CETA at the end of this year, the program's survival is by no means assured. Congressional conservatives -- who just enacted a horrendous tax program despite President Carter's oppostion -- are more confident than ever in their drive to slash social welfare and public employment programs. Only a concerted legislative effort by minority groups and their allies in the labor and liberal communities will avert dangerous cutbacks in CETA.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
August 31, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

WOMEN AND ECONOMIC EXCUSES

by Bayard Rustin

When I was a young child in elementary school, I had a classmate blessed with an amazing talent. No matter what the predicament, he managed to create a host of highly imaginative excuses. If he arrived late, as he frequently did, he blamed the weather, the roads, and even his poor mother who alledgedly overslept. Because of his growing addiction to excuses, he soon scorned any attempt to analyze problems in a rational and mature way. Excuses, then, soon became easy -- though dangerously inadequate -- substitutes for solutions.

I recount the story of my old classmate because many modern economists, especially in America, have apparently fallen into the bad habit of preferring excuses to solutions. For example, current discussions regarding unemployment seem far more concerned with finding simplistic excuses rather than hard-headed solutions.

High unemployment, the economists tell us, is caused by too many women, too many youngsters, and too many old people seeking jobs. If all these so-called "marginal elements" would quietly return to the kitchens, the street corners, and the old folks homes we would, according to the new economic theories (i.e. excuses), have full employment.

These theories, which are really excuses, have always left me a bit wary, and for good reason. For decades the civil rights movement fought against the idea that America could justifiably turn its back on the unemployment and degradation of so-called "marginal groups." In those days, as you may recall, anyone with dark skin conveniently fell into the "marginal" category.

-more-

Some contemporary economists now assert that the high jobless rates among women -- the new "marginal" -- are somehow natural and predestined by God. Such people advise us to look exclusively at the unemployment rates for males who head households. These rates -- which are always relatively low -- are supposed to be the true indicators of our affluent economy.

Such a narrow-minded approach to employment policy might be acceptable to some ancient theologians who enjoyed speculating as to whether or not women and blacks had souls. But for me, it seems hopelessly antiquated, and, even worse, tinged with a kind of social defeatism. Moreover, it ignores some fundamental -- and rarely discussed -- facts.

To begin with, those who complain that women have flooded the labor market have not, I suspect, bothered to consult any reliable statistics. Out of curiosity, I recently looked into the matter of the "female flood," and discovered that the great flood is hardly more than a trickle.

Compared to 1890, the proportion of women seeking jobs today is considerably higher, yet the increase in recent years is negligible. In 1967, for example, 41.1% of women aged 16 and over were in the labor force. In 1976, the proportion was 47.3% -- hardly a mammoth increase. And part of this increase was offset by a drop in the proportion of males over 16 who were working or seeking work. But while all this was occuring, the overall unemployment rate more than doubled during the same period. With this information in mind, I find it difficult to believe that the small increase in the proportion of working women caused or even contributed to the feverish increase in unemployment rates.

While it is true that the proportion of working women has grown, it is not true, as some people have insisted, that the vast majority of working women are in the labor force for ego-building kicks, or "pin money." The vast majority of women hold jobs for the same reason as men -- they head families, and desperately need income for themselves and their dependents.

Presently, nearly 8 million families -- roughly 14% of all American families -- are headed by women. And within the black community, one of every three families is headed by a woman.

Because of anti-woman job discrimination, as well as other factors, these families face severe economic problems. According to an excellent study by Beverly Johnson of the Labor Department, one of every three families headed by a woman live in poverty. In 1976, these families had a median annual income of scarcely $7,200. For black families headed by women, the median income was a mere $5,069 -- not even $100 per week.

Over 70% of these women work in low-paying, dead-end jobs such as domestic service, garment and textile manufacturing, and low-level clerical work. In most cases, they lack the protection of a union contract, and the various fringe benefits which it provides. To make matters even worse, the unemployment rates for these female bread winners is significantly higher than the overall rate. In March, 1977, for instance, the rate exceeded 10%.

As I see it, this scandalous situation must be dealt with on several levels. First, and perhaps most importantly, we must firmly establish the principle that all Americans -- regardless of sex, age, or race -- have a right to a good-paying, dignified job.

Attempts to establish separate employment goals for different groups would, I believe, signal a dangerous reversal for women as well as blacks. We in the civil rights movement have always opposed such "divide and conquer" strategies in the past, and I see no reason to change our position now.

Closely allied with this demand for an authentic right to work is the campaign for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. If this amendment succumbs to underhanded attacks of the New Right, I fear women will have an even more difficult time pressing their legitimate demands for equal treatment in employment policy. And now is the time to challenge the myths and excuses of those who would blame our current economic malaise on women, youngsters or minorities.

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Michael Kerper

RUSTIN, HILL CRITICIZE CARTER ON PLO, CIVIL RIGHTS

Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill, top leaders of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, told President Carter today that his recent comparison of the civil rights movement and the Palestine Liberation Organization "is a disservice to the entire civil rights movement since it equates our cause -- a just and noble cause -- with a movement led by terrorists."

"In terms of tactics," Rustin and Hill wrote, "the differences between the PLO and the civil rights movement are enormous. Our movement is, as Mr. Randolph frequently said, 'a massive moral revolution.' The PLO, by contrast, has always engaged in what might be called a revolution against basic morality."

Rustin and Hill also noted that American civil rights groups "fought for reforms which would strengthen and protect the rights of all Americans." The PLO, however, "supports a program which denies the just rights of Israel and its citizens."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute is a national organization of black trade unionists with 180 affiliates in 36 states.

(The full text of the letter is attached)

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

apri
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

A. Philip Randolph
President Emeritus
Bayard Rustin
President
Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Robert W. Gilmore
Treasurer
Executive Committee
Alexander Barkan
Jacob Clayman
Clara Dasher
Leon Lynch
William Pollard
Earl Robinson
Donald Slaiman
Barbara Van Blake
Wilbert Williams
National Board
George Agree
Jervis Anderson
Emmet Andrews
Barbara Becnel
Kenneth Blaylock
Charles Bloomstein
Peter Bommarito
John T. Burnell
Sol C. Chaikin
Kenneth B. Clark
John Cleveland
Earl W. Davis
Walter Davis
Bernard Englander
Murray H. Finley
Angelo Fosco
Victor W. Fuentealba
Alex Fuller
William Gary
Floyd Gipson
Raymond Gray
Ernest Green
A. F. Grospiron
Matthew Guinan
Paul Hall
Alvin Heaps
Dorothy Height
Johnnie Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
Benny Jackson
Mattie Jackson
Paul Jennings
James Jones, Sr.
Vernon E. Jordan
Tom Kahn
Maida Springer Kemp
Leon Keyserling
Roy Kirkley
Fred J. Kroll
Henry Lacayo
Herbert A. Levine
Dennis Lockhart
John H. Lyons
Will Maslow
Benjamin E. Mays
Lloyd McBride
William Howard McClennan
Robert McGlotten
George Miller
Joyce Miller
Isaiah Minkoff
Clarence Mitchell
Al Montoya
Emanuel Muravchik
Warren Pate
Robert Powell
Arch Puddington
S. Frank Raftery
Richard Ravitch
Howard Richardson
John P. Roche
William Ross
Albert Shanker
Horace Sheffield
Lorenzo Stephens
William Stodghill
Joseph Tonelli
J. C. Turner
Thomas Turner
Gus Tyler
Walter Waddy
Shannon Wall
Roosevelt Watts
Hunter Wharton
Roy Wilkins
William Winpisinger
C. Vann Woodward
William H. Wynn
Andrew Young
Special Events Consultant
Lionel Hampton
Counsel
John C. Somers
Staff
Michael Kerper
Research Director
E. R. McKinney
Assistant to the President
Harriette Siani
Administrative Director
Helen Toth
Assistant to the Executive Director

August 1, 1979

President Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Your recent statement about the supposed similarities of the American civil rights movement and the Palestinian cause left us confused and disturbed. In our view, there are no parallels between these two disparate movements, either in tactics or in objectives.

Whereas our civil rights movement demanded the rights of the black minority to participate on an equal basis within the overall society, the Palestinian cause -- as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization -- is not interested in securing rights for a minority. Instead, it openly seeks the destruction of Israel. In short, while we in the civil rights movement fought for reforms which would strengthen and protect the rights of all Americans, the PLO supports a program which denies the just rights of Israel and its citizens.

In terms of tactics, the differences between the PLO and the civil rights movement are enormous. While mainstream black leaders -- fine men like A. Philip Randolph, Dr. King, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young -- always emphasized non-violence and the crucial importance of political organization, the PLO has never relied on anything but outright terrorism and political and economic blackmail. Our movement is, as Mr. Randolph frequently said, "a massive moral revolution." The PLO, by contrast, has always engaged in what might be called a revolution against basic morality.

Because of our long years of involvement in the civil rights struggle, we sincerely regret that you have compared our movement with the PLO. Such a comparison, we believe, is a disservice to the entire civil rights movement since it equates our cause -- a just and noble cause -- with a movement led by terrorists.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
President

Norman Hill

Norman Hill
Executive Director

BR/spm

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
September 14, 1978

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

POLITICAL JUNK FOOD

by Bayard Rustin

Confusion rather than accurate information is the product of most modern advertising. If you plan to market a non-nutritious breakfast cereal, you simply emphasize that each morsel is sugar-coated, shaped like personal zodiac signs and enjoyed world-wide by Olympic athletes. By stressing these inconsequential points, attention is cleverly diverted from the most pertinent fact -- the cereal is worthless junk.

Just as corporations have successfully marketed junk foods, junk cars, and other junk products, some business-supported groups are now selling junk political ideas. Foremost among these Cracker Jack proposals are the so-called "right-to-work" laws, the original political junk food.

While appearing to offer job security and full employment, "right-to-work" laws offer neither. Instead, they are intentionally designed to weaken unions, lower wages, and keep workers in their place. All this is accomplished by imposing a compulsory "open shop," even when a majority of workers democratically opt for union representation.

Essentially, the open shop arrangement -- favored by employers since trade unions emerged over a century ago -- allows a few workers -- the free riders -- to enjoy all the benefits of collective bargaining without paying a cent toward the upkeep of their union. Such an unfair system necessarily militates against the development of strong unions, and provides the employer with numerous advantages.

By deliberately and repeatedly confusing the issues, "right-to-work" forces

182

have scored some key victories during the last two years. In Arkansas, for instance, they successfully blocked a spirited attempt to repeal that state's compulsory open shop law. And in Louisiana they passed legislation outlawing all forms of union security clauses. Now, the business-supported National Right-to-Work Committee has opened shop in Missouri with the hope of selling its sugar-coated, but hazardous proposals. Fortunately, many key black leaders in Missouri and across the country fully understand that a victory for "right-to-work" could very well spell disaster for the black community, economically as well as politically.

For black people, the economic consequences are especially clear. As numerous studies have shown, black union members earn substantially more than non-union blacks. In 1974, for example, the median weekly income of black union members was $169, while non-union blacks received only $124 -- a difference of more than a third. By weakening unions through compulsory open shop laws, the economic security of thousands upon thousands of black union members will be jeopardized.

To sweeten the bitter economic impact of "right-to-work" laws, their leading proponents assert that "union free" states and localities quickly attract business investment which creates more jobs. The facts, however, tell a different story. A few years ago, the former Governor of Kansas -- one of 20 "right-to-work" states -- claimed that such laws actually discourage industrial development. Furthermore Professor Daniel H. Pollitt of the University of North Carolina concluded that a variety of studies"indicate that right-to-work states have not received more than their proportionate share of a new industry, and that the enactment of right-to-work laws is in no way responsible for the increase in non-farm employment."

While business groups supporting "right-to-work" efforts claim to be **solely**

-more-

concerned with "protecting the freedom of their employees," they are, in reality seeking to protect their own freedom -- to fire workers at will, to pay low wages, and to keep fringe benefits minimal. Moreover, they also seek to neutralize labor as a political force by weakening unions in the shops.

At the political level, then, "right-to-work" is also a challenge to the black community. If these deceptive proposals -- favorites of the New Right -- win approval in Missouri or any other state we can expect a lengthy parade of other conservative measures, such as cuts in school budgets, reductions in desperately needed social services, and "tax reforms" that aid the rich. In short, another "right-to-work" victory, especially this year, will further encourage the peddlers of political junk food.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
September 28, 1978

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

BLACK VOTES VS. POLITICAL MONEY

by Bayard Rustin

Over ten years ago, Martin Luther King boldly speculated about the great potential of a united, well-organized, and militant black electorate. "The Negro vote," he said, "is only a partially realised strength." With massive registration and mobilization efforts, Dr. King predicted that black electoral "pressure can achieve measurable results, the Negro citizen will make his influence felt."

Throughout the last decade, many of us have followed Dr. King's sensible advice. Yet, after innumerable registration drives, voter education conferences, and "get out the vote" campaigns, the black community continues to short-change itself politically. Indeed, with each passing year, the enormous political potential of the black electorate dwindles even further. For many politicians, the black community is now viewed as a political paper tiger, unable to mobilize voters, and unable to organize intensive lobbying efforts.

Consider for a moment some disturbing statistics about black political participation. Since 1968, the black vote has steadily declined at an alarming rate. Ten years ago, 58% of all eligible blacks voted in the Nixon-Humphrey election. In 1972, only 52% voted in the presidential election. And in 1976, barely 50% cast their ballots in the Ford-Carter contest. The figures for state and local races are even lower.

As our political strength continues to diminish, the power of our traditional adversaries continues to grow. Business and conservative groups -- never friends of the civil rights movement -- have successfully capitalized on the generally

-more-

conservatives mood of America. Their political agressiveness is reminiscent of the wheeling and dealing of the old Robber Barons. While their tactics and ideas might seem out-moded, they won numerous legislative victories during the last year. Sensing a conservative resurgence in the November elections, the New Right and its business allies anticipate even sweeter victories when Congress reconvenes.

To a large extent, these expected victories will be engineered by business-dominated PACs, short for political action committees. Since 1974, over 500 corporations have established well-financed, and smoothly-operating PACs. Armed with computerized lists of employees, and seemingly unlimited funds, PACs have already demonstrated their clout, at the ballot box, as well as in Congress.

ARCO's Civic Action Program is a prime example of corporate political muscle. According to the Wall Street Journal, ARCO spends approximately $750,000 per year on its amazingly effective political action program. ARCO uses its PAC to mobilize thousands of employee/voters. Additionally, the political action committee actively lobbies for company-backed legislation, and showers "friendly" candidates with generous contributions.

Some corporations and professional organizations shy away from the more innovative political techniques, such as ARCO's program. Instead, they simply provide candidates with lavish political contributions. For example, during 1977-78, the American Medical Association's PAC, the Real Estate lobby, and the Auto Dealer's PAC each raised over a million dollars. So far, the fourteen largest business committees and New Right groups have amassed nearly $14 million for political activities.

Aside from formidable financial resources, business and conservative interest have another strategic advantage -- mass apathy, especially among minorities and workers. Unfortunately, the conservative forces -- who hope to make a real killing in November -- are far from apathetic and moribund. On the contrary,

-more-

they have once again discovered that political action pays off handsomely.

A prominent conservative lobbyist summarized the current political situation with a brilliant one-liner: "Congressmen first learn how to count and then to think." And developments during the last session of Congress certainly confirm that simple though highly insightful analysis.

To remain in office, politicians must count votes as well as dollar bills. While money is highly important,even the richest and most heavily financed candidate comes to the electorate as a pleading supplicant. Regardless of slick advertisements, plus cocktail parties, and $500-a-plate dinners, we -- the black electorate -- can make a "life or death" decision for a politician whether he be friend or foe. Our political power is there; we need only use it.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
October 12, 1978

Rustin Column

FREEDOM: NOT FOR WHITES ONLY

For many Americans, particularly poor people and blacks, the idea of "freedom" has become something of a hoax. Faced with high unemployment, steadily rising prices, and rather uninspiring political leaders, many people have concluded -- erroneously, I think -- that basic civil rights and constitutional government are nothing more than fancy icing on a stale, crumbling cake. "Freedom," they insist, is meaningless for the oppressed.

But those who so readily despair of freedom forget one central reality -- in today's world the worst oppression, worst, discrimination, and worst deprivation all exist in societies which decidedly lack freedom as we know it. Indeed, the absence of freedom is almost a certain guarantee of wretched poverty, scandalous inequality, and rampant political repression.

My point about freedom is not based on impressions, or a casual reading of the newspapers. Rather it is based on a carefully researched study entitled Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties. (available from Freedom House, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018).

A brief examination of the unfortunate situation in Post-Colonial Africa helps to illustrate my point. According to the Freedom House study, the vast majority of black Africans continue to endure discrimination, brutal exploitation, and quiet -- almost unnoticeable -- political subjugation.

While we all know and abhor white minority rule and the apartheid systems of South Africa and Rhodesia, we sometimes ignore the self-serving and occasionally gruesome dictatorships which seem to cover the African Continent from shore to

-more-

shore.

Because of Idi Amin and his well-publicized excesses, much media attention has been diverted from the less colorful and slightly more humane African dictators, such as the rulers of the Central African Empire, Angola, Burundi, and the Congo. All these countries, according to the Freedom House report, are roughly on par with Uganda, South Africa, and Rhodesia in consistently violating basic civil liberties and human rights.

Consider for a moment the situation in Burundi. This small, inland country of 4 million people is ruled exclusively by members of the Tutsi tribe, a group which represents only 15% of the overall population. Meanwhile members of the majority Hutus tribe have no rights whatsoever. In a sense, Burundi has established a govermental system as cruel and as discriminating as the oppressive white minority in South Africa.

A similar situation exists in the Congo (Brazzaville) where virtually the entire ruling elite is drawn from a single tribe representing only 15% of the population. Similarly, small military or civilian cliques rule in countries like Benin, Togo, Somalia, Rwanda, Niger, and Malawi. In most instances, these relatively young African nations have only one political party; elections usually involve only one political slate; and debate is closely monitored, if not forbidden altogether. Additionally, independent trade unions face severe restrictions, and all types of citizen organizations are carefully controlled.

This distressing movement toward one-party dictatorship has been resisted by some sturdy -- and commendable -- anti-authoritarian states like Gambia, Senegal, Kenya and a handful of others. Yet the prospects for freedom and constitutional government in Africa, as well as other parts of the third world, are far from promising.

Some people, of course, keep telling me that my concern about the state of

-more-

of human rights and civil liberties in Africa is misplaced, and even unwarranted. African people, they assert, cannot handle the complexities of democracy. Nor can Africans hope to achieve a modicum of economic prosperity unless they willingly accept iron-clad authoritarian rule.

These arguments -- or cliches -- hearken back to the days when Southern blacks had little or no political power. White segregationists constantly argued that blacks could not be trusted with the vote. Black people, they said, did not understand democracy. And some whites even tried to prove that blacks faired considerably better before the destruction of the degrading slave system. Now, many African leaders have unfortunately adopted the irrational arguments of our own segregationists.

As I see it, black Africans must be freed from the oppression of white minorities, as well as black minorities. Without some degree of liberty and democratic rule, the great mass of Africans will never break the terrible chains of slavery. As black Americans, we have a special responsibility to help foster and defend human rights in Africa. To do anything less would be a betrayal of our African brothers and sisters.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
October 26, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

OUR DEFEATIST CONGRESS

by Bayard Rustin

Throughout my career, I have been patted on the back innumerable times and smilingly told that half a loaf is better than nothing. In most cases, the "half loaf" represented a weak, disappointing compromise, but always something of substance, always something to build on in the future.

Using that old cliche, many Congressional leaders have told us that working people, minorities, and the poor received at least a "half loaf" from the 95th Congress. But an honest examination of the record suggests a basic revision of the old analogy. Instead of a "half loaf" we received little more than a few crumbs.

Some critics will surely accuse me of undue bitterness, but the facts, I think, more than justify my attitude. In compiling a quick balance sheet of Congressional actions, I found it difficult to indentify more than three moderately significant victories. Setbacks and stalemates, however, became so numerous that I stopped jotting them down. Looking at the lists, my conclusion was easy: While we received crumbs, someone -- especially business interests -- walked out of Congress with "nearly a full loaf."

Interestingly enough, all our legislative gains came in cost-free areas. For instance, the ransacked version of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill -- a proposal which Hubert Humphrey would barely recognize as his -- will cost the government nothing. Likewise, full Congressional representation for the District of Columbia, and the extension of the ratification deadline for the Equal Rights Amendment involve no new expenditures. Yet even for these basically symbolic, no-cost measures, we had to fight bitterly.

-more-

While we battled for new advances, our energies were frequently diverted to defensive actions. Here, I believe, we did rather well. For example, we halted the forward advance of the highly dangerous and simplistic Kemp-Roth tax bill, a piece of legislation which would cause chaos in the public sector while further shifting the tax burden from the rich to low and middle-income groups.

Energy legislation, specifically the question of gas deregulation, serves as another example of political stalemate. While the bill adopted by Congress has serious deficiencies, it does, nevertheless, offer some minimal protection for energy consumers. The deregulation of gas prices will be phased in over several years, thus avoiding an immediate and devastating impact on the poor. And even more important, the energy package offers a faint glimmer of hope for the future development of a comprehensive and fair energy program.

Our defeats, I fear, heavily outweigh our victories. In the area of public service jobs, for instance, revisions and cuts in the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act have eliminated approximately 100,000 CETA slots. To make matters worse, Congress approved an unnecessary and shocking amendment lowering the already stingy wages paid to CETA workers.

As Congress busied itself with various measures to tighten up services and income to the poor and jobless, it adopted a tax bill which provides new and broader loopholes for the rich, especially those who thrive on un-earned capital gains income. As a result, the old aphorism about the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer has sadly gained renewed validity.

Congress handed us other defeats as well. We also lost on key issues like labor law reform, consumer protection, hospital cost containment, and public financing of elections. We abandoned proposals like national health insurance, equitable tax reform and fair import controls. And we were compelled to accept a seriously diluted version of our minimum wage proposal. In short, we achieved painfully little, and frequently at enormous costs.

-more-

How, then, does one account for all these stinging defeats and miserable disappointments, especially when Congress includes so many avowed friends of minorities and working people? Recently one leading social critic argued that Congress is simply responding to a resurgence of "social meanness"throughout the country. Americans, he asserts, no longer care about the unemployed, the poor, and the "welfare cases" of society. Through measures like Proposition 13, and the Kemp-Roth bill, voters are viciously striking back at black people and the poor. Selfishness and racism have supposedly become the dominant trends of the day.

As attractive as this "social meanness" analysis might seem, it is, I believe, fundamentally flawed. As I see it we are not dealing with mean-spirited people who enjoy kicking blacks, and stealing from the poor. And even if we were,there is no sure cure for meanness.

Instead our political problems arise more from a deep and pervasive sense of social defeatism rather than simple-minded meanness. As evidence of this, I point to several studies indicating that many people who support massive tax cuts, and a contracting public sector, vigorously support full employment, improved education, and assistance for the poor.

Americans have not lost their generous instincts. But I believe we have lost our historic optimism, confidence in our ability to solve the ever-present problems of poverty, economic inequality, and racial discrimination. By banishing our once proud utopias and visions, we and Congress have become the pitiful victims of complacency and despair. Without hope and confidence progress is unachievable; stagnation is a certainty. Unfortunately, the record of the 95th Congress is a disturbing testimony to indifference, despair and the lack of vision.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
November 9, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTIONS
by Bayard Rustin

As American politics becomes more and more confused, those of us who analyze election results need ever stronger doses of skepticism and humility. I can still remember our triumphal mood back in 1976 following the election of President Carter and what seemed to be an overwhelmingly liberal Congress. But as we soon learned, initial political impressions -- especially in today's world can frequently mislead us. Thus, to avoid falling into that trap again, I will limit myself to a few comments about several races with special significance for blacks.

Any discussion of the elections, of course, must begin with the saddest news of all, the defeat of Senator Ed Brooke of Massachusetts. During his two terms in the Senate, Ed Brooke served quietly and unobtrusively. But even though he rarely made the headlines, he was unusually effective. With his close links to the moderate wing of the Republican Party, Ed Brooke frequently acted as a bridge between the two parties, constantly defending and articulating the program of the civil rights movement. And, unlike some other contemporary political figures, Senator Brooke always understood the difference between compromise and selling-out. In short, he was a marvelous Senator, and we will miss him greatly.

Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally and Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, both of them outstanding and promising black leaders, were also defeated, in this instance by a conservative upsurge in California. But even though these defeats -- along with Senator Brooke's -- are quite discouraging and painful, I think it is important to remember one important point: all of these black political leaders were rejected primarily for political reasons, not racial reasons. Thus, we should not view

-more-

these setbacks as proof of an anti-black backlash. Instead, they reflect changing political trends that seem to favor conservatives over traditional liberals.

One very important black victory -- the Missouri "right to work" referendum -- received scant attention from the press, even though it was an amazing setback for the New Right and its anti-labor allies. The minority community in Missouri -- which was exceptionally well-organized -- proved once again that a united black vote is the most effective defense against political forces that threaten the economic security of blacks. Indeed, without a strong black vote, the anti-union measure might have won, sparking a nationwide campaign for "right to work" laws and other socially regressive measures.

Black voters also had a decisive impact in several other races as well. In Michigan, for example, blacks helped defeat Republican Senator Robert Griffin, a long-time opponent of federal programs supported by civil rights and labor organizations. During the last session of Congress, Griffin voted against the civil rights movement on 8 of 11 key issues, such as minimum wage, school desegregation, and labor law reform. His replacement, Carl Levin of Detroit, will hopefully do a better job of representing Michigan's blacks.

In some respects, the election reflected some disturbing trends: the steady drift to the right, the weakening concern for the poor and unemployed, and the sometimes dangerous fetish for irrational tax-cutting. Yet, there is also an important positive trend for blacks. Whereas some elections of the recent past -- 1968 and 1970, for instance -- focused heavily on racially-divisive issues like busing, and affirmative action, this year's elections had little or no racial overtones, even in the South. Such a development, I believe, is an encouraging sign for black Americans. And with the steady decline of racial issues, we can now focus on the real issues confronting blacks -- jobs, educational excellence, decent housing, and steadily expanding opportunity.

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
November 21, 1978

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

MISSOURI: AN UNNOTICED VICTORY

by Bayard Rustin

With all the chatter about the right-ward drift of American politics, blacks and other liberal forces occasionally fall prey to what might be called a psychology of defeat. Every day the press heralds new victories for the conservatives: such as defeated school bonds, new assaults on the minimum wage, anti-bussing crusades, and the like. Considering all these so-called stunning setbacks, we soon begin to think of the New Right and traditional conservative forces as virtually invincible; we think of ourselves and our allies as a bungling group of incompetents.

Because of this defeatist mentality, we overlook our own strengths and possibilities. And we fail to take full account of our own victories, victories which are rather impressive in light of current political realities. As an example of an impressive and highly significant victory, I have in mind the recent Missouri referendum on a favorite proposal of the New Right, a so-called "right to work" law.

Even though the Missouri referendum was billed as a great battle between organized labor and organized conservativism, the election involved much more. In a very real sense, the "right to work" question was a referendum on the program, priorities and attitudes of the New Right and its frequently covert allies in the business community. The outcome was, quite frankly, a surprise: conservatives were decisively rejected by Missouri's voters, and by especially large margins among working people and blacks, the very groups which are supposedly at each other throats.

Several other aspects of the referendum deserve careful attention. For example, at a time when we are supposed to believe that "special interest" issues

-more-

for blacks and labor are doomed to certain defeat, the Missouri proposition was a perfect example of a "special interest" proposal. Yet, it produced widespread interest, and an amazingly large voter turnout. Over 45% of the Missouri electorate voted even though there were no statewide races whatsoever. In fact, Missouri's turnout was far higher than the national average of 39%, and much higher than many states which had widely-publicized and controversial races for Governor and Senator.

A look at Missouri's political traditions further emphasizes the significance of this victory. If "right to work" went down to defeat in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, or some other liberal, industrialized state, the defeat would be hardly worth mentioning. But Missouri is not a notably liberal state. Instead, it is a border state with a moderate to conservative political tradition. Moreover, some elections in recent years seemed to indicate that Missouri was also experiencing the general right-ward drift of the nation. But the black-labor victory contradicts all that. The old liberal-labor alliance -- if we can still use that phrase -- triumphed in the face of tremendous odds.

All this, I think, teaches us some worthwhile lessons. First, and most important, we should never underestimate our own strength and support in the broader community. If anything, the Missouri referendum proved that when given a clear, simple choice, voters will overwhelmingly line up with the forces of social progress and decency. Moreover, Missouri demonstrated that such support will emerge in even the most unexpected places, such as rural communities, and even among generally conservative white-collar, suburbanites. But we also learned that this nascent support must be effectively mobilized and educated. And these crucial tasks can only be accomplished if the black community is united and organized, and willing to cooperate with other groups, such as trade unions, religious organizations and community groups.

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
December 7, 1978

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

CARTER'S INFLATION PROGRAM: PUNISH THE VICTIMS

by Bayard Rustin

President Carter's anti-inflation program, to put it rather bluntly, suffers from a warped sense of fairness. Instead of coping with the real sources of inflation, the President's approach penalizes -- unintentionally, I believe -- the most brutalized and most defenseless victims of steadily rising prices. Rather than offering hope and aid to poor people, workers, and the unemployed, the President's strategy increases the already heavy burden shouldered by these groups. By comparison, business groups and wealthy individuals -- those who suffer least from inflation -- are asked to do little or nothing. Once again, then, victims are blamed for their own victimization.

By saying all this I am not suggesting that the Carter Administration is mean-spirited, insensitive, or a willing tool of business interests. On the contrary, I believe that President Carter has made a sincere effort to deal with inflation, a dangerous problem that especially torments working people and the poor. But while I refuse to question President Carter's good intentions, I do not refuse to question the wisdom of his economic policies as they relate to blacks and workers. Those policies, to be blunt once again, are disastrous.

While the Carter Administration certainly took precautions to insure that its anti-inflation program would be just and workable, it seems to me that its strategy has three serious and potentially fatal flaws: first, it is a voluntary program; second, it seems to assume that wage increases are the principle, if not exclusive cause of inflation; and, third, the proposal for fiscal "austerity" will have an especially disproportionate impact on individuals and groups least responsible for

-more-

inflation.

By its very nature, a purely voluntary system of wage-price controls -- as proposed by President Carter -- results in major inequities, and places a disproportionate burden on workers. Under the proposed guidelines, wage increases are capped at 7%. But the formula for regulating price increases is nebulous and confused. Without some sort of simple and easily enforceable price guidelines -- like those in force . during World War II -- workers receive virtually nothing in return for their sacrifices. Moreover, a system widely perceived as unjust will breed even more distrust, resentment, and political cynicism.

Considering the weakness of Carter's price controls it seems fair to conclude that the Administration has bought the idea that wage increases have been the leading cause of inflation. While that analysis surely has wide popularity, an examination of recent economic trends clearly indicates that inflation has other less obvious sources. And by concentrating attention on wages, the easiest target, we ignore the far more troublesome sources of inflation especially in the areas of interest rates, food, housing, energy and health care costs. Wage increases have had little or no effect in boosting the costs of those goods and services.

In light of all this it seems somewhat misguided to place such a strong emphasis on a 7% wage cap when, in fact, inflation arises from predominantly non-wage sources. Wage guidelines without strong price controls -- especially in the problem areas I mentioned -- will simply prevent workers and poor people from making up lost income. And since real wages (in terms of 1967 dollars) are already significantly lower than they were in 1972, employer-enforced wage limits will only increase the frustration so keenly felt by the victims of the economic diseases that seem to permanently afflict our system.

President Carter's proposal for fiscal austerity makes his overall strategy even less attractive. For whenever we hear about "austerity budgets" it means

-more-

austerity for the poor. It means, quite simply, that those who have the least in our society will be asked to sacrifice the most. If one believes the recent hints from various Administration officials, next year's federal budget will probably have about $15 billion less for social programs and jobs. And those programs are already scandalously under-financed.

If Carter's program is inadequate, what can replace it? To begin with, we will never control inflation unless we have a program viewed as equitable and effective. President Carter has produced a set of proposals that have been rejected by the key constituencies that elected him, blacks and labor. Unless he can win the support of these two indispensable groups, I fear no anti-inflation program -- no matter how imaginative or promising -- will succeed. Furthermore, we must finally bury the old and discredited notion that inflation is best controlled by economic recession and government cutbacks. Working people and the poor are no longer willing to sacrifice while others indulge themselves.

****

NOTICE TO COLUMN USERS

A new publicity photograph of Bayard Rustin is currently available from the A. Philip Randolph Institute. If you desire a copy for use with the column, please return the coupon below.

Please send a copy of the Rustin photograph to:

Name____Title________________________

Name of Publication____

Address____

City_________________________State___________________Zip______________

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
January 4, 1979

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

CHINA: THE NEW LOW-WAGE SUNBELT

by Bayard Rustin

Like two long-estranged lovers, the United States and China have embraced each other warmly, casting aside bitter memories of old quarrels and deeply-felt hatreds. This sudden and rather passionate reconciliation has many hopeful and positive features. Yet at the same time it would be quite foolish to ignore the many problems -- actual and potential -- arising from America's rapprochement with the world's largest and most tightly-controlled totalitarian state.

By raising my doubts and criticisms, I don't mean to dismiss the importance and promise of the newly-established relationship with China. Nor do I mean to suggest that we would be better off if we simply ignored the Chinese. Rather, I raise my questions now because they could be easily lost in the flood of uncritical praise so lavishly heaped on everything Chinese. The present euphoria about the People's Republic -- and even its most gruesome aspects -- forces me to conclude that we may be collectively blinding ourselves to some unattractive realities. Self-deception, as we all know, offers temporary peace of mind, but in the long-run it almost inevitably leads to even more serious problems.

Two questions in particular cry out for attention, especially from black people. First, what does the new relationship between American business and the Chinese rulers mean for working people? And, second, will the Carter Administration scrap its commitment to human rights in deference to China's heavy-handed and deeply-entrenched governing elite?

In the area of economics, one thing is quite clear: American business views

-more-

China as a huge pool of cheap, docile and rigidly-disciplined labor. Whereas labor-intensive companies once turned from the Northeastern states to the Sunbelt states, they now look toward China as the new low-wage Mecca. In the eyes of American business leaders, China offers untold possibilities for expansion and huge profits won at the expense of defenseless workers.

While it is still too early to estimate the full impact of this low wage Asian "Sunbelt" on American workers, particularly those in semi-skilled or /unskilled manufacturing jobs, several recent cases suggest what the future may hold.

Last fall two American apparel companies -- Prestige Sportswear of Boston and Oxford Industries of New York -- concluded a preliminary deal with the Chinese to construct and equip plants in two major cities. Because China lacks hard currency, the American companies agreed to establish a barter system with their Chinese clients. In other words, instead of demanding cash for the plants and equipment, the American companies will be "paid" with finished products, in this case sports clothes and corduroy suits. These apparel items manufactured by low-paid Chinese workers (the per capita income of China is less than $400 per year!) will then find their way to American retail outlets and sell at normal American prices. Under such an arrangement, our own apparel workers -- many of them seriously under-employed and under-paid -- will find it impossible to compete with Chinese workers earning mere pennies.

While the emerging barter system threatens workers in an immediate and direct way, other jobs are endangered indirectly by capital outflows from the United States to China. Simply put, this means that when an American company decides to invest in Chinese-based operations, it has fewer financial resources to invest in job-creating activities in the United States. Subsequently, fewer jobs develop here as new jobs open in China.

A number of firms have already turned to China with heavy investment plans. Kaiser Steel Corporation and Bethlehem Steel, for instance, have both decided to build new iron ore facilities in China. And the Fluor Corporation concluded one of

-more-

the largest deals ($800 million for starters) ever negotiated with the Chinese. Other lucrative ventures are planned by Coca-Cola, Hyatt International and Pan American Airways. And this is only the beginning.

Business leaders, of course, argue that large capital exports to China, and a steady influx of cheap Chinese products will not seriously threaten American jobs. Flourishing U.S. - China trade, they insist, will actually create jobs in America. Such an argument might make sense if we planned to export finished consumer goods like automobiles, refrigerators and vacuum cleaners. But the great bulk of American export to China will consist of agricultural commodities, and, to a much lesser extent, high technology items like computers. Neither agriculture nor sophisticated computer and communications industries offer much hope of new employment opportunities for displaced workers. While "free trade" certainly has its theoretical attractions,it makes little sense for the average American manufacturing employee.

Now, let us consider the question of human rights, a question which is intimately connected to the economic problems.

Aside from a few devoted Maoists, most people agree that the Chinese government is oppressive, totally un-democratic, and frequently prone to use force and outright terror in achieving political ends. Workers cannot organize trade unions or political parties. The press is controlled exclusively by the ruling elite. In short, the Chinese people -- and their counterparts in other totalitarian states -- have no human rights or freedoms. To be sure, all this may change someday, but there is scant evidence that supposedly liberal, pro-Western Chinese leaders like Teng Hsiao-ping or Hua Kuo-feng have much respect for basic civil rights.

How does one promote respect for human rights? One promising approach is the use of economic incentives or sanctions. Just recently, for example, labor organizations throughout the Western Hemisphere threatened to boycott Chilean goods

-more-

until the Pinochet regime allows workers to freely organize. Already, the Chilean government has shown some signs of moderating its harsh rule.

But in the case of China, scarcely anyone has looked to trade -- or anything else -- as a possible weapon in the battle for human rights. Indeed, many business leaders and some Carter Administration figures hope to repeal the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974. This amendment, long opposed by business groups, prohibits normal trade relations between the United States and nations which repeatedly violate human rights, specifically the right to emigrate, Now, this solitary and potentially most effective incentive for fostering respect for human rights may fall by the wayside as corporate executives rush to China in search of a quick buck.

While history may someday show that President Carter's bold decision to recognize China was a stroke of political and strategic genius, our triumph will surely seem less than magnificent if we cynically abandon the struggle for human rights, and seek to modernize China at the expense of jobs and dignity for America's poor and working people.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
For further information, contact:

Immediately
January 18, 1979

Rustin Column

FACTS ABOUT ILLEGAL ALIENS

by Bayard Rustin

In the 1850's, an ugly political organization appropriately known as the Know-Nothing Party grew in size and influence by appealing to mass hatred of foreign immigrants. According to the Know-Nothing leaders, the economic problems of America's workers and farmers had one main cause -- the steady influx of Chinese coolies, European Catholics, and other such undesirables.

These groups, the nativists asserted, deprived white Americans of jobs, suppressed wages, and threatened white supremacy. To counteract the "Yellow Peril" and other alien threats, the Know-Nothings proposed mass deportations and highly restrictive immigration rules. The nativists had a simple program and a simple slogan: "Americans must rule America!"

A new wave of Know-Nothingism seems to be sweeping America as we hear more and more about the economic threat from so-called illegal aliens. Of course, much of the outcry about "illegals" arises from the usual sources, organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, and other racist groups. But I find it very disturbing -- indeed, very disappointing -- to discover Know-Nothing sympathies even among some of the most sensitive and decent leaders of the black community. Here I have in mind those blacks who call for the virtual deportation of illegal aliens as a quick-fix remedy for chronically high black unemployment. Such an approach obscures the real issues, and simply uses illegal aliens --most of them Mexicans, blacks and Asians -- as convenient scapegoats.

On the surface, any argument pointing to "illegals" as the economic enemies of

-more-

black people appears to make sense. Afterall, we all agree that the labor force includes an enormous number of "illegals," anywhere from 3 million to 12 million people. But everyone seems to forget two important points: first, "illegals" subsist as a virtual under-class in economic terms; and second, many employers have a vested interest in preserving an obsolete and highly questionable immigration system that creates "illegal aliens."

Anyone who suggests that "illegals" displace large number of black people from desirable jobs should examine the facts especially as they relate to wage rates and occupations.

By and large, "illegals" receive wages that are best described as "sub-poverty." In 1975, for instance, one of every four "illegals" earned less than $2.10 per hour; more than 65% received $2.50 per hour or less; and more than 95% earned $4.50 per hour or less. In terms of occupations, the largest group of "illegals" were concentrated in farm work, with the remainder scattered in extremely low-paying service and industrial jobs, jobs that would offer unemployed blacks scant opportunity for a decent living.

Who benefits from the existence of a large and growing pool of undocumented aliens? The answer is simple: employers in labor-intensive industries who greatly prefer defenseless, workers willing to work at low wages. "Illegals," who constantly fear deportation, fill that prescription exactly. And the economic position of black people, particularly youngsters, is threatened more by this system of fear than by the mere presence of "illegals" who are in effect, innocent pawns in the employer's game of "divide and conquer." But by allying with "illegals" in an effort to destroy the employer's billy club -- the threat of deportation -- blacks can begin moving toward an effective and humane solution of the "illegal alien" problem.

As a minimal program, I believe blacks should support two proposals. First,

-more-

and most important, we must call for some sort of amnesty for "illegals" presently working in the United States, especially those with long-standing attachments to the community. Such an amnesty would immediately eliminate the "under-class" of low-wage terror-stricken workers so easily exploited by some employers. Without the threat of deportation, employers will find it impossible to exact tribute from workers in the form of substandard wages and working conditions. Moreover, they will be unable to play-off Mexican workers and other "illegals" against black people.

Second, employers who repeatedly hire undocumented aliens should be prosecuted and fined. Under the present immigration laws, those who hire and recruit "illegals" face no penalties whatsoever. The only people subject to penalties are the "illegals" themselves. Justice demands that those who profit most from the "illegal alien problem" should pay the price.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
February 1, 1979

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

U.S. SENATE NEEDS FAIR RULES

by Bayard Rustin

During the 1960's, many young militants complained that American democracy was nothing more than a sham, a mere facade to conceal the real workings of an oppressive system. In Black Power, for example, Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton pointed to "the conflict between the so-called American Creed and American practice." As they saw things, democracy's claims to equality and liberty "are simply words."

While some black people despaired of the democratic political process, others -- like Dr. King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and many more -- grappled with its imperfections and transformed it into a dynamic agent for racial equality and constructive social change.

This transformation, of course, did not miraculously happen overnight. On the contrary, it was the culmination of a long series of painfully slow advances, some of them almost imperceptible and seemingly insignificant. We fought hard and long sometimes against terrible odds; but, by and large, we succeeded in achieving many of our most important goals.

Without a doubt, then, the old Carmichael-Hamilton critique of American democracy was proved erroneous. Yet as we toppled one obstacle after another, by organizing a Congressional majority, we never succeeded in eliminating one particularly frustrating roadblock -- the Senate filibuster. Indeed, by establishing de facto minority rule, the filibuster serves as a perfect example of "a conflict between the so-called American Creed and American practice," to use the words of Carmichael and Hamilton.

-more-

People with good memories will surely recall the 83-day talkathon aimed at defeating the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although the bill had President Johnson's support, and the backing of a clear majority in the Senate, a minority held it captive by corralling it with a filibuster. Eventually the filibuster ended and the bill became law, but many other key pieces of civil rights legislation were either defeated or delayed by minority veto in the Senate. Passage of the Anti-Poll Tax bill, for instance, was delayed for 22 years because of filibusters and threats of filibusters. And the Fair Employment Practices Act was held hostage for 18 years.

Now, after fighting the undemocratic filibuster for so many years, we seem to be on the verge of a major breakthrough. Because of the untiring work of Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd, a man who himself once used the filibuster in a truly masterful way, the Senate will soon consider a set of new rules designed to curb the veto power of the minority. Under Senator Byrd's plan, an obstinate minority will no longer be able to defeat legislation by entangling the Senate in a web of frivolous amendments, as Senator Orin Hatch and others threatened to do on the Humphrey-Hawkins and the Labor Law Reform bills.

In almost every instance, filibusters have been used to kill legislation supported by blacks and working people. Because of this, a broad coalition of groups, including every major civil rights and labor organization, have banded together in solid support of Senator Byrd's proposals. While these groups fully recognize that the Majority Leader's reforms will not end filibusters or even reduce the number of votes necessary for cloture (the number of votes required to end a filibuster), they clearly understand that the reforms go a long way in restoring majority rule in the U.S. Senate.

On the surface at least, Senator Byrd's suggested changes might appear to be insignificant and over-compromised, bu their adoption could very well signal the beginning of the end for the filibuster, one of the last, but most durable manifestations of inequality and minority-rule in America.

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
February 15, 1979

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

DEFENSE SPENDING AND THE BUDGET

by Bayard Rustin

When I began working with the civil rights movement many years ago, I soon learned that the effective leader needs one especially important talent, the ability to clearly identify real -- as opposed to imaginary -- causes of social, economic and political problems. Without this talent for discernment, it is all too easy to waste precious time and resources fighting mirages while allowing the real enemy to slip by.

This all comes to mind because a liberal friend of mine recently asserted that President Carter's proposed budget cuts are tied directly to increases in defense spending. Every dollar spent by the Pentagon, he said, comes from the education budget, the housing budget or the health care budget. Furthermore, he noted that the United States now spends more on weapons than ever before.

If all this were true, then, the proper strategy for challenging President Carter's austerity budget would be to attack military spending, and call for the transfer of a large portion of the defense budget to social welfare programs. At first glance, this seems like an attractive suggestion, but before adopting such a strategy, we must answer a key question: Are increases in the defense budget the real reason for President Carter's proposed cutbacks in social spending? The answer, I believe, is "no."

While it is certainly true that President Carter's "austerity" budget includes an increase in defense spending over and above the current inflation rate, the size of the increase and the magnitude of the current defense budget have been vastly exaggerated in the minds of many people.

-more-

Allow me to illustrate my point. According to my old friend, President Carter's proposed defense budget has increased enormously. But upon checking the facts, I discovered that the proposed increases amount to only 3% after accounting for inflation. Furthermore, while thumbing through a report from the Congressional Budget Office, I found that defense spending has become a relatively minor component in terms of our overall economy. Back in 1968, for instance, the military consumed 44 cents of every federal dollar; in 1980, however, it will consume 24 cents. Twelve years ago, we spent 9.5% of our Gross National Product on the military, whereas in 1980 we will spend about 5%. By contrast, the Soviet Union, currently spends between 11% and 13% of its GNP on military hardware.

In pointing to these facts I am not saying that the defense budget is inconsequential or too small. Rather, I am arguing that it is highly dangerous -- indeed suicidal -- to plunge into the fray over the budget with a warped view of basic realities. And the most basic reality, as I see it, is that President Carter did not slash social spending in order to bolster the military; he slashed social spending because he sincerely believes that fiscal conservatism is the solution to inflation and economic instability. Therefore, a campaign against military spending is directed against the mirage, a pseudo-problem, while, the root cause -- an antiquated form of economic conservatism -- passes unchallenged, perhaps even un-noticed.

An anti-defense approach has other serious pitfalls, the most dangerous being the advantage it gives conservatives. If we succumb to the false notion that there is a direct dollar-for-dollar relationship between defense and social spending, pro-austerity forces will have an especially powerful argument. For the conservatives, the need for increases in military spending -- increases which the majority of Americans, myself included, favor -- will serve as a convenient and convincing excuse for cutting social programs. To put if more bluntly, if we allow the

-more-

budget debate to be framed in terms of the old "guns vs. butter" trade-off, I fear that most Americans, including those who support and benefit from social programs, will opt for guns.

How do we escape this disastrous predicament? In my view, there is only one alternative strategy, and that is to justify our anti-cutback position on the merits of individual social programs and needs. In other words, when we call for a restoration of $3.1 billion in CETA funds, $2.3 billion in medicare funds, and other billions in education and health care funds, we must make our case irrespective of the defense budget. Moreover, if we attempt to simply re-funnel defense funds to social programs, we will be conceding that federal spending, rather than other key factors, is the main source of inflation.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
March 1

Rustin Column

READING THE POLLS ON RACIAL ISSUES

by Bayard Rustin

For quite a number of years I have preferred personal observation to supposedly scientific polls. When I participated in the early Freedom Rides and other civil rights demonstrations in the South I did not need a computer print-out sheet to inform me that a majority of whites hated black people. My own "unscientific" experience taught me that America suffered from a kind of ingrown racism, that manifested itself in the widespread discrimination and repression of blacks. And I needed no sophisticated economic studies to prove to me that the majority of blacks attended wretched schools, lived in sub-standard housing, and earned considerably less than their white counterparts. Polls, even with their record of unreliability, have a political impact in our society, an impact that cannot be ignored.

A recent study on racial issues commissioned by the National Conference of Christians and Jews serves as a perfect example of the power and controversial nature of polls. According to the survey, a majority of whites -- 71% to be precise -- believes that "after years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women and minorities are given every opportunity to have equal opportunities in employment and education." Based on this and other findings, the Conference concluded that that "a period of real progress is now imminent."

All this provoked an outpouring of criticism from several highly respected black leaders. One important black community spokesman claimed that the survey results "do not square with actual behavior." Another civil rights leader noted

-more-

that the study's conclusions are "not true and totally inconsistent with what we find in our day-to-day lives as blacks and professionals." And still another suggested that the study might be used to justify "going along with the status quo of racism."

In my view, the controversial study -- like so many other pseudo-scientific polls -- is a mixed bag. Critics who point out that the poll may be used to paint an overly rosy picture of race relations seem to have a point. Allow me to give you an illustration: The headline on the New York Times story reporting the survey results read "White Majority Found to Favor Affirmative Action for Blacks if Quotas Are Not Rigid." From this, a casual reader might conclude that all is well, that the last vestiges of racism have finally disappeared. But the survey contained other results, many of which I found shocking. Among the most disturbing features of the study were the following results: 49% of whites still believe that blacks have considerably less ambition than whites; 36% agree that blacks simply want a free ride, a welfare hand-out; and 25% tenaciously cling to the idea that blacks are inherently less intelligent than whites. To conclude that racism in America has largely vanished and that new breakthroughs are on the horizon strikes me as a bit premature. Although, the National Conference of Christian and Jews certainly makes no such claim, the survey results, if surgically disected and reassembled, can be used to justify complacency and unwarranted euphoria about the condition of black people.

As a mixed bag, the survey also contains some good news, news which should not be ignored. Like numerous other studies -- I can think of last year's CBS News/New York Times poll, and several surveys completed by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, and the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research -- the Conference study documents a slow but rather consistent shift in white attitudes toward blacks. Every poll I have seen in the last few years shows that a significantly larger number of whites now accept the idea of

-more-

open housing, equal employment opportunity, continued welfare assistance to the poor, and even various forms of meaningful affirmative action.

Again, I hasten to restate my skeptism about polls, but I think I can reasonably assert that my own limited experience confirms the findings of the pollsters. There has been a change in racial attitudes, and the change has been more than merely cosmetic. Racism, of course, has not died, but it has taken a beating. To deny the existence of positive change is to deny hope. And to deny hope is to risk lulling black America into a state of desperation, and apathy. A demoralized movement is the weakest movement of all.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
March 29, 1979

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: AN APPRECIATION

by Bayard Rustin

As a young man, I spent a considerable amount of time discussing and debating the great political and social questions of the day. My friends and I were, for the most part, radicals of one sort or another, and we all had glorious visions of things to come. We dreamed of equality and the end of racism; we looked toward the day when war would be outlawed; and we envisioned a society free of poverty and economic injustice. But, like so many other idealistic youngsters, we had difficulty translating our dreams into solid, workable programs.

This inability to link vision with political reality has caused the downfall of many idealistic movements and leaders. But of the few true idealists that survived and flourished, I can think of none more important or inspiring than A. Philip Randolph, a man who demonstrated that radical ideas and values have a place and function in the everyday politics of this sometimes overly cautious world.

By fusing radicalism and realism, Mr. Randolph -- who, incidentally, will be 90 on Easter Sunday -- provided the civil rights movement with some indispensable insights about our society and racism. Drawing upon his careful study of democratic socialist theory, he became the first black leader of any importance to emphasize the economic aspects of American racism. Early in his life, he realized that the liberation of black people could never be won alone. He recognized that blacks were overwhelmingly a working people, and that trade unions, even those with long histories of racial exclusion, offered the best hope for securing economic justice for black workers.

-more-

All this, of course, was a neat, compact, and highly logical theory. But Mr. Randolph, always an eager activist, believed that theory had little value except in its application. Thus, he tested his ideas in the laboratory of experience, and set out in 1925 to organize black Pullman porters across the county. Working against tremendous odds, and against virtually everyone's expectations, Mr. Randolph succeeded, and in 1937 the Pullman Company finally recognized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as the sole representative of its black porters.

After that impressive victory, Mr. Randolph could have justifiably rested on his laurels, withdrawing into the day-to-day business of the brotherhood. Instead, he broadened his involvement in the rapidly expanding civil rights movement. Because of his broad social vision, he understood that the new-found dignity and modest prosperity of the Pullman porters would never be secure in a society where the vast majority of black people still lived in poverty and fear. So, quite naturally, Mr. Randolph and the Brotherhood became stalwarts of the great civil rights crusades of the last 40 years. Together they fought for an end to discrimination in the armed services, for the elimination of "color bars" in trade unions, and for every piece of civil rights legislation brought before Congress.

And while Mr. Randolph always adopted a pragmatic course, he never once recoiled from tough, well-reasoned militancy. I remember well his speech at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, "All who deplore our militancy," Mr. Randolph declared, "who exhort patience in the name of false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than enforcing racial democracy."

Just as Mr. Randolph so admirably integrated his radicalism with the realities and immediate problems of his time, he also harmonized his deeply radical and humanistic values with his own personal lifestyle.

I say this based on my long years of friendship with Mr. Randolph, a friend-

-more-

ship, which, I have always regarded as a singular blessing and privilege. Throughout those long years, I have never once heard Mr. Randolph utter an uncharitable word about anyone, even his most bitter enemies nor have I ever once seen Mr. Randolph treat any human being with anything less than complete dignity and respect. Moreover, as a convinced believer in the equality of man, Mr. Randolp never once exalted himself at the expense of anyone. If there ever was a man who truly "practiced what he preached," it certainly is Mr. Randolph.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
April 12, 1979

Rustin Column

ENERGY AND EQUALITY

by Bayard Rustin

My grandmother once had a friend who dreaded the prospect of visiting the doctor. As she saw things, doctors did nothing more than cause pain, and overcharge poor people for unnecessary medicines, needles, and additional visits. This poor woman, however, suffered from high blood pressure, and she did in fact need regular medical treatment. Thus, every two weeks we went through the same ritual, assuring her that she was indeed ill, and that the doctor would do everything possible to avoid causing pain or discomfort.

By using common sense, and by demonstrating some concern and human sensitivity, my grandmother helped keep her old friend alive to the ripe old age of 87. Without the gentle persuasion of my grandmother, the old lady would never have gone to the doctor and, in all probablity, she would have died of a stroke, years before her time.

This little story came to mind as I re-read President Carter's speech on the energy crisis. The American people, it seems to me, resemble my grandmother's old friend. Like her, they have very serious doubts about the existence of a disease, in this case the "energy crisis." And, like her again, they fear the pain and cost of Dr. Carter's treatment, specifically his proposal to eliminate price controls on domestically-produced oil.

While President Carter insists that "the energy crisis is real, (and) time is running out," few poor people and middle-income workers believe in the "energy disease." Last year, for instance, a CBS/New York Times poll found that only 32% of people earning less than $8,000 thought that the energy crisis was real. At the

-more-

same time, 53% agreed that "we are just being told there are shortages so oil and gas companies can charge higher prices." The poll uncovered the same sort of skeptism among all income groups, except the very highest.

As I see it, this widespread skepticism about the "energy crisis," a skepticism which immediatley condemns any national energy plan to almost certain failure, springs from a pervasive and healthy sense of outrage about the inequities and outright injustices that have characterize every national energy plan from Nixon to Ford to Carter. In all fairness, of course, President Carter's proposed excess profits tax is an attempt at providing some sense of equity to his energy policy. But strong corporate opposition to the tax, as well as Carter's own half-hearted support for the measure make the attack on excess profits little more than a symbolic gesture.

By relying almost exclusively on price decontrol, the exact strategy so vigorously supported by the oil and gas corporations, President Carter's energy program further aggravates the sense of distrust and disbelief among poor and working people because they, and they alone, bear the heaviest and most unjust burden in the effort to conserve energy and to achieve independence from the whims of the OPEC nations. Moreover, my charge of unfairness is not careless rhetoric, it is supported by hard, cold facts. Consider these points: according to one recent study, the average low-income household spends more than 20% of its gross -- before taxes -- income on gasoline and home energy bills. To make matters worse, the same study showed that poor people pay significantly higher rates for energy than do families with much higher incomes. All this, of course, means that poor people will once again be forced to cutback their other expenses, expenses for foo housing and the basic necessities of life. And this will occur while something like $32 billion is transferred from consumers to oil companies during the next 28 months. Conservatives who so mournfully complain about "redistributionist tenden-

-more-

cies" in our society will, I hope, take note.

Aside from the important issue of "energy justice," we must also take a careful look at the workability and effectiveness of various proposals, especially those favored by the oil and gas industries. Oil decontrol serves as a perfect example. While industry spokesman, joined now by officials from the U.S. Department of Energy, claim that decontrol will result in sizable increases in oil production, numerous studies contradict such forecasts. Charles Curtis, chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, cited a study that indicates that the higher price tag on gasoline resulting from decontrol will guarantee virtually no increase in domestic oil production during 1979. And another study by the Department of Energy on the deregulation of natural gas showed that a 50% price rise will cause only a 6% increase in production. In light of these facts, then, it seems senseless to have much hope in decontrol as a solution to the energy problem.

What can be done about this steadily worsening situation? As a start, I suggest that President Carter follow my grandmother's example by firmly convincing the nation that the energy crisis is indeed a real disease, not some contrived fantasy. But how can skeptical, cynical people be persuaded that a crisis exists? In my view, there is only one truly effective means of persuasion, and that is the development of a national energy program characterized by justice, compassion for the poor, equal sacrifice, and a strong air tight lid on windfall profits. Until we devise an energy policy widely perceived as fair, one of our most serious national diseases will go untreated because the patient is frightened and wary of the unscrupulous medicine man.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
April 26, 1979

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

HIGH TUITION JEOPARDIZES BLACK PROGRESS

by Bayard Rustin

As recently as ten or fifteen years ago, a black college graduate was indeed a rare species. In those days, only 1 out of every 20 young black adults held a bachelor's degree, and fewer than 285,000 black youngsters attended college classes on any kind of regular basis. Moreover, those who endured the economic hardships, and long hours of study in pursuit of their degrees frequently found themselves confined to low-paying, low-status jobs which offered little opportunity for further advancement. For many young people, the civil rights revolution had scarcely begun,and America seemed happily contented with the startling inequalities between black and white citizens.

Today, however, the once enormous occupational disparities between college-educated blacks and whites have declined significantly, and black college graduates and black students have become considerably less rare than they used to be. Since 1966, for instance, the black student population in institutions of higher education has grown from a miniscule 285,000 to 1,062,000 -- more than a three-fold increase. And between 1960 and 1976, the proportion of black youngsters with college degrees more than doubled.

As encouraging as these figures appear, one commits a serious error by assuming -- as some conservative social scientists and others have -- that this encouraging trend will continue on its own, that somehow black people have finally "made it," and that the great quest for racial equality has ended in final and decisive triumph. Such notions, while understandable, ignore some fundamental trends, trends that seriously threaten to reverse or halt the gradual movement

-more-

toward greater equality.

It is important to note here that I am not referring to the new problems encountered by various affirmative action programs. These problems, of course, are important, but I think they are far surpassed in importance by a number of dangerous developments that threaten to bolt the college doors for the new generation of black students.

I can summarize the new problem facing black youngsters in three short words: inability to pay. Black people, and even working-class whites, are rapidly discovering that they can no longer afford a college education for their children. Some people, as expected, will quickly assert that financial aid programs have expanded in recent years, and that state-supported universities and local community colleges provide easily affordable education. But the facts tell a somewhat different story.

To begin with, few people without college-age children are fully aware of the huge increases in tuition, university fees, book prices, and campus living expenses. During the relatively short period between 1970 and 1976, tuition at private universities and colleges rose by 54%. The increase at state-supported schools was even higher, 57%. And the tuition hikes at community colleges, the schools supposedly designed to serve the needs of poor people, rose by a staggering 130%. To further aggravate the situation, the new "balance the budget" mania and Proposition 13 mentality threaten to undermine, existing financial aid programs, programs which are already noted for their stinginess and seemingly endless bureaucratic red tape.

To a very large extent, black advances in the area of higher education during the 1960's and 1970's were made possible by several factors: easy access to aid and low-interest student loans (70% of black students receive some form of financial assistance); the growth of relatively cheap community colleges and state university systems; a national commitment to the active pursuit of racial equality; and the availability of part-time jobs for young students.

-more-

Unfortunately, in today's world decent-paying part-time jobs have become scarcer, student loans have become more expensive and tuition at state-supported universities has become anything but cheap. Consequently, millions of black high school graduates who leave school this June will find it more difficult, if not impossible, to earn a college degree, the key which has unlocked the ghetto doors for many.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
May 4, 1979

For further information, contact:
Michael Kerper

CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON "NEW POLITICAL REALITIES"

Over 1200 black trade unionists and community leaders will assemble at the Detroit Plaza Hotel, June 8-10 to discuss "new political realities" as they effect the civil rights and labor movements. The conference is sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, political action organization with over 180 local chapters throughout the country.

Norman Hill, the Institute's Executive Director, noted that the conference "will address itself to the new political atmosphere in America, an atmosphere marked by growing conservatism, New Right militancy, budget cutbacks at all levels, and general confusion about social goals."

"Since the 1960's the political landscape has changed drastically," Hill said. "Black people must begin to rethink old strategies, and come to grips with the new and sometimes disturbing trends we see today. Moreover, black people must begin now to ponder their role in the 1980 presidential election."

Plenary sessions will focus on issues like economic policy, attacks on public employees, the state of the civil rights movement, and problems of working women and minorities. Conference participants will also attend a variety of workshops on legislative affairs and local political action projects. In conjunction with the conference, the Institute and its Detroit affiliate will co-sponsor a special banquet honoring A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 90th Birthday.
Mr. Randolph, who organized and led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black union, is President Emeritus of the Institute.

Conference speakers will include Bayard Rustin, the Institute's President;

-more-

Kenneth Blaylock, President of the American Federation of Government Employees, Alexis Herman, Director of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor; Gus Tyler, syndicated columnist and Assistant President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Martin Ward, President of the Plumbers Union; and Al Barkan, Director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

For additional information, reservations, and tickets, please contact the Institute's national headquarters at 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) 533-8000.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
May 10, 1979

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

INTEGRATION AND EDUCATION: 25 YEARS AFTER BROWN

by Bayard Rustin

As we mark the 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision in Brown vs. Board of Education, it is important to remember the revolutionary quality of the Court's judgement. By decisively repudiating the archaic "separate but equal" doctrine, Brown shook the legal and moral foundations of the entire racial caste system in America. Moreover, it initiated a creative and long overdue discussion about the very concept of equality, most importantly the concept of equality of educational opportunity.

Today, after twenty-five years of sometimes bitter debate, the concept of equal educational opportunity still remains controversial and confusing as school boards and communities continue to wrestle with the slippery problem of racial imbalances; despite good intentions and many valient desegregation plans, I think it is quite fair to conclude that educational inequality has not yet disappeared, and that American society has not even settled on a clear, widely-accepted, workable definition of what equality of educational opportunity really means. These two conclusions, however, do not warrant undue pessimism or charges of ill will and total failure. They are, I think, candid and simple statements of fact.

To illustrate the persistence of educational inequality, I think it is worth noting some recent developments in several of the school districts originally involved in the Brown case. In Topeka, for instance, arbitrary racial segregation has disappeared, yet racial imbalances still exist, and charges of racial discrimination frequently arise. Developments in two other Brown districts -- New Castle

-more-

County, Delaware and Clarendon County, South Carolina -- are also cause for serious concern, since they serve as graphic examples of two relatively new and inter-related problems: the dramatic reemergence of de facto segregation as the result of urban/suburban population shifts, and the vexing phenomenon known as "white flight".

While desegregation experiences in the Brown districts have been rather disappointing, overall trends in school integration and black educational advancement are generally more encouraging. The following points, I think, deserve special note: white opposition to integrated schools has dropped considerably; the black/white gap in achievement shows hopeful signs of disappearing; black drop-out rates, once enormously higher than white rates, have fallen; and the proportion of black youngsters attending college has risen tremendously.

Taken together, these contradictory indications remind us again that desegregation is a complex process that must adapt to changing economic and political circumstances. Consequently, our efforts toward full desegregation need a broader focus. As I see it, we need this new focus for two reasons: first, unless we begin to think of educational equality in a more socially comprehensive and class-oriented manner, we will be continually distracted by an on-going racial "numbers game " which will divert us from our real goal, quality education for all. And second, if the drive toward educational equality continues to be mistakenly perceived as a racial matter, we risk losing the political and community support which are absolutely essential for the success of any desegregation program, and for the continued survival of any integrated public school system.

In concrete terms, then, I am suggesting that we begin to look more closely at proposals and ideas like a major equality-oriented restructuring of school finances, a more rational and regionalized approach to drawing school district lines, greater use of magnet schools, and a more careful and more future-oriented approach to educational planning.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
May 18, 1979

For further information, contact:

Michael Kerper

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH'S DEATH: A GREAT LOSS TO ALL

A. Philip Randolph, the dean of the American civil rights movement, died at his Manhattan apartment on Wednesday afternoon, May 16. Mr. Randolph, who celebrated his 90th birthday on April 15, led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He also played the key role in organizing the historic March on Washington in 1963.

Bayard Rustin, a long time friend and associate of Mr. Randolph, said that the veteran black leader died peacefully at home. "Mr. Randolph was blessed with a peaceful death, he did not suffer,: Rustin said.

Mr. Randolph's remains were cremated shortly after his death. The A. Philip Randolph Institute is making arrangements for a public memorial service to be held in Harlem within a month. Details of the service will be announced in approximately two weeks. Those who wish to honor Mr. Randolph's memory are urged to send contributions to their favorite civil rights organization in lieu of flowers.

In a personal tribute broadcast on WNET in New York, Rustin remarked that he could think of "no greater gift and no greater joy than the years of friendship I have shared with A. Philip Randolph."

"For me," he said, "Mr. Randolph was many things --a teacher, a friend, even a prophet. Millions of people knew him as a prophet. I say this because he, like the great prophets of the Old Testament, always persevered in boldly witnessing to the truth. Like the ancient prophets, his message was sometimes scorned and ridiculed because he said unpopular things, visionary things, even radical things. And also like the classic Hebrew prophets, Mr. Randolph's personal life radiantly

-more-

reflected the truths and ideals which he so eloquently preached."

Rustin noted that the most important things he learned from Mr. Randolph was that "the struggle for the freedom of black people is intertwined with the struggles of all people for freedom and justice."

Norman Hill, Executive Director of the Randolph Institute, recalled the tremendous impact that Mr. Randolph's life has had on local civil rights and labor activists.

"Mr. Randolph's ideals live on in the thousands of Institute members across the country who volunteer their time in voter registration, labor support activities, and political action," Hill said.

Shortly after the announcement of his death, messages of condolences began to pour into the A. Philip Randolph Institute from labor, civil rights, political and religious leaders.

One of the most moving tributes came from the AFL-CIO Executive Council which several days earlier passed a resolution honoring Mr. Randolph on his 90th Birthday. The AFL-CIO expressed "its sincere thanks to Brother Randolph for his continuing and outspoken support for the goals and values which he and the labor movement have shared for so many years." Mr. Randolph served as a vice president of the AFL-CIO from 1955 to 1968.

Vernon Jordan, President of the National Urban League, praised Mr. Randolph as "a man of brilliance, eloquence and integrity who chose to mount the barricades and attack racism, segregation and discrimination with every fibre of his being."

"His death," Jordan continued, "removes from our age a living legend whom we honored, respected and loved."

The top leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called Mr. Randolph an "incorruptible servant of the cause of all people who never waivered nor compromised a single iota in the continuing fight for full opportunity."

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release Immediately
May 24, 1979

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

A PERSONAL TRIBUTE TO A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

by Bayard Rustin

On the evening after A. Philip Randolph's death, I made the following remarks on WNET-TV in New York.

Of the many gifts bestowed upon me in my lifetime, I can think of no greater gift and no greater joy than the years of friendship I have shared with A. Philip Randolph. For me, the Chief was many things -- a teacher, a friend, a prophet.

In youth I learned many fundamental principles at his side. I learned about non-violent protest. I learned about the economic roots of racism, and I learned the meaning of personal integrity. But above all, I learned that the struggle for the freedom of black people is intertwined with the struggle to free all humankind. Mr. Randolph taught all this by example, by action, and by reason.

As a friend, the Chief was unwavering in his loyality. He shared his friends' tragedies as he shared their triumphs. For him, friendship was never fleeting or self-serving, and he never knew the meaning of selfishness.

While I knew the Chief as a friend and teacher, millions of people knew him as prophet. I use that term judiciously because today it is so frequently abused. But I cannot think of a better word to describe him.

I say this because the Chief, like the great prophets of the Old Testament, always persevered in witnessing to the truth. Like the ancient prophets, his message was sometimes scorned and ridiculed because he said unpopular things, visionary things, and even radical things. And like the Hebrew prophets, the Chief's personal life reflected the truths and ideals which he so eloquently

-more-

preached.

Mr. Randolph is gone now. But his wisdom, his penetrating example, and his vibrant humanity will remain. Thus, we celebrate that he taught us so well to be warriors in the struggle for human rights for all people regardless of their color or creed or national origin. We celebrate a great and loving man, A. Philip Randolph.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
June 5, 1979

For further information, contact: Michael Kerper

RANDOLPH TRIBUTE IN WASHINGTON

President Jimmy Carter hailed A. Philip Randolph as "a man of dignity, tenacity, and eloquence, a man of gentleness and constant idealism" in remarks at a national memorial service honoring the black leader who died on May 16th. Over 3,000 attended the service at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church in Washington, D.C. on Sunday, June 3.

"I doubt there is a mother or father in this nation who, knowing A. Philip Randolph, would not like their children to be like him," Carter said. Commenting on Randolph's long career as a labor and civil rights leader, the President praised him as a man who "was able to combine idealism with hard work and sweat. He combined gentleness with a kind of brash courage in a time when that was not done."

Bayard Rustin, a long time friend of Randolph, emphasized the human qualities of the founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black trade union. "Mr. Randolph became a successful and skilled labor and civil rights leader because he first became a sensitive, unselfish, and dignified human being," Rustin said. Randolph's early experiences with segregation and the economic exploitation of workers drove him to a youthful commitment to trade unionism, civil rights activism, and democratic socialism.

"As a gentle radical," Rustin continued, "the Chief set no boundaries on his commitments. His concern overflowed into every facet of the human condition. He was a true partisan for all humanity regardless of race, religion or nationality. He believed that the struggle for any right was intertwined with the struggle for

-more-

all rights." Noting that Randolph left behind only an old railroad watch, a broken television set, and a very small amount cash, Rustin said that Randolph never had much regard for material things. "Randolph took his values seriously." Rustin declared, "He never exalted or promoted himself at the expense of others, He never demanded or expected special privileges or rewards because of his stature as a major leader."

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer, Lane Kirkland said that "Phil Randolph belonged to all of us--people were his constituency. He knew that the freedom he sought for blacks was, in the final analysis, freedom for whites as well.:...Long after his death," the labor leader said, "Phil Randolph will still be a leader, because the A. Philip Randolph Institute carries on his work by leading successful voter registration and political education programs in the black community. Phil Randolph has left us more than memories. He left us a vision."

Leontyne Price and George Shirley, both soloists with the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York, received rousing applause with their renditions of the Lord's Prayer," and "Oh, Freedom." The Howard University choir and Metropolitan A.M.E. choir also performed.

The Reverend Dr. Robert L. Pruitt, pastor of the historic Washington Church, presided at the service. Bishop Henry W. Murph read a selection from scripture.

A second Memorial Service will be held in New York City at Avery Fisher Hall on June 19. For information call the Recruitment and Training Program at (212) 691-0660 after June 12.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
June 13, 1979

For further information, contact:

Michael Kerper

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR RANDOLPH

A memorial service honoring A. Philip Randolph will be held at Avery Fisher Hall on Tuesday, June 19 at 7:30 P.M.

A. Philip Randolph, president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the founder of the modern civil rights movement, died on May 16 in New York.

Speakers will include Governor Hugh Carey, Harry Van Arsdale, Bayard Rustin, and Vernon Jordan.

The service is jointly sponsored by the New York Central Labor Council, A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Recruitment and Training Program, and the Black Trade Unionists Leadership Committee.

The public is invited.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
June 14, 1979

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

A SNEAK ATTACK ON BLACK CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

by Bayard Rustin

In an odd way, people like Bull Connor, George Wallace, Lester Maddox and other outspoken racists unwittingly provided black people with some useful tactical advantages. First, the bitterness and harshness of their rhetoric alienated them from many decent white people. And, second, their unambiguous and starkly honest support for segregation helped to unify and mobilize the black community. Moreover, we had no difficulty in distinguishing our friends from our enemies.

Today, however, much of the bombast, crudity, and overt racism of the recent past has disappeared. Discussion of "racial issues" has become more refined and civilized. But this "cooling-off" of racial rhetoric raises a new and perplexing problem: many subtle, almost invisible assaults on black people now slip by us unnoticed and therefore unchallenged. Such a "sneak attack" on black people is now underway within the construction industry, Allow me to explain.

After years of difficult and painstaking work, blacks have finally begun to obtain their fair share of good-paying, relatively secure jobs in the unionized skilled trades. Indeed, black youngsters now fill nearly 20% of all new apprenticeship slots among cement masons, steamfitters, plasterers and operating engineers. Significant progress has also been realized in other trades as well, trades which back in 1940 had something like 1 black for every 20 whites.

But now, just as we begin to see some encouraging advances, we also witness the emergence of a bold movement among employers to undermine the wages, job

-more-

security and working conditions of their new black workers by promoting something known as the "merit shop." This of course is not done in the name of racism, it is done in the name of competitiveness, cost-cutting, and economic necessity.

What exactly is the "merit shop" and how does it affect black workers? Stripped of its alluring trappings, the merit shop is nothing more than a non-union shop in which the employer -- and the employer alone -- sets wage rates, working conditions, vacations, fringe benefits, and work rules. Workers have no say, and they lack the protections afforded by a solid collective bargaining agreement. In short, blacks who flocked to the unionized construction trades in the hope of finding job security, dignity, and a good income are now discovering that non-union construction employers -- who are expanding every day -- are becoming as arbitrary, and tight-fisted as "Old Massa" on the plantations.

It is no surprise -- and certainly no coincidence -- that the low-paying "merit shops" have become so popular in areas with large black populations and high unemployment rates which make labor cheap and docile. Data in a recent issue of Fortune magazine, confirmed this point by noting that "merit shops" account for 85% of all construction work in the Baltimore area, 83% in Houston, and 75% in Washington, D.C.

All this is just the beginning for the "merit shop" proponents who are organized in the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC). This powerful, well-financed organization -- which has two full-time lawyers in Washington, and the services of 60 law firms across the country -- now hopes to significantly increase the number of "merit shops" in urban areas, which of course have the largest concentrations of black union construction workers. By focusing its anti-union, wage-cutting efforts in the cities, ABC will in effect be undermining the position of black workers, workers who have enjoyed the benefits and high wages of union jobs for such a short time. Additionally, ABC has launched a major -- and so far unsuccessful -- campaign to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, a law which requires con-

-more-

tractors on federal projects to pay prevailing union wage rates.

By describing the activities of ABC, and the adverse economic effects of the "merit shop" on blacks, I am not asserting that ABC and its member companies are consciously racist. Most are not, But as shrewd businessmen who want to make a fast buck, they are all too willing to ignore the broader social consequences of their wage-cutting, and job destroying actions, especially as they affect black workers.

Because the "merit shop" threatens the livelihood of so many minority workers, black leaders have a serious obligation to raise this issue forcefully and with a unified voice. If we ignore this "sneak attack" on blacks, we will be silently accepting the cruel destruction of opportunity for the black working class, a group which has overcome numerous obstacles in the long struggle for equality and economic security.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
June 19, 1979

For further information, contact: Michael Kerper

BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS LOOK TOWARD 1980 ELECTIONS

Black trade unionists must lead the fight against political despair and apathy in their communities or face a resurgence of conservatism in the 1980 elections, Norman Hill told 1500 local leaders at the A. Philip Randolph Institute's tenth national conference in Detroit.

The Institute, which has over 180 local affiliates in 36 states, works closely with the AFL-CIO and civil rights organizations in organizing voter registration and labor support activities in the minority community.

Citing deep disappointment with Congress and the Carter Administration, Hill warned that "a destructive sense of skepticism" is sweeping the black community.

"Political withdrawal and retreat seem to make good sense," he said. "But in reality, withdrawal is the same as surrender. And I want to remind you that our enemies will have little mercy for those of us who voluntarily cast aside our political weapons."

Hill, the Institute's Executive Director, noted that the growth of single-issue groups, and corporate political action committees has contributed to the conservative drift in American politics.

"While we are certainly unable to match the conservatives dollar-for-dollar, we are in an excellent position to match them vote-for-vote," Hill declared. "Afterall, we have one thing working in our favor: there are more people and workers in this country than corporate executives. A vote from a poor, illiterate black man in rural North Carolina counts just as much as a vote from a GM executive in Birmingham, Michigan."

-more-

Hill called on local Institute groups to begin early in building toward the 1980 elections.

"Our tasks are clear," he said. "We must intensify political education; we must counteract pessimism and apathy; and we must strenghten our organizational capabilities."

President Kenneth Blaylock of the Government Employees told the conference participants that "the greatest weakness in the labor movement is a lack of unity."

"We must always remember that there is only one dividing line in this country, in this world, and that is the line between those who work for a living and those who own it," he said.

Blaylock cited the corporate and conservative attacks on labor and minority groups, and reminded the Institute leaders that "we're in a fight for survival, and our first priority is to survive. We will survive only through political action."

Blaylock also paid tribute to A. Philip Randolph, the president emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters who died on May 16.

"My union has a special debt of gratitude to Brother Randolph, since it was he who fought for the integration of the federal work force back in 1941," he declared.

President Martin Ward of the Plumbers related the achievements and character traits of Randolph to the present political situation.

Recalling the 13 year struggle leading to Pullman recognition of the Sleeping Car Porters, Ward said that he "was most impressed by Randolph's endurance in the face of tremendous adversity."

"It is this quality of Randolph, this bedrock belief in the eventual triumph of his cause and his ideals that strikes me as truly inspiring, especially in today's confusing and even bewildering times."

During the three-day conference, Institute activists participated in work-

-more-

shops on the AFL-CIO's Operation Price Watch, grassroots legislative activity, and the Davis-Bacon Act.

Conference speakers included Institute President Bayard Rustin, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks, Michigan AFL-CIO President William Marshall, Director Alexis Herman of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director William Pollard, and COPE Director Al Barkan.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
June 28, 1979

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

BLACK PEOPLE: TARGETS OF SOCIAL SECURITY CUTS

by Bayard Rustin

Ever since social security became the law of the land in 1935, its conservative opponents have repeatedly sought to destroy it, or failing that, to substantially weaken the system. Of course, Barry Goldwater's frontal assault on social security in 1964 proved to be quite a political disaster. Learning from that experience, the enemies of social security have adopted a new, more effective strategy. They have begun to chip away gradually at the system by cutting benefits, changing eligibility requirements and opposing any creative changes.

This quiet, almost unnoticeable attack on social security has ominous implications for everyone, but especially for black people. I say this for two reasons: First, the proposed cutbacks and changes are largely in the life insurance and disability insurance components of social security. And second, it is these benefit areas -- rather than "old age" insurance -- which are critically important to thousands of black families and youngsters.

To begin with, let us consider the Carter Administration's proposal to reduce benefits paid to disabled workers. These cuts, which I find especially baffling at a time of chronic inflation, will make it far more difficult for workers to maintain a decent, but far from luxurious standard of living. Since black workers are twice as likely as white workers to be seriously injured on the job, they are disproportionately represented among recipients of disability benefits from social security. Also, disabled black workers are more likely than whites to have dependent children at home. In light of these facts, then, it is clear that the suggested benefit cuts will have a broad, and severely adverse

-more-

impact on the black community.

While disabled black workers watch their income from social security shrink, their children will also be harmed by two other cutback proposals. The more serious of the two is a move to completely phase out social security benefits to dependent students under age 22. Under the present setup, youngsters who lose their father receive a monthly cash payment while they attend high school or college. For blacks this student aid program has special importance for two reasons: the mortality rates for black fathers are higher than rates for whites, and black families have a greater number of children than whites, Subsequently, black youngsters of college age are less likely than whites to have an income-producing father at home, Moreover, the financial strains of a large fatherless family make it significantly more difficult for a black youngster to raise sufficient funds for college. If Congress accepts this proposal to kill student benefits, it will in effect be voting to destroy the ever more limited opportunities available to black youth.

The second proposal which will affect black youngsters is the plan to lower the cut-off age of children who live with widowed mothers. Presently, widows receive a monthly payment for each child under 18. But under the proposed change, all payments would end when the child turns 16. Quite understandably, this will mean a substantial reduction in income with no off-setting reduction in the costs of decently supporting a child.

Other radical changes under serious consideration include raising the retiremen age, eliminating the lump sum death benefit (a mere $255 usually spent on funeral costs), and abolishing the minimum benefit (a scant $122 per month). In every instance, these proposals strike hardest and with their most devastating impact against poor people and blacks. And the supposed savings realized by these cuts are at best minimal.

This planned rip-off of the social security system, I think, teaches us some

-more-

useful political lessons. It once again reminds us that in a time of "fiscal austerity," groups which have the least amount of power will inevitably bear the brunt of the sacrifices. It also reminds us that attacks against the weak will always be quiet, discreet, and aimed against the least expected target like that old stand-by, social security.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
July 12, 1979

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

RELIGION AND POLITICS DON'T MIX
by Bayard Rustin

No nation on earth has a greater variety of religions than the United States. Indeed, the great diversity of religious sentiment, ritual, and belief has long been a distinctive feature of our society. As one might expect, this diversity has occasionally led to ugly social conflict, but on the whole religious groups -- whether Protestant, Catholic or Jewish -- have learned to accept dissent and to recognize the rights of all individuals, be they believers, or non-believers. Religious belief, once a source of friction, has now become a benign, even an enriching force in society.

For the most part, church groups continue to build upon this fine tradition of mutual respect and cooperation. However, this tradition is now threatened by some politicians, almost all of them extreme conservatives, who have set out to politicize religion in an extremely narrow and self-serving way.

As an example of this, a new organization called Christian Voice is worth examining. On the surface at least, this group seems rather innocent. It claims to do nothing more than represent the spiritual interests of America's large and steadily growing community of fundamentalist Christians. But Christian Voice does little in the way of ministry; instead it is a large, well-organized, and lavishly-financed lobbying machine.

Christian Voice, according to Newsweek, seeks "to fuse the single-issue zeal of the nation's religious activists on such issues as abortion and school prayer into broad-gauge support for conservative policies on such general issues as the economy, diplomacy in Africa and SALT II." In short, it plans to actively enlist

-more-

impact on the black community.

While disabled black workers watch their income from social security shrink, their children will also be harmed by two other cutback proposals. The more serious of the two is a move to completely phase out social security benefits to dependent students under age 22. Under the present setup, youngsters who lose their father receive a monthly cash payment while they attend high school or college. For blacks, this student aid program has special importance for two reasons: the mortality rates for black fathers are higher than rates for whites, and black families have a greater number of children than whites, Subsequently, black youngsters of college age are less likely than whites to have an income-producing father at home, Moreover, the financial strains of a large fatherless family make it significantly more difficult for a black youngster to raise sufficient funds for college. If Congress accepts this proposal to kill student benefits, it will in effect be voting to destroy the ever more limited opportunities available to black youth.

The second proposal which will affect black youngsters is the plan to lower the cut-off age of children who live with widowed mothers. Presently, widows receive a monthly payment for each child under 18. But under the proposed change, all payments would end when the child turns 16. Quite understandably, this will mean a substantial reduction in income with no off-setting reduction in the costs of decently supporting a child.

Other radical changes under serious consideration include raising the retirement age, eliminating the lump sum death benefit (a mere $255 usually spent on funeral costs), and abolishing the minimum benefit (a scant $122 per month). In every instance, these proposals strike hardest and with their most devastating impact against poor people and blacks. And the supposed savings realized by these cuts are at best minimal.

This planned rip-off of the social security system, I think, teaches us some

-more-

issues and programs on their real merits, we may soon find ourselves thrust into fruitless and absurd debates about God's supposed position.

Second, by drawing clear battle lines between "true" Christians and the defenders of sin, we risk fracturing our society into two warring camps, each convinced of its own righteousness and the depravity of its opponent. Such a development, I believe, will surely encourage bigotry, narrow-mindedness, and fear -- things which we can certainly do without.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
July 26, 1979

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

SUBSTANCE NOT SYMBOLISM IN 1980

by Bayard Rustin

While riding the train from New York to Washington last week, I had an interesting conversation with an old black man who lives in Baltimore. He had an impressive understanding of the current political events; he knew all about the various candidates jockeying for position in 1980; and he had some wise insights about politics. But like so many other voters, he seemed disillusioned and confuse about the current state of American politics.

As we rode along, he pulled out a newspaper and read some statements by several Republican presidential candidates. Senator Howard Baker, according to the old man had promised to "embellish and extend the virtues of politics." George Bush declared that he supports "a strong country and a sound free enterprise economy." And John Connally was quoted as saying that his administration would stand for "growth, opportunity and progress in America." After reciting all this, the old man looked at me and said just one word -- bunk.

I readily agreed with him, but I then pointed out that the recognition of political rhetoric as "bunk" should not be used to justify political withdrawal, the course he most favored.

Having conceded that virtually all of the presidential contenders, Democrats as well as Republicans, had serious inadequacies, I argued that black people -- alon with their friends in the labor movement -- presently have an opportunity to decisively influence the direction and tone of political discussion during the upcoming presidential campaign.

This can be done most effectively by focusing on issues -- concrete issues

-more-

like youth unemployment, trade, health care, inflation, and energy -- rather than on the personalities and meaningless slogans of individual candidates. At the same time, black people and their allies must challenge the vague generalities, the empty sermonizing, and the fancy slogans which already fill the speeches of presidential contenders. We do not have to settle for "bunk" we can and must demand substance.

By strongly insisting on an issue-oriented presidential campaign, three key objectives will be realized. First, the misleading symbolism and vague sermons which muddled the race for the Democratic nomination in 1976 will hopefully give way to precise policy proposals. Rather than being forced to choose between competing symbols and images concocted by advertising experts, the voters need a clear choice next year between contending sets of economic and social proposals and philosophies. Without this clear choice, Americans can expect yet another Administration afflicted with President Carter's most serious problem -- widespread disappointment caused by unrealistically high expectations and an unclear even contradictory campaign program. Symbols, even when offered by a decent man like Carter, are simply no substitute for policy.

Second, a campaign based on issues is the only hope for reawakening the black electorate. Lulled into apathy by the failures of Congress and the Carter Administration, millions of blacks -- like the old man on the train -- have understandably withdrawn from politics. But by organizing political action around issues rather than individual candidates, much of that apathy may be overcome. It is far easier to convince someone to vote for jobs, housing and health care than to vote for some particular candidate who offers nothing more than rhetoric about national will, the so-called American spirit and materialistic self-indulgence.

Third, by emphasizing and voting on issues instead of symbols and hollow slogans, blacks and their allies will have built a solid political power base, a base which will provide the political leverage needed to implement policies and programs after the election. If we have learned anything since 1976 it is that voting is only the beginning of the process. Every legislative gain afterwards must be fought for anew, and the black community must be willing and able to mobilize itself to meet every threat and surmount every obstacles from its enemies.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
August 9, 1979

Rustin Column

BLACK REFUGEES FROM HAITI: VICTIMS OF DISCRIMINATION

by Bayard Rustin

At a time when the labor force becomes ever more internationalized, and the world refugee population grows at a staggering pace, it is disturbing to find so many deficiencies and outright injustices within the complex set of regulations which make up America's immigration policy. To a large extent, official immigration policy has become obsolete in the face of new realities. Even worse, several elements of the policy lead to racial discrimination dealing with some refugee groups, most notably refugees from Haiti.

Just last summer, for example, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service -- known as the INS -- illegally revoked the work permits of nearly 5,000 Haitians in Florida. Most of these refugees were working at low-paying, menial jobs while awaiting approval of their applications for asylum in America. But after the INS action, which came as a stunning surprise, these destitute people were left without any means of livelihood.

Earlier this month, a Federal judge in Miami ruled that INS had violated the law by revoking the work permits of Haitians. While this decision is certainly a step in the right direction, it does little to compensate the Haitians for a full year of unemployment, uncertainty about their future, and the anguish caused by rejection and hostility. Moreover, the court decision does nothing to resolve other serious issues, most importantly the question of the status of Haitians as "political" refugees.

Under present immigration rules, "political" refugees enjoy important advantages. For one thing, their applications for asylum are processed quickly, and

-more-

they usually receive "indefinite voluntary departure status." With this status, they can become permanent residents in two years, and full citizens in five years. There is, however, an important catch: "political" refugees must have fled from a Communist nation like Cuba, Vietnam or the Soviet Union. Haitians, who escape from a nation ruled by a brutal -- but pro-American -- dictatorship, are not usually treated as "political" refugees. Instead, they are classified as "economic" refugees, and are therefore subject to immediate deportation.

While it is easy to understand and to support the special treatment accorded to refugees from Communist countries, it is becoming increasingly clear that oppressive governments come in more than one variety. Idi Amin, for instance, was no Communist, yet his regime was at least as cruel as anything in Eastern Europe. Likewise, the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti has a long history of suppressing trade unions, censoring newspapers and books, and crushing all political opposition, even the most mild and harmless. Thus, if American immigration policy is to be truly non-discriminatory, it must significantly broaden the definition of "political" refugee; and establish clear and fair procedures for determining which refugees are entitled to political asylum.

Changes in immigration policy, of course, come slowly. In the meantime, something must be done concretely for the thousands of Haitians who have risked their lives to reach the shores of Florida. I propose the following points for immediate action:

1. Civil rights organizations and their allies must constantly monitor the actions of INS to insure that Haitians are not denied their right to due process. As the Congressional Black Caucus pointed out in a statement issued in July, the so-called special procedures of INS "deny normal due process protections." The CBC Task Force on Haitian Refugees found that "while the normal rate of deportation hearing is 10 per day, Haitian refugees have been subjected to an

-more-

accelerated rate of deportation hearings which have been as high as 150 per day." Such procedures are simply intolerable.

2. All Haitians presently in the United States should be granted political asylum immediately. The very fact that they so intensely fear a return to their homeland is enough justification for classifying them as "political" refugees. To deport people who sincerely fear for their lives would be a betrayal of everything America supposedly stands for.

3. Haitian refugees must receive work permits while they await decisions on their applications for asylum. Without these permits, refugees are easy prey for sweatshop operators and other businessmen who are all too willing to exploit the cheap labor of poor black people.

4. The Federal government must, through the Migration and Refugee Assistance Fund, assist local communities in Florida which have large Haitian populations. Because of present rules, Haitians are barred from using public services like hospitals, job training programs, and housing assistance. While many voluntary agencies and churches, particularly the Catholic Church, have offered useful -- and expensive -- assistance to the refugees, there is a desperate need for additional funds.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
August 23, 1979

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

BLACKS AND THE PLO: NO COMMON GROUND

by Bayard Rustin

Amid the heated controversy following Andy Young's resignation as Ambassador to the United Nations, some black people have suddenly embraced the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

As I see it, some black leaders have turned to the PLO in an effort to act as conciliators between Israel and the Palestinians. Other blacks, I believe, met with PLO representatives in New York to demonstrate their independence from official United States policy. And still others viewed such meetings as a way of striking back against Israel and the American Jewish community for their supposed involvement in engineering Andy's ouster.

But regardless of motivation, I think black people must clearly understand the moral -- yes, moral -- issue involved here. For in seriously considering links with a group like the PLO, the black community is moving beyond the realm of mundane "politics as usual." We are moving into an area where we face three enormous risks: First, we risk causing serious divisions within our own ranks; second, we risk the forfeiture of our own moral prestige, which is based on a long and noble tradition of nonviolence; and third, we risk becoming the unwitting accomplices of an organization committed to the bloody destruction of Israel, indeed of the Jewish people.

Some people have pointed to a few superficial parallels between the American civil rights movement and the PLO. Naturally, this talk about the PLO as a "civil rights" group or a minority movement within Israel has generated sympathy for the Palestinians among black people. But this identification and even solidarity with the PLO is based on a terrible perversion of the truth, not only the truth about the PLO, but the truth about our own movement as well.

-more-

Looking back on the history of the PLO, one thing becomes abundantly clear: the PLO, from the day of its creation in 1964, has never once uttered a word in support of any form of nonviolent resistance, peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians, or a political solution to the complex problems in the Middle East. By contrast, black leaders in America, especially central figures like Martin Luther King, Jr., and A. Philip Randolph, never once in the long history of the civil rights struggle countenanced violence or terrorism.

American civil rights leaders, of course, chose nonviolence for many political and tactical reasons; but Dr. King once identified the key source of the movement's strategy when ne noted that the black American rejected physical force "because he believed that through physical force he could lose his soul." In short, the choice of nonviolence was based on deeply-held moral principles. It was based on a desire to build community, to unleash the creative force of love, and to protect and enhance the God-given human dignity of all people, be they friend or foe.

The PLO, however, espouses the opposites of all these principles. In word, but more importantly in deed, it espouses violence, hatred, and racism. It repeatedly scorns reconciliation. While Dr. King frequently spoke of nonviolence as"the sword that heals," the PLO exalts the sword that kills.

My description of the PLO here is no exaggeration. Its tactics, values and goals, are candidly set forth in its National Covenant and other official documents. Its legacy of terrorism is written in innocent blood across Israel and Western Europe, and even across the Arab lands of Jordan and Lebanon. Between 1967 and 1977, for example, the PLO was directly responsible for killing over 1,100 unarmed men, women and children; its terrorist activities maimed nearly 2,500 people; and it held over 2700 hostages. Moreover, this organization has trained and armed other terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany, and the Red Brigades in Italy. Considering this record, I fear that individuals who

-more-

see similarities between our struggle and the terror campaign of the PLO are ignoring or twisting the facts.

By harshly criticizing the PLO, I do not mean to suggest that black leaders have no business concerning themselves with Middle Eastern problems. Nor am I arguing that blacks should shun the PLO so as to ingratiate themselves with American Jews. Rather, I am saying that if black Americans are to play any constructive or conciliatory role in shaping American policy in the Middle East, we must do so in a manner totally consistent with the moral and spiritual tradition of nonviolence. We must therefore reject hasty and expedient moves; we must reject [illegible] any formal or organizational relationship with the PLO. Any links with the PLO, no matter how limited, would give legitimacy and tacit approval to the rule of the gun.

Dr. King, in his letter from the Birmingham jail, included a story to illustrate the rewards of perseverance in the nonviolent tradition. He wrote about a 72-year old black woman who walked a long distance every day during a bus boycott. Frequently she was jeered by hostile whites; she was tired and physically weak, but she refused to use the buses. Someone asked her why she continued to support the nonviolent protest. Her response, I believe, will always be precious: "My feets is tired," she said, "but my soul is at rest."

By shunning and condemning the terrorism of the PLO, we too can be assured that our souls will be at rest, as we preserve our tradition of nonviolence.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
September 6, 1979

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

REGULATE RUNAWAY SHOPS

by Bayard Rustin

At a time when the business lobby in Washington incessantly moans and groans about "excessive" government regulation, it has become increasingly apparent to me that much of the complaining is unwarranted. Indeed, considering the arrogant behavior of numerous corporations which have simply closed-up shop in small or medium sized cities to seek greener and more profitable pastures elsewhere, there seems to be a compelling case for more -- not less -- regulation.

As things stand now, large corporations which control plants in predominantly one-industry towns -- like Youngstown, Ohio; Johnstown, Pennsylvania; and Lackawana, New York -- can exert the power of life or death over local communities. After fully exploiting community resources like the education system, public services, police protection, and the talents and sweat of ordinary people, any corporation can unilaterally -- and without prior notice -- declare what amounts to a "no fault" divorce. The communities, in short, have no say whatsoever in corporate decisions affecting their very survival.

To curtail the ability of corporations to casually move their plants without regard for the people and communities that served them so well, a number of individuals and organizations, especially trade unions, have prepared national and state legislation. For example, Representative William Ford (D-Michigan), Senator Donald Riegle (D-Michigan), and Senator Harrison Williams (D-New Jersey) have introduced bills in Congress which would require corporations to give their employees at least two years notice of plant closings. Additionally, the legislation calls for federal assistance to plants which attempt to avoid shut-downs and economic impact statements analyzing the overall consequences of relocation. More important still, these

-more-

bills assist displaced workers by guaranteeing them transfer rights, decent severance pay, re-training in new skills, and protection of their pension rights.

As one might expect, business groups have already expressed strong opposition to legislation which enforces any sort of corporate responsibility toward host communities. Under the present lax system, corporations can -- and have -- virtually blackmailed communities by threatening to pull-out unless they were granted special tax treatment, a greater role in local affairs, or some other concessions. Faced with the loss of jobs, many localities have understandably submitted to these veiled threats.

For black people, the issue of "runaway shops" has special significance. To begin with, a disproportionate number of blacks are losing jobs in the North-Eastern and Mid-Western states as companies suddenly pull-out and move to the Sunbelt. In many instances, these displaced black workers have spent years acquiring valuable skills, accumulating seniority, and building up pension rights. But after a lifetime's investment, many of these workers have nothing left. Their lives are shattered because their employer hopes to make a somewhat larger profit in another state.

Runaway shops harm black people in another way as well: Many of the jobs eliminated in the North are good-paying union jobs; but when they move to the Sunbelt, almost all of the jobs become non-union and therefore lower-paid. Good opportunities for blacks in the North are transformed into dead-end jobs for blacks in the South.

Many corporations, of course, argue that the government should not attempt to establish standards of corporate responsibility. According to business leaders, such "government-dictated" regulations infringe on basic freedoms and interfere with profitability. But the fact remains that corporations have so abused their freedom, that there is no alternative to stringent regulations regarding plant relocation.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
October 4, 1979

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

BLACK OPPORTUNITIES SINK WITH THE MERCHANT MARINE

One of the greatest ironies of our so-called free enterprise economy is its seemingly inherent tendency to wipe-out more and more jobs -- jobs that once offered young people, especially non-college youth, the opportunity to enjoy a full life, and to support a family decently without the nagging uncertainties associated with unskilled, seasonal and service work.

Not long ago, for instance, many black youngsters turned to the merchant marine for a rewarding and challenging career. To be sure, the life of a seaman is far from easy; and there are few luxuries aboard typical merchant ships and tankers. Yet, a job in the merchant marine provided good pay, decent working conditions, and a real chance for advancement to higher-paying maritime professions.

Now, however, new job opportunities in the maritime industry have virtually disappeared. A look at a few statistics will graphically illustrated the enormous shrinkage in employment.

In 1950, American shipping companies employed over 56,000 seamen. By 1960, employment in the merchant marine fell to 49,000. Ten years later in 1970, another 11,000 jobs vanished. And at the end of 1978 only 21,000 seamen worked on American vessels.

What caused this rapid decline in jobs? For one thing, the owners of the ships followed the time-honored example of other businessmen: they discovered clever ways to increase their profits by hiring seamen who would work for shockingly low wages. Since American seamen, long protected by the National Maritime Union and the Seafarers International Union, refused to accept starvation wages,

-more-

the shipping magnates turned to easily-exploited foreign workers.

American ship owners, of course, could not bring the thousands of low-paid foreign workers to our nation's shores. Instead, they did the next best thing: they brought the ships to the foreign workers by re-registering the vessels in countries like Liberia, Panama and Greece. Through re-registration, the ship owners -- including some of the richest oil companies in the world -- not only avoid paying fair wages, they also evade safety requirement, fair labor standards provisions, and, last but not least, they escape many American taxes.

For most shipping companies, however, a lower pay is the main advantage of re-registration under a foreign flag. As one might expect, the savings in labor costs are substantial: According to one recent estimate, the annual labor costs of a 32-man tanker or bulk carrier flying the U.S. flag amount to $1.75 million. The same type ship crewed by seamen from a Third World country would have labor costs amounting to only $.33 million. To put it more simply, for every dollar an American seaman earns, his counterpart from Liberia, El Salvador, the Phillipines, or Korea receives something like 18 or 19 cents.

In my view, this situation has two tragic aspects. First, thousands of merchant sailors from African, Asian and Latin American nations are being mercilessly exploited by some of the world's largest and wealthiest multinationals. And second, this exploitation results in the destruction of worthwhile jobs for some of America's poorest people, most notably blacks and Hispanics.

Since well over 55% of all American merchant marine crews consist of minority seamen, black people have a special responsibility to demand an end to industry and governmental policies that place exorbitant profits before the needs of black and Hispanic workers. Unless black organizations begin to focus some attention on this sometimes forgotten issue, I fear that we may be permitting thousands of desperately-needed opportunities for black youngsters to sink with the already endangered U.S. merchant marine.

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately
November 1, 1979

Rustin Column

FOR BELIEVABLE ANTI-INFLATION POLICIES

by Bayard Rustin

As the economic situation steadily worsens, I sometimes wonder whether economists and other policy makers ever worry about their credibility with ordinary people. I say this because the last few weeks have been filled with unbelievable errors and unexpected developments within the economy.

First, we witnessed two incredible mistakes by reputable banks in calculating the money supply. One bank made an error involving $3.7 billion, while the other was off by a mere $800 million. These two simple miscalculations had extensive repercussions in the financial markets, and probably encouraged the Federal Reserve Board to further tighten up on interest rates.

While all this was happening, corporations began reporting on their third quarter profits. To say the least, the profit figures astounded just about everyone. The Wall Street Journal noted that the surge in corporate earnings "surprised many economists who, believing that a recession had begun, had looked for a substantial narrowing of the year-to-year gain."

Overall, profits increased by 21.2% compared to last year. But the most spectacular news was the super-profits of the oil companies. Texaco posted a 211% gain, Mobil jumped by 130%, and Exxon was up by 118%.

Oil companies, however, were not alone in reaping huge profits. Other industries which experienced big increases in earnings included liquor (up 162%), mining (up 244%), paper products (up 115%), farm equipment (up 242%), large grocery chains (up 37%), and tobacco (up 45%).

I cite these profit figures for two reasons. First, they were completely unanticipated by economic policy-makers; and second, they come at time when people as

-more-

diverse in political outlook as President Carter, Jerry Brown, and Ronald Reagan, incessantly lecture working people and the poor on the necessity of "restraint" and "economic self-control."

As another example of how "restraint" only affects the have-nots and have-littles, I draw your attention to an article on executive salaries in a recent issue of Business Week. Compensation to top executives, the magazine reported/ has increased by 15% so far during 1979. This figure, of course, is hardly in line with the Carter Administration's 7% wage guideline, a guideline enforced primarily against common workers who earn a fraction of what the average corporate manager receives.

In light of the lavish and all too visible gains of the well-off in our society, how can political leaders seriously expect ordinary people to welcome with open arms economic policies calling for "austerity?" And how can Paul Volcker, the new chairman of the powerful Federal Reserve Board, hope to convince people that if we are to solve the problem of inflation "the standard of living of the average American has to go down?"

So far, the conservative economic policies urged upon the Carter Administration by business leaders have failed to curb inflation. They have harmed working people by planting the seeds of greater unemployment, by pricing average Americans out of the housing market, and by destroying new opportunities for thousands of black youngsters who are unable to find work. But what is worse, the repeated calls for "belt tightening" and patience have, to a very dangeroue extent, undermined the believability of our economic policy makers.

There is only one way to remedy this situation: if the Carter Administration insists on continuing its restrictive economic policies, policies which have their most severe impact on the poor, then there must be at least some minimal effort to enforce "restraint" on prosperous corporations and upper-income groups. Unless economic policy is fair and perceived as fair, there will be few recruits for the war on inflation.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
November 15, 1979

Rustin Column

THOUGHTS ON KHOMEINI AND TERROR

by Bayard Rustin

Shortly after the armed seizure of the United States Embassy in Iran, I happened to glance at a picture of the captives, all of them bound and blindfolded. As I studied it more closely, I noticed that two of the five hostages were black men. One, a very young man, wore the uniform of the Marine Corps. The other, not much older, was apparently an Embassy official.

Looking at that frightening picture, that portrait of humiliation, several thoughts occurred to me. First, seeing those two black men being led around by Iranian students, I realized how absurd it is to ever believe that black Americans have some common interest, or some shared political goals with despots like Yassir Arafat and the Ayotallah Khomeini, once called a "saint" by some American leaders. If anything, the seizure of the Embassy in Teheran shows that Khomeini has nothing but contempt for human life and human dignity. For him, all Americans -- be they black, white, Oriental or Hispanic -- are nothing more than inconsequential pawns to be used, terrorized, and, if necessary, slaughtered.

Khomeini's mass kidnapping of American citizens evokes another thought -- the idea, the reality of an American foreign policy which reflects the entire community rather than ethnic or racial segments of society. There is no black policy, no Jewish policy, no Democratic or Republican policy toward the Ayatollah. Instead, Americans are united in their concern since/the community of hostages in Teheran is, in a very real sense, a miniature United States. Within the buildings of the American compound one can doubtless find blacks and whites, Northerners and Southerners, blacks, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. In short, Khomeini and his students do

-more-

not discriminate, they do not play favorites.

This display of modern barbarism in Teheran should remind everyone, most especially the democratic nations, that the political forces which use and exalt terrorism have coalesced in what might be called a "community of terror." The members of this world-wide political club share many values, objectives and tactics. They are united in attacking democracy, civility, and the precious quality of human life. As they view politics, anything that cannot be won through persuasion or diplomatic pressure can be secured by using bombs and bullets, or by bargaining with the lives of innocent people.

The cynicism of terrorist groups can be seen quite clearly in the response of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the Teheran incident. In an attempt to score a public relations coup with the American public, the PLO loudly hinted that it would act as an intermediary with the Ayatollah. With over 60 Americans hostages sitting in Teheran, and with the PLO as the only channel to Khomeini, Arafat shrewdly reasoned that the United States would have no alternative but to deal with him, thus ending its long policy of refusing contacts with terrorist group. In effect, then, Arafat saw an excellent opportunity to "piggy back" on Khomeini's terror: it might result in two victories -- the return of the Shah and U.S. diplomatic recognition of the P.L.O.

In a cruel and shocking way, Khomeini and his supporters in the international community have taught us something important. They have confronted us with a stark but amazingly effective demonstration of the differences between the rule of terror and the rule of our own imperfect and sometimes ineffective democracy. Thinking of the hostages in Teheran, we can see that the great divide in the world today is not the color line, the economic line, or the religion line. It is instead, the line separating the realm of civility and humanity from the realm of barbarism and fanaticism. The choice for Americans, even those who are poor and politically weak, is not difficult.

****

Jobs vanish as more U.S. ships wear foreign flags

The following column was written by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and has been widely distributed:

One of the greatest ironies of our so-called free enterprise economy is its seemingly inherent tendency to wipe-out more and more jobs—jobs that once offered young people, especially non-college youth, the opportunity to enjoy a full life, and to support a family decently without the nagging uncertainties associated with unskilled, seasonal and service work.

Not long ago, for instance, many black youngsters turned to the merchant marine for rewarding and challenging careers. To be sure, the life of a seaman is far from easy; and there are few luxuries aboard typical merchant ships and tankers. Yet, a job in the merchant marine provided good pay, decent working conditions, and a real chance for advancement to higher-paying maritime professions.

Now, however, new job opportunities in the maritime industry have virtually disappeared. A look at a few statistics will graphically illustrate the enormous shrinkage in employment.

In 1950, American shipping companies employed over 56,000 seamen. By 1960, employment in the merchant marine fell to 49,000. Ten years later in 1970, another 11,000 jobs vanished. And at the end of 1978 only 21,000 seamen worked on American vessels.

What caused this rapid decline in jobs? For one thing, the owners of the ships followed the time-honored example of other businessmen: they discovered clever ways to increase their profits by hiring seamen who would work for shockingly low wages. Since American seamen, long protected by the National Maritime Union and the Seafarers International Union, refused to accept starvation wages, the shipping magnates turned to easily-exploited foreign workers.

American shipowners, of course, could not bring the thousands of low-paid foreign workers to our nation's shores. Instead, they did the next best thing: they brought the ships to the foreign workers by re-registering the vessels in countries like Liberia, Panama and Greece. Through re-registration, the ship owners—including some of the richest oil companies in the world—not only avoid paying fair wages, they also evade safety requirements, fair labor standards provisions, and, last but not least, they escape many American taxes.

For most shipping companies, however, lower pay is the main advantage of re-registration under a foreign flag. As one might expect, the savings in labor costs are substantial. According to one recent estimate, the annual labor costs of a 32-man tanke or bulk carrier flying the U.S. flag amount to $1.7 million. The same type ship crewed by seame from a Third World country would have labor cost amounting to only $.33 million. To put it mor simply, for every dollar an American seama earns, his counterpart from Liberia, El Salvado the Philippines, or Korea receives something lik 18 or 19 cents.

In my view, this situation has two tragic aspect First, thousands of merchant sailors from Africa Asian and Latin American nations are being me cilessly exploited by some of the world's large and wealthiest multinationals.And second, thi exploitation results in the destruction of wort while jobs for some of America's poorest peopl most notably blacks and Hispanics.

Since well over 55% of all American mercha marine crews consist of minority seamen, blac people have a special reponsibility to demand a end to industry and governmental policies tha place exorbitant profits before the needs of blac and Hispanic workers. Unless black organization begin to focus some áttention on this sometime forgotten issue, I fear that we may be permittin thousands of desperately-needed opportunities fo black youngsters to sink with the already en dangered U.S. merchant marine.

"Keep our Union on a true course"

NMU Pilot

The official organ of the National Maritime Union of America, AFL-CIO

NOVEMBER, 197[illegible]

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
December 13, 1979

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

EVALUATING THE 1970's
by Bayard Rustin

Thinking back over the 1970's, I find it difficult to avoid a somewhat sour mood, at least when I consider the political situation at home as well as overseas. For most Americans, the closing decade will be remembered as a trying time, a perplexing time, and perhaps an especially depressing time. Rather than meeting new challenges, we were forced to struggle for survival. And the greatest victories achieved by black people were essentially victories which prevented the status quo, from getting worse.

Richard Nixon, of course, played an enormously important role in shaping the politics of the 1970's. He kept the civil rights forces on the defensive. He pursued economic policies which deliberately increased unemployment rates. And the Watergate scandal, which he prolonged and aggravated, destroyed his own Administration while at the same time sapping the political confidence of most American voters In sum, Richard Nixon left us with a legacy of bitter cynicism and ever increasing apathy.

On the international level, we witnessed the collapse of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Today, several years after those poor countries were over-run by the Communists, the suffering and tragedy have intensified. Indeed, the incredibly horrible situation in Cambodia has few parallels in the history of mankind.

As if the multiple tragedies of Indochina were not enough, we are forced to contend compassionately with the thousands of Haitian refugees who risk their lives and meager fortunes to reach the shores of Florida. We have gruesome memories of Idi Amin's bloody purges in Uganda. And we recall the body counts offered almost daily by opposing sides in the civil war in Angola, and the ongoing fighting in

-more-

other parts of Africa, much of it sustained by Cuban troops sponsored by the Soviet Union.

To all this suffering and death, we must also add the situation in Iran. Here, perhaps more graphically than anywhere else, we have a terrifying glimpse of the fruits of terrorism and anarchy. The fanaticism and cruelty of Ayatollah Khomeini's regime are truly shocking, especially when one realizes that Khomeini's immensely popular movement comes at a time of supposed international enlightenment and liberation.

Although the 1970's were filled with defeats, stalemates and previously unthinkable horrors, there were also some significant achievements. In the political field, many blacks won election to Congress, state legislatures and the mayor's offices in many large urban centers like Los Angeles, Detroit, Atlanta, New Orleans, and most recently Birmingham. More important, racist political figures like George Wallace and Lester Maddox have for the most part lost their once formidable power.

Some international developments also deserve note. The Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, for example, must be regarded as one of the most encouraging events of the decade. While the overall situation in the Middle East is far from promising, the Sadat-Begin accords offer at least a glimmer of hope. In addition, black majority rule and the tentative peace settlement in Zimbabwe are something which few people anticipated ten years ago.

As the 1970's come to a close I think it might be wise to identify our tasks for the new decade, the 1980's. As I see it, our most important task is to rebuild the political confidence of black Americans. If we permit ourselves to be lulled into surrender by the failures of the 1970's, I can assure you that the 1980's will be no better, and perhaps much worse. Confidence is the prerequisite of political power. And political power is the prerequisite of everything we seek to achieve in the coming years -- full employment, equality, and economic justice.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
January 3, 1980

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

DOES ANYONE REMBER HUMPHREY-HAWKINS?

by Bayard Rustin

Few people in Washington these days seem to recall that in 1978 the United States Congress adopted a piece of controversial legislation known as the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, also called the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. After a long, complicated and sometimes acrimonious debate, the House of Representatives passed the bill by a 107 vote majority. In the Senate, the legislation won by a four to one vote. But despite these hefty majorities, and despite the fact that the bill had broad-based support from civil rights, labor and religious groups, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill has been largely ignored, if not completely forgotten.

Considering the generally conservative mood of policy-makers and Congress, the quiet shelving of Humphrey-Hawkins is not all that surprising. It is, after all, a creative and bold appreach to our economic problems when many people, including a good number of liberals, are turning to old-fashioned economic policies and slogans like a balanced federal budget, lower real wages, and tax cuts for the well-off. What makes this all so distressing is that these conservative approaches have failed in the past, are failing now, and will certainly fail in the future. Moreover, these low growth, tight money policies impose enormous costs on poor people, blacks and workers.

Leon Keyserling, President Harry Truman's chief economist, and the architect of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill recently estimated that the United States economy, if present economic policies remain in place, will forfeit $707.1 billion in Gross National Product during 1980-83. Moreover, Keyserling predicted that the restrictive, slow-growth policies of the Carter Administration will result in an unemployment rate of about 6.8% in 1980, and 6.5% in 1983.

-more-

High unemployment will, of course, continue to affect black workers, especially the young, more severly than whites. Indeed, throughout the 1970's, unemployment rates among blacks have been more than double those of whites. And by the look of things to come, we can expect that trend to continue, and perhaps to worsen.

All this is made even more tragic by the widespread belief in virtually all sectors of our society that conservative economic policies -- policies which consciously engineer recessions -- are the only viable cures for our economic ills. But the truth of the matter is that these tight-fisted, restrictive policies have contributed enormously to the prolongation and intensification of inflation, declining productivity, joblessness, slow growth and chronic economic stability.

What is more, conservative economic policies directly contradict the spirit and letter of the law, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. Writing in a fine new book entitled "Liberal"and "Conservative" National Economic Policies and Their Consequences, Keyserling declares: "The special attention which the (Humphrey-Hawkins) Act directs toward the pitiful plight of the vulnerables in our society -- the poor, the unemployed, the non-whites -- is being ignored. Inflation is being aggravated in the name of fighting it, again in direct violation of the Act. Also in violation of the Act, the attempt to balance the Federal Budget at the expense of the economy and the people is spewing forth high unemployment and other evils.

"The need for balanced economic and social development," Keyserling continues, "is likewise being ignored. The essential degree of cooperation between the Executive Branch and Congress, in fulfillment of the purposes of the Act,has not yet been attained. The perverse monetary policies of the Federal Reserve Board have not been challenged."

To save Humphrey-Hawkins from becoming just another pious -- and meaningless -- commitment to full employment, the civil rights movement and its allies must demand now that the federal government comply fully with the Act's provisions. By doing anything less, we will be transforming an important and hard-fought legislative victory into a disappointing defeat.

****

**apri
news release**

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
January 17, 1980

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

REMEMBERING GEORGE MEANY

by Bayard Rustin

At some time in his youth, George Meany must have been deeply impressed by the New Testament lesson about hollow self-praise for good works performed. He apparently took the words of Jesus to heart: "Be careful not to parade your good deeds before men to attract their notice. When you give alms, do not have it trumpeted before you, this is what the hypocrites do."

In his long career as a trade union leader, George Meany did many good things, not only for workers and union members, but for the civil rights movement as well. The fact that many people regarded Meany as something of a redneck and conservative demonstrates that he did indeed take the words of the New Testament seriously. Had he made a great deal of noise about his civil rights record, the popular image of him would have been quite different. But he choose the quiet route, and in doing that he molded the labor movement into a powerful and indispensable supporter of the civil rights cause,

Meany's approach is best illustrated by an incident involving himself and A. Philip Randolph, another man who never quite understood self-promotion through slick public relations. Back in the mid-1940's, Mr. Randolph and his close friend Milton Webster arrived in Houston for a convention of the American Federation of Labor. These two black men were delegates from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and they intended to participate fully in the almost all-white A.F. of L. convention. There was, however, an immediate obstacle: the manager of the Rice Hotel, which had the A.F. of L's business, turned the black delegates away, stating that he only offered accommodations to white people.

Randolph and Webster were hardly surprised. Like other black Americans, they

-more-

were regularly denied access to restaurants, hotels, and other "white" facilities. But rather than simply returning home and skipping the convention, they went to George Meany who at the time was Secretary-Treasurer of the A.F. of L. Meany listened to their grievance, and without holding an impromptu press conference, he and the two black trade unionists walked into the hotel manager's office. Standing shoulder to shoulder with Randolph and Webster, Meany looked at the manager and said: "These two gentlemen are here as members of the American Federation of Labor. They are going to attend our convention, and stay in the Rice Hotel, or else the convention is pulling out of the Rice Hotel, beginning about two minutes from now." The frightened manager promptly surrendered, and Randolph and Webster were given rooms immediately.

This little story captures so many of the vital qualities possessed by George Meany. It shows him as a blunt man who never relished pompous words or needlessly complex rationales. He did not lecture the hotel manager about the inherent equality of all human beings. He did not seek to change the man's attitudes about black people. Instead, Meany sized up the problem and took quick, meaningful action which achieved the desired result -- rooms for two black A.F. of L. delegates.

Meany followed this same strategy in dealing with trade unions which barred blacks from membership. And one by one, these organizations, most of them in construction and railroad crafts, dropped their color bars and began to accept black workers as equals. It required a great deal of time and patience, but Meany triumphed. His small and usually unnoticed victories were frequently undramatic, but in the end their cumulative affect was the decisive defeat of racism within the ranks of labor.

George Meany was indeed one of the truly great and unsung friends of the civil rights movement. He never openly claimed credit where credit was due. And he always offered substantive support rather than pious proclamations about racial equality. We who knew him and worked with him for so long will most certainly miss him. But we will also be grateful that we had him for a friend, a friend who in his own quiet way made a difference in America.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
March 13, 1980

Rustin Column

BALANCING THE BUDGET: A NON-SOLUTION FOR INFLATION

by Bayard Rustin

Many years ago I listened to a clever and seasoned political leader as he explained one of his most important operating principles. "People," he said, "don't want complicated answers to complicated problems,even if they're the only real answers. People want simple answers, and they'll accept them everytime even when they probably know they're bad and stupid answers."

This rather cynical maxim of politics comes to mind as I constantly hear the ever louder demands for a balanced federal budget as a quick cure for inflation. President Carter, who promised a balanced budget for fiscal year 1981, is responding to the appalling acceleration of inflation by proposing deeper cuts in an already bare bones federal budget. Meanwhile, the Republican presidential candidates, especially Ronald Reagan, continue to promote the simplistic notion that the federal deficit is the prime cause of inflation. Strangely enough, many voters, including quite a few poor people, have bought this simplistic analysis of inflation. What is worse, they have swallowed it without even looking at the basic facts, and without considering the political and economic consequences.

A look at the facts reveals an enormous gap between the rhetoric and reality of the situation. To begin with, most people who buy the "balanced budget line have no idea about the size of the federal deficit. They assume that the deficit is enormous, perhaps equal to a quarter or a third of the overall Gross National Product. Such exaggerations are understandable considering the intensity of the propaganda about"bloated government" and "printing press money." But the truth is quite differnt: the current $16 billion deficit accounts for only .6% of the

-more-

nation's $2.5 trillion economy. In other words, if you earned $10,000 last year, and if you incurred debt in the same proportion as the federal government, does this year, your total annual debt would be only $60, hardly a frightening amount.

In addition to exaggerating the size of the federal deficit, conservatives and their friends also grossly oversimplify the relationship between inflation and deficits. To listen to Mr. Reagan or for that matter quite a few economists in the Carter Administration, one might be persuaded that the inflation rate inevitably drops as deficits decline. But again the facts tell a different story. For example, between 1971 and 1974, the deficit declined from $23 billion to $4.7 billion. But while the deficit was shrinking, inflation rose from 3.4% to 12.2%, hardly the expected result. Moreover, Germany and Japan, both noted for their relatively low inflation rates (at least half the American rate) presently have government deficits which, as a porportion of their GNP, are four to six times larger than the American deficit. In light of all this, I think it makes very good sense to challenge the so-called conventional wisdom of the economic experts who seem to have so much influence with political leaders.

Some people, like Senator William Proxmire, now assert that even though budget reductions will not reduce inflation, they will serve as a symbol of the federal government's will to cut the inflation rate. This sounds nice and sensible until one realizes that the symbolic commitment to a balanced budget is much more than a symbol for poor people, the elderly and the workers of America.

Does it really make sense to use the checks of Social Security recipients, many of them living below the poverty line, as symbols of restraint? Will anyone be convinced that the government is serious about inflation when it cuts the food stamp program, when it slashes employment and training programs, or when it reduces funding for vocational training? I don't think so. If anything, people, will only be further convinced that the war against inflation is a sham, and an effort to rush the poor and have-nots into the frontlines while the better-off

-more-

sit behind the lines in relative prosperity.

What is more, the ridiculous concentration on balancing the budget will keep attention from the true complexities of the nation's economic predicament. And it will be another victory for the conservative simplifiers and sloganizers over the individuals and groups that want to examine the true sources of inflation, and who want to formulate workable and effective solutions.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
April 10, 1980

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

RACISM ON TV: THE CASE OF SKAG

by Bayard Rustin

In many important respects, American society has overcome the coarse and crude racism of the recent past. Most people, except the most ignorant and provincial, are now willing to accept black citizens as equals, as neighbors and as co-workers. Today, we can find blacks and whites living and working together in harmony where only 20 or 30 years ago they lived separate existences, never crossing their paths on equal terms.

With the overall improvements in race relations, many of the old stereotypes about black people have disappeared. No longer do we have degrading spectacles like the Amos and Andy shows, shuffling black men, and happy, singing slaves entertaining their lovable white masters. But while blatant racial type-casting has become socially unacceptable, racism lingers on in some subtle but no less demeaning ways. I realized this several weeks ago when I switched on the television and watched an episode of a new NBC program called Skag.

Since the program, which stars Karl Malden, supposedly depicts the daily life of an East Pittsburg steelworker, I thought it might be interesting. After all, workers, whether they be black or white, receive little or no attention from the mass media except for occasional attacks against their unions, alleged greed, and crude lifestyles. Unfortunately, Skag turned out to be more of a caricature than a fair and sensitive portrayal of blue-collar life. Worse still, the writers and producers of Skag present black people in a particularly unfavorable light. Indeed, all the old stereotypes are there -- blacks are stupid, subservient to whites, and flunkies who are willing to do anything for a quick buck.

-more-

In an episode about a wildcat strike to protest unsafe working conditions, only two blacks have speaking roles. One of the black characters is a union official , obviously an Uncle Tom, who is sent to Peter Skagska's plant to undermine the strike and to reassure management. The other black character is one of the strikers who sides with Skagska. In his bit part, the black man does nothing but repeat the words and ideas of Skagska, the white foreman who heroically defends the interests of the workers. In short, both black men are depicted as idiots who are incapable of independent thought, who have no capacity for intelligent leadership, and who are willing to sell-out to whatever side offers the best price.

Apparently, the writers of Skag have never heard of A. Philip Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. After years of relentless and sometimes hopeless struggle, Randolph and the small band of black porters won their rights from the huge Pullman Company. They did it on their own; they relied on their own creativity and resources. But seeing the blacks in Skag, a viewer might easily conclude that blacks can do nothing on their own, or that blacks have never done anything on their own.

The "stage blacks" of Skag also insult the thousands of black steelworkers who hold elected posts in the United Steelworkers of America, a union which has an outstanding civil rights record. Blacks, who make up over 25% of the work force in the basic steel industry, have played an increasingly important role in the union. But as Skag presents it, blacks seem to be an insignificant force in steel production.

Aside from the subtle and refined racism of Skag, the program has other serious flaws. Rather than attempting an honest and balanced depiction of working-class life, the program offers up an array of distortions. Since Skag's writers and producers seem to think that ordinary working-class life is dull, uneventful and lacking in vitality,they "spice up" reality with a little prostitution, alcoholism an abortion here and there, and other sordid events. In a way, they ,

-more-

probably think that they are liberating workers from what must be a boring life. But such liberation is an act of condescension, an excercise in lecturing the unwashed masses (in this case,workers) about what real living is all about. But black people and workers can do without lectures from the "better class."

Since workers support the television industry by purchasing the products of sponsors, the industry has a duty to produce programs which do not insult the very people whose sweat keeps the industry alive. Skag, despite its stated intention of promoting a better understanding of the working-class, is one program that is especially insulting, and NBC would do us a favor by junking it.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
May 22, 1980

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

TRAGEDY IN MIAMI: OPPRESSED VS OPPRESSED

by Bayard Rustin

Who can be unmoved by the explosion of anger and frustration that led to the violence, burning and looting in the Liberty City section of Miami? Not since the late 1960's have we seen such a heart-rending spectacle of unleashed rage as people systematically destroyed their own neighborhood, their own homes, and their own businesses.

Worse still, the cruel and intentional killing of a small black child by white murderers racing by in a pickup truck makes one wonder whether the barbarism of the Klan and White Citizens Councils has yet to be purged completely from our society. And the fatal beatings of three white youths by a black mob remind us all too clearly that violence is a disease that can infect anyone, regardless of skin color.

This startling outbreak of physical violence had many causes, the most important being the unexpected acquittal of four Miami police officers accused of murdering a black businessman. But there was another factor as well: black frustration with the economy.

According to the New York Times reporter who covered the Miami riot, many blacks expressed outrage about the influx of Cuban refugees. As blacks see it, the new arrivals from Fidel Castro's prison are threatening to take black jobs, and black housing. All this comes at a time when black Miamians are competing with over 20,000 black Haitians who have settled in the area after fleeing their impoverished, dictatorial country.

What we have here are the essential ingredients of a true human tragedy -- the scandal of one group of poor and oppressed people hating and fighting against other

-more-

groups of defenseless people.

If there is a true villain in the Miami story, it is our economic system, which is characterized by increasing scarcity and inequality. This system, once the envy of the world, has slipped to fifth position in terms of per capita GNP, well behind the once poor and backward countries of Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and war-devastated Germany.

Today the unemployment rate for Miami's black workers stands at an astonishing 17%, while the rate for whites is 8%. Nationally, the jobless rate for blacks is over 12%, a figure that doesn't include the thousands of workers who have given up their search in despair. And among black youth, one in three sits idle, impatiently awaiting the arrival of the American Dream.

The tragedy of Miami has a dual aspect. First, there is the horrible realization that economic deprivation can lead civilized and rational human beings to turn to violence for escape and political expression. While such violence is always deplorable and inexcusable, those who use it must be pitied. For in embracing the gun, the knife, and the torch, they are killing a part of their own humanity. Whenever anyone becomes less than human, they themselves are the true victims of their own actions.

Second, the widespread hatred and animosity of blacks toward the Cuban and Haitian refugees demonstrates that our economy of scarcity has at least succeeded in breaking the natural bonds linking the oppressed. The old strategy of "divide and conquer" has been resurrected, and black people have been distracted from the real sources of their problems by those who use refugees as convenient scapegoats.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
June 19, 1980

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

IS UNEMPLOYMENT INEVITABLE?

by Bayard Rustin

Government economists and private forecasters have finally agreed on something -- unemployment, they predict, will rise to nearly 10% by the end of 1980.

Not long ago, such a gloomy prediction would have been met by shock and surprise. After all, the thought of having one out of every ten workers tossed into idleness should be quite dismaying, especially for a nation which has long regarded itself as the most affluent and most productive society on the face of the earth. Today, however, forecasts of massive lay-offs have lost their sting; they receive scarcely any attention in the press, aside, from in the labor and black press.

In part, unemployment has lost its "newsworthiness" because many people, including some of those who lose their jobs, have accepted the conservative assertion that high unemployment rates are natural, and perhaps even beneficial for the economy, since jobless workers supposedly help to combat inflation. Furthermore, some economists argue that America's high unemployment rates are misleading because they include thousands of women and teenagers, who, in the view of conservatives, don't even belong in the labor market.

At first glance, some of these arguments might seem to be persuasive. But the notion that high unemployment is natural or beneficial appears ridiculous when we examine the records of other industrialized nations. If 10% unemployment is good for the United States, then it should also be good for West Germany, Sweden, Japan, France and Great Britain, all of which have industrialized economies, similar to

-more-

182

ours. Yet none of these countries encourages or even tolerates the high unemployment rates that have become such a persistent feature of America's economy.

A comparison of American unemployment rates with those of Japan and several European countries demonstrates in a dramatic way that our nation is certainly the odd-man-out. For instance, back during the 1974-75 recession, the deepest since World War II, unemployment in the United States peaked at nearly 9%. In West Germany, by contrast unemployment peaked at just under 4%; in Sweden, it never got much beyond 2%; in Japan, it was under 2%; in France, it approached 5%. And in Great Britain it moved only slightly beyond 5%. Only one industrialized country -- Canada -- had a jobless rate close to that of the United States.

More recently, the general trend has held up, although Great Britain and France have watched their unemployment rates rise nearly to American levels, while the Canadian rate exceeded the U.S. rate for quite some time. Germany, Sweden, and Japan, however, have kept unemployment low, with none of them exceeding the 4% mark at any time during the 1970's.

What explains the success of the Japanese and Europeans in keeping unemployment low? For one thing, people -- and here I include policy-makers, and businessmen -- simply refuse to accept the antiquated notion that high unemployment is a morally acceptable instrument of economic policy. In the United States, however, many economists, and even quite a few politicians, view planned unemployment as one of the most effective methods for controlling inflation, and for restoring "balance" to the economy. But such an approach is anathema in other industrialized countries.

Second, the Japanese and Europeans reject the archaic dogmatism that plagues economic policy-makers in the United States. While many American economists retain their faith in the wonders of the "free market," and vehemently oppose any form of economic planning, the Europeans and Japanese have become the new economic innovators, leaving the United States behind in the backwaters of the world

-more-

economy.

If we hope ever to achieve full employment in America, we need to convince ourselves that our goal is realistic, not just a utopian dream. And the recent performance of the Japanese and European economies, even at a time of worldwide economic instability, is proof enough that we are not seeking the impossible.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
July 31, 1980

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE REPUBLICANS VEER TO THE RIGHT

by Bayard Rustin

Anyone who objectively viewed the recent spectacle that was the Republican Convention had to observe how far to the right the GOP has veered since it came under the effective control of Ronald Wilson Reagan. Blacks and workers, in particular, should sense the dangers to their interests from the ultra-conservative majority which has taken over the party.

Despite a superficial attempt to appeal to workers and blacks, the convention did not represent us in any way whatsoever. Blacks made up only 2.7% of the delegates. And even these threatened to walk out if Ben Hooks of the NAACP was not allowed at the last moment to address the convention. Labor, as well, was unrepresented. Only 1% of the delegates had anything resembling a union affiliation. By contrast, 12% of the delegates to the Democratic Convention are black and organized labor's contingent numbers in the hundreds.

Who, then, was represented at the Republican Convention in Detroit? Those in whose behalf Ronald Reagan speaks: the entrepreneurs; those with incomes over $50,000; corporate America. The overwhelming majority of the Republican delegates were of the upper middle class and the upper class. These staunch Reaganites did not come from the Middle America whose interests Reagan pretends to embody, they came from the top rungs of the economic ladder.

Thus it is not at all surprising that the Republican Platform, on which Mr. Reagan stands, calls for "unshackling" corporations from Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations, supports the right of states to enact anti-worker "right-to-work" laws, and seeks to drive unions out of politics.

The Republican delegates were clearly looking out for their own narrow

182

-more-

economic interests. According to the Washington Post, 85% of the delegates gathered in Detroit opposed the concept of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment proposal; 90% disagreed with the view that business is a bit too powerful, 88% opposed any federal proposal for national health insurance, and 75% backed a call for a balanced budget regardless of the cutbacks it would cause in needed social programs.

Moreover, they saw in Ronald Reagan's ultra-conservative and anti-labor views the embodiment of their politics of self-interest and greed. For in his acceptance speech, Reagan emerged as the champion of big business and small government, who with messianic zeal is dedicated to dismantling the programs begun under the New Deal. Reagan spelled out for us as clearly as Barry Goldwater did in 1964 that his purpose is to undo and weaken the social programs of the federal government.

The cornerstone of the Reagan program is a 30% cut in income taxes -- a program known as the Kemp-Roth tax bill. This proposal not only would eliminate and weaken social services, but the influx of money it would release into the marketplace would unleash a new inflationary spiral. Most importantly, those who would benefit from a Reagan tax cut most would be the rich and members of the upper middle class.

Reagan's scorecard on other economic matters is equally poor. He opposes federally-created temporary jobs, is opposed to wage, price, and profit controls, has indicated that he is against minimum wage legislation, and is against one of President Carter's most popular proposals -- the windfall profits tax on the oil industry. In addition, Reagan has suggested that unions be placed under anti-trust laws,, a move that experts agree would cripple the bargaining power of unions by banning industry-wide and region-wide negotiations.

Another alarming feature of Reagan's program is his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. The question of equal rights, Mr. Reagan feels, is

-more-

better left to the courts. But this stance is transparently dishonest. Reagan, after all, supports Constitutional amendments to balance the federal budget and favors an amendment that is against making abortions a matter of personal conscience.

Study of Mr. Reagan's program leads to the inescapable conclusion that the former California Governor's domestic policies are those of an extremist conservative. That his prescriptions are not being denounced as extreme is an indication of the political disorientation of the media and the willingness of some politicians to abandon ground when faced by attacks from conservative political action committees and right-wing ideologues.

There is still time to stop the Reagan onslaught. But the only way to do so is by articulating a policy which calls for social justice. Only a Presidential candidate who challenges Mr. Reagan's policies at their root and proposes a comprehensive program to stem inflation while guaranteeing full employment will be able to win in November. Meanwhile, for blacks and labor the time to register voters and motivate them to vote is now.

This year's campaign will set the tone of policies in the 1980s. Unless, we want policies which attack the hard-won gains of blacks, workers, women, and the poor, we must act together to stop Ronald Reagan.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
August 14, 1980

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE ANDERSON INDIFFERENCE

by Bayard Rustin

To date, the Presidential campaign has been among the most confusing in memory. And perhaps the single most disorienting factor in this political year has been the candidacy of Rep. John Anderson.

It is indeed surprising that Mr. Anderson's campaign seems to be garnering a good measure of its support from liberals and moderates. This fact is this year's greatest political irony because Mr. Anderson's programs and prescriptions for our country are not only "illiberal" and "immoderate," but the economic programs he has supported during his twenty years in the House of Representatives are almost as conservative and retrograde as Mr. Reagan's. In the long-run, an Anderson presidency would do great harm to the interests of blacks, workers, the elderly, and the poor.

We are all familiar with the fact that Mr. Anderson supported a Constitutional Amendment in the 1960s which was designed to assert that the United States is an exclusively Christian nation. This intolerance of people of other faiths and beliefs, Anderson now says, was a mistake: something he no longer would support today.

This is all and well. Everyone is entitled to a conversion like that of St. Paul. Yet St. Paul had only one; Mr. Anderson appears to have had many,. He argues that he has abandoned his conservatism and become more moderate in his views. Yet, in the words of the objective 1980 Almanac of American Politics, Anderson is "generally a reliable Republican vote." In 1978, for example, the Republican Ripon Society put his voting record at a perfect 100%. By contrast labor put his voting record at 39% correct and the liberal Americans for Democratic Action said

-more-

that Anderson voted correctly just slightly more than half the time.

Let's examine the specifics of the Anderson record. In 1975, the Illinois Representative supported legislation to provide tax cuts for the upper 2% income bracket. Just two years ago, Anderson opposed the establishment of an independent Office of Consumer Representation designed to represent the interests of consumers before federal agencies and the courts. He voted against Labor Law Reform, which would have aided union organizing and bargaining by stiffening penalties against employers who violate labor laws and workers' due process. And in 1979 Anderson voted for a sharp cutback in disability insurance benefits under Social Security.

Despite the fact that Anderson aspires to the mantle of a moderate, he supported the Kemp-Roth proposal, which calls for crippling tax cuts of 30% over three years and which would cut federal aid to education, lower federal expenditures for health, and decrease social services. This is the tax proposal which is enshrined in the 1980 Republican Party Platform. It is the tax proposal which has the enthusiastic support of Ronald Reagan. Now, in another characteristic flip-flop, Rep. Anderson tells us that he has changed his mind on this question as well.

But what is most disturbing is not Anderson's inconsistency, but rather his callousness and indifference when it comes to matters concerning poverty and unemployment. In 1975, he opposed a bill to provide emergency appropriations of $5.9 billion to create jobs in the construction and auto industries. In 1978 he voted for a program that would require recipients of food stamps to pay for a portion of their allotment, and he supported legislation to cut 100,000 public service CETA jobs. His record on health and Medicare programs is equally appalling,

What then is the source of the false image of Anderson as a "progressive," "moderate," and "Independent"? Partly this image derives from the fact that in comparison to Ronald Reagan's ultra-conservative stance on social issues, Anderson

-more-

who supports ERA and opposes a Constitutional Amendment banning abortions, does seem more "moderate." Alas, this is more a comment about the rightward drift of the Republican Party than about Anderson's stands on the issues. In truth, Anderson's image emerged as the product of the media's temporary infatuation with the candidate at a time when his appeared to be the only exciting voice amid a bleak array of Republican arch-conservatives (Reagan, Crane and Connally) who were crowding the field during the primary campaign. Yet, in point of fact, the only thing that's "Independent" in Anderson's candidacy is that the media have created an image of the candidate that is independent of his voting record.

Now that Mr. Anderson is making a run at the presidency on his own, he must come under closer scrutiny. And a look at the facts in this instance has proven to be quite revealing. Anderson is no more than a conservative in moderate's clothing. His politics are the politics of small-mindedness and self-interest at a time when we need a politics of compassion and community.

The votes of blacks and workers should not be wasted on a candidate who has consistently voted against the interests of workers, blacks, and the poor. Most importantly, a vote for Anderson would be a wasted vote for a candidate whom the polls show has no chance at getting more than 15% of the vote. Therefore, supporting Rep. Anderson would strengthen the chances of Ronald Reagan and thus help usher in an administration that would dismantle the social progress that America has made over the years.

****

BAYARD RUSTIN
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

For Immediate Release
August 27, 1980

Rustin Column

FOR PRESIDENT CARTER

The seemingly endless and unnecessarily long primary season is behind us. The party conventions have been held, and at last the dust has settled to reveal that the major party candidates for President are Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter.

In the last year the media have almost single-mindedly focused on speculation concerning who the front runner is and who is ahead in the polls. What has largely escaped analysis and discussion has been the program of the candidates, their record, and their views on the issues.

Now, with the urgency of determining the direction of the country on the agenda, it is time for blacks, workers, and all Americans to make their choice about the kind of administration that will lead our country in the new decade.

For blacks and workers, it seems to me that the differences between the candidates are clearer than they have been in any election since 1964. And these differences indicate that President Carter deserves our full and unwavering support in his bid to beat back the ultra-conservative challenge of Ronald Reagan.

There is no better illustration of the differences between President Carter and Ronald Reagan than a comparison between the kinds of programs that are proposed by the Democratic and Republican Platforms. The Democrats and President Carter, support federal programs to produce alternate sources of energy and back the windfall profits tax on oil companies. The Republicans and Ronald Reagan

-more-

support higher profits for the oil companies and unrestrained price increases for the consumers.

President Carter opposes the huge 30% tax cut which Ronald Reagan and the Republican platform have called for. He believes quite correctly that the Reagan-Kemp-Roth tax bill would not only primarily benefit big business and the rich but it would unleash a new inflationary spiral that would do great harm to the interests of workers, blacks, the elderly, and poor.

President Carter and the Democrats are unequivocally for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Meanwhile, Ronald Reagan and the Republican platform explicitly oppose this amendment which seeks to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex. Nor is the difference between President Carter and Ronald Reagan limited to their views on the issues. President Carter has demonstrated his concrete commitment to the interests of blacks and working people during his first term in office. He strongly backed the labor law reform bill; he signed into law the highest minimum wage increase in history; he has upgraded the effectiveness of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration; and President Carter has appointed more blacks to administration positions than any President before him.

Recently, President Carter stressed his commitment to a planned reindustrialization of America. According to administration officials this new [illegible] proposal will include a program which will create hundreds of thousands of jobs. In addition the reindustrialization program will provide for job retraining, economic development, and research. This ambitious proposal is vitally necessary for our country. It will provide needed opportunities for unemployed blacks and minorities to re-enter the economy in a meaningful way. This activist program to revitalize the economy sharply contrasts with Ronald Reagan's proposals to cut [illegible] taxes for the rich and the upper-middle class.

President Carter has also been a committed supporter of civil rights in the United States and has been a committed advocate of human rights throughout the

-more-

world.

Of equal importance is President Carter's proven record of cooperation with the trade union movement in such matters as the National Accord with organized labor, which commits the Administration to "a policy of full employment and balanced growth with priority concern for the problems of the poor, the jobless, and the underprivileged. By contrast, as Governor of California, Ronald Reagan opposed collective bargaining for farm workers and school teachers, weakened work safety programs, and sought to impose a sub-minimum wage for the young. This record demonstrates his opposition to the interests of workers and the unemployed, whether they be black or white.

The record is clear. While there may be some reason to criticize President Carter on specific questions, the overall balance sheet of his first term in office is positive.

Moreover, the Democratic National Convention which selected him as candidate was a representative assembly of Americans. Blacks made up 14.4 percent of the delegates and the labor delegates numbered over 800. Meanwhile, the Republican Convention was composed of representatives of the upper classes. The median income of delegates at that convention was $50,000, and blacks constituted less than 3 percent of the delegates, while labor's presence was negligible. It is no wonder with that/such representation, the Republicans have veered sharply to the right. The Democratic Convention on the other hand stood in sharp contrast by virtue of its open discussion of the issues. Yet this open process ended in a display of unity with Senator Kennedy announcing that he is firmly aboard Jimmy Carter's re-election team.

In 1976, blacks and organized labor more than any other groups provided Jimmy Carter with his margin of victory. Over 90% of black voters cast their votes for Mr. Carter. Organized labor, likewise, contributed to the Carter victory by play-

-more-

ing an important role in registering and getting out the vote.

This year, that same coalition of blacks, workers, and those who support progressive social change can again make the difference. This November, after examining the issues, you no doubt will agree that blacks and workers have a clear choice: President Carter deserves our full and unwavering support.

****

For further information call

(212) 533-8004

Scapegoating Workers for Car Slump Woes

By Bayard Rustin

Now that the automobile industry has all but collapsed because of the uncontrollable flood of foreign cars and the catastrophic drop in consumer demand, business leaders and economists are frantically rounding up suspects, the people who will be blamed for the decline—more precisely, the murder—of what was once America's premier industrial sector.

Not surprisingly, many management people are pointing their fingers at workers, specifically women and minorities. Several weeks ago, for instance, the lead story in the *Wall Street Journal*, the business community's most prestigious mouthpiece, blamed the closing of Ford's Mahwah, New Jersey, plant on the workers. The *Journal*'s headlines were an indictment: "Mahwah, N.J., Site Was Hurt by Absences, Vandalism," the paper declared. To add a little more spice to the story, the editors added: "Marijuana on the Night Shift."

"Built in 1955," the *Journal*'s reporter noted, "Ford's Mahwah plant quickly developed a history of labor and quality problems. Some blamed them partly on a high proportion of black and Hispanic workers who hadn't had experience on assembly lines."

As if blacks and Hispanics weren't enough of a headache, the *Journal* pointed out that "additional problems" arose in 1976 and 1977, when "there was a major influx of women as Ford tried to comply with federal mandates for equal opportunity."

The women, according to the *Journal*'s sources at Mahwah, "weren't up to assembly-line work." Indeed, they were supposedly so clumsy that they kept cracking windshields on trucks because they couldn't handle the heavy equipment.

Official Line

By running such a damning and biased story on the workers of Mahwah, the *Journal* is setting forth what is rapidly becoming the official corporate line on America's economic problems; declining or stagnating productivity, business would have us believe, is caused by over-paid, lazy, and inferior workers, in this case, blacks, Hispanics, and women. As expected, scarcely a word is ever uttered about the devastating impact of imports, or the disastrous mistakes of management.

An examination of the facts, however, punctures and quickly deflates the assertion that blacks and women are significant causes of deteriorating quality and productivity in the auto industry. First of all, auto manufacturing has always had a fairly large proportion of black and female workers. Back in the late 1960s, when the auto companies were doing well, there were roughly 220,000 female auto workers. In 1977 about 240,000 women worked in the auto factories, hardly a gigantic increase. The same holds true for blacks—the proportion of black workers in the auto industry has not increased significantly during the last ten to twelve years.

What is more, there is no evidence to support the claim that blacks and women are less efficient or more careless than white males. Such an assertion rests not on fact but on nothing more than crude, blatant prejudice.

As to the argument that American workers have priced themselves out of the market by demanding exorbitant wages while their counterparts in Japan, Germany, France, Italy, and Sweden (the five major sources of foreign cars) settled for less, a look at the statistics tells quite a different story. Between 1967 and 1979, for instance, hourly compensation for American manufacturing workers increased by 151.3 percent. But the hourly wages for workers in Japan increased by 433.5 percent, in France by 354.0 percent, in Sweden by 324.5 percent, and in Germany by 237.4 percent. Thus it is abundantly clear that the issue of high wages is a false and misleading one.

All of these baseless accusations against workers come at a time when the economy continues to sink into a deeper and more damaging recession than predicted. The business community, which has done nothing to control imports, and which has mismanaged large sectors of the economy, now needs scapegoats. Workers, as usual, are the easiest and most defenseless targets; they are being dragged on stage to receive stern lectures about the sanctity of hard work, frugality, and respect for their employers.

But it is getting harder every day to convince workers and minorities that they, the victims of recession, are the fundamental cause of their own suffering. □

Communist

this: Emperor Leonid Brezhnev had been Khrushchev's viceroy for the Moldavian

But the best is yet to come: the orders are out in the Chinese Peoples' Republic that Liu Shao-

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
September 11, 1980

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

WORKERS AND DEMOCRACY

by Bayard Rustin

There was something immensely invigorating and exciting about the recent strikes by workers in Poland. Although the strikes occurred in a faraway country whose people live under a dictatorial regime, every American, black and white, could identify with the drama that daily unfolded on our television screens and in our newspapers.

What began ostensibly as a strike for higher wages, and against the Communist equivalent of inflation, was transformed into a struggle for democratizing an authoritarian society. When finally the strike was settled and the workers went back on their jobs, they had succeeded in extracting wide-ranging concessions from the Polish government involving the right to trade unions independent of government control. If the Polish government lives up to the terms of this agreement, Poland will have taken a significant step in the direction of democracy.

However, there is a distinct danger that the Polish leadership, pressured by the Soviet Union, may revoke the terms of the strike settlement and plunge Poland into a period of social unrest and harsh government repression. This is why newly-formed Polish free trade unions need the support they are getting from American organized labor, now more than ever.

Blacks who remember the days of the freedom rides and of the murders of black civil rights activists in the fifties and sixties understand the true heroism of the Polish strikers. They literally were risking their lives for a better, more democratic, and more humane society. Of course, the repressions and harassment

-more-

which black and white civil rights activists suffered in the United States was not the consequence of official federal government policy, and so the situation is not entirely equivalent. Yet the courage that was required to take on Jim Crow is similar to the courage that was required in 1980 to force the Polish Communist Party to relinquish some of its dictatorial control over Poland.

The strikes in the Polish shipyards are a significant historical event because they remind us all of the commitment of workers' and independent trade unions to the democratization of society. Workers and workers' movements have historically raised economic questions. And workers often strike in the United States to better their economic well-being. But what is sometimes woefully ignored by the press and the public is the commitment of free trade unions to extending democracy.

Organized labor has a proud history of fighting to defend and broaden civil and human rights in the United States. Labor organizations like the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers are also in the forefront of defending the human rights of imprisoned and beleaguered trade unionists and democratic activists in such countries as Cuba, Argentina, Chile, the Soviet Union, South Africa, and Poland. Union members and union leaders know that without the freedom of trade unions to function democratically and without government interference, there can be no true advancement of workers' interests.

Thus it was both ironic and hypocritical that Ronald Reagan should so vocally claim to support the interests of the Polish workers, for Mr. Reagan and the conservatives around him have traditionally adopted a hostile attitude toward trade unions. Mr. Reagan is a firm supporter of so-called "right-to-wwrk" laws which seek to weaken unions in the United States. And in the past he has even proposed utilizing anti-trust legislation to bust unions. So there is no small measure irony in the fact that he is a staunch supporter of the efforts to establish free trade unions in faraway lands, and yet opposes their interests in his own country.

-more-

Blacks and other workers who watched the heroism of the striking Polish workers understand that unions free of government harassment are a cornerstone of democracy. They know that without strong and free unions society itself cannot be free. Unfortunately this is a lesson that Ronald Reagan has failed to learn.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
October 9, 1980

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

OUR FUTURE IN THE BALANCE

by Bayard Rustin

By all indications, the 1980 Presidential Election is shaping up to be a dead heat. Neither President Carter nor Ronald Reagan has pulled ahead to a commanding lead. Rep. John Anderson's chances are non-existent and he has been relegated to the role of a spoiler who appears to be hurting President Carter more than Ronald Reagan.

One would think that interest would be high in a close race for the highest offfice in the land, particularly when that race is between two men of such divergent points of view as President Carter and Mr. Reagan. And yet the polls reveal not only a great deal of voter uncertainty, but a great deal of voter apathy as well. Voter apathy appears to be particularly pronounced among blacks, for whom ironically this election is of critical importance. Those blacks, and others, who sit this election out will merely be allowing others to determine what kind of government they will have for the next four years.

Most voters recognize that President Carter is a decent and humane man who is concerned about the problems of poverty, racial discrimination, and unemployment. Moreover, most workers are aware that the President has shown himself to be friend of labor in his support for the efforts to achieve Labor Law Reform, in his successful restructuring of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and in his support for the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill. Blacks, and other minorities, are aware that the President has appointed more blacks and women to important administration positions than any President before him. And they know that President Carter has been a dedicated champion of the Equal Rights

-more-

182

Amendment.

Yet despite all this, I still hear the "common wisdom" that it doesn't make any difference who is elected. The evidence of history tells us something different. In 1968 there was a close race between Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey. Many liberals deserted the Humphrey candidacy because they were dissatisfied with the candidates views on Vietnam. Many of them argued then as now that there was no difference between Nixon and Humphrey. Of course, not only were there differences, they were profound. Those liberals who today are abandoning President Carter and those who say it doesn't matter who wins would do well to remind themselves of 1968.

Ronald Reagan is not simply a traditional Republican candidate. He is an ultra-conservative who is now attempting to cover up his anti-union and anti-worker pronouncements in a bid to attract blue-collar votes. This deception will not hold water with those who examine his stands on the issues closely. But where Reagan stands to gain most is from those who believe that it does not matter who our next President is, those who are indifferent. All the polls show that those who are least likely to vote are the poor, blacks, and lower income workers: in other words, those who are most likely to support President Carter.

Our country has entered into a turbulent and challenging decade. We face the challenges of international instability, the growth of Soviet imperialism, problems of reindustrialization and modernization. All of these problems require a unified country. Voter apathy, alas, will not lead to greater unity no matter who wins, because those who do not vote will continue to feel that the government is not their own.

Our futures are in the balance. At a time when our country needs to respond intelligently and compassionately to the needs of the poor, the unemployed, the elderly, and the young, our government must be committed to action. Ronald Reagan preaches the politics of less government and greater profits for big

-more-

business. President Carter on the other hand has shown his capacity to bring together government, labor, and business in a partnership designed to address the needs of our country.

The 1980 election will be of great significance for our futures. It would be a great tragedy if voter apathy resulted in the defeat of a President who listens and is sensitive to the needs of the people. Only through a massive turnout can blacks and other working people demonstrate that the coalition for social progress and economic justice still exists. Only by re-electing President Carter can we save ourselves from four years of the inhumane and disastrous policies of Ronald Reagan.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
November 5, 1980

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

A DESPAIRING VOTE FOR CHANGE

by Bayard Rustin

The 1980 election has ended in a stunning repudiation of the Carter Administration and of the Democratic Congress. Voters have decisively cast their ballots against the status quo. Even blacks, who voted overwhelmingly for President Carter, did so without summoning up a great deal of enthusiasm.

A great number of the true friends of the black community and of the labor movement ---Sen. Birch Bayh, Sen. Gaylord Nelson, Sen. Warren Magnuson, and Sen. Frank Church -- have fallen victim to what is a clear victory for conservatives and the radical new right.

The shift in control of the Senate to the Republicans means that reactionaries like Sen. Strom Thurmond, Sen. Orrin Hatch, and Sen. Jesse Helms will attain leadership posts when the Senate reconvenes next year. Working in conjunction with a conservative President such legislators will more than likely view the election results as a mandate to unleash an anti-union and anti-minority program. But their reading of the meaning of the election will, I submit, be completely inaccurate.

For voters threw Carter and a goodly number of Democrats out of office as a sign of displeasure with the state of the economy. They opted for significant change. Four more years of the policies which led to 12 percent inflation and 7.5 percent unemployment were clearly unpalatable to the electorate. Change, a radical departure from past practice, was in the voters' view necessary. The only significant change that was offered, unfortunately, came from the right.

Yet the conservative Republican gains will almost certainly be short-lived. For the policies which Ronald Reagan and his legislative cohorts offer will alienate

182

-more-

those very workers who rebelled against a Carter program that was perceived to be in essence without direction and philosophical underpinning.

Workers will soon realize that the Reagan-Kemp-Roth program will further fuel inflation and lead to tax relief which primarily benefits the wealthy.

The task, then, is to revitalize a political coalition which is capable of putting forward candidates who will provide a clearly-thought-out alternative to the new conservative government.

In order to stage a comeback in the 1982 elections, a regeneration of ideas is necessary for the heirs to the traditions of FDR, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson. The New Deal programs were an important contribution to solving our nation's problems. But a mere hearkening to the past is not enough . What is needed is a courageous effort to develop constructive alternative programs for dealing with problems of unemployment, inflation, poverty and reindustrialization. Perhaps two years in opposition will revitalize the intellectual skills of the Democrats.

Such a revitalization is clearly on the agenda. For, if blacks, the labor movement, and liberals are capable of organizing a viable Democratic party structure and of developing a program devoted to industrial growth, full employment, and a strong defense, they will find their party on the offensive two years from now.

In the meanwhile blacks and all working people will have to struggle against the consequences of the regrettable but understandable choice the American people have made.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
December 4, 1980

For further information, contact:

Rustin/Hill Column

BLACKS AND THE REAGAN PROGRAM

by Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

Some voices in the black community have responded to the election of Ronald Reagan with a reaction that borders on panic. There have been claims that a Reagan administration and a conservative Republican Senate will mean open season on blacks and the poor; that we will see the growth of racism in our country.

Clearly, a number of the positions which President-elect Reagan endorsed during his campaign were dangerous to the interests of blacks and other working people. In the view of many economists, his support of the Kemp-Roth tax cut not only will disrupt needed social services and programs, but will also fuel the flames of an already out-of-control inflation. Additionally, President-elect Reagan's advocacy of a sub-minimum wage would harm the interests of unskilled adult workers, a significant number of whom are black. The Reagan-Republican strategy of blind reliance on free market forces in such areas as energy will also result in further inflationary pressures. In short, the expressed policy of the Reagan Administration clearly will result in some damage to black interests.

Some damage, yes. But open season on blacks and the poor? The mushrooming of racism? Here one senses that rhetoric has clouded the vision of some black community leaders.

As President,Ronald Reagan, like all Presidents before him, will be limited in the programs he is able to implement by both Congress and organized segments of American society.

Although our country moved in a conservative direction this election year, a Republican Administration and a Republican-controlled Senate, will have to contend

-more-

with a strong labor movement and with a House of Representatives still in the hands of Democrats. Moreover, there is division concerning policies and programs even within the ranks of President-elect Reagan's advisers. Some Reagan advisers, like Rep. Jack Kemp claim they do not wish to see programs which would result in hardships to working people. Others, particularly New Right adherents and conservative policy advisers such as black economist Thomas Sowell, have what appears to be a visceral hatred for organized labor.

At present there are conflicting signs about the Reagan Administration and the Republican-controlled Senate. On the one hand, Sen. Thurmond, a right-winger with a history of racist views, has hinted that he might move to abolish the 1965 Voting Rights Act (an effort which, incidentally, would end in failure). On the other hand, Sen. Orrin Hatch, anti-labor Chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, according to the Wall Street Journal, dropped plans to press immediately for a youth sub-minimum wage. This, one Senate Labor Committee aide notes, is because the Senator "doesn't relish the prospect of spending a number of years at war with labor."

That a conservative idologue of the Hatch mold would be unwilling to take on the trade union movement on this important issue may be an indication that at least some Republicans are beginning to accept the realities of power in America.

Labor and black community groups have been and remain an important force in American life. To attack them directly is to risk confrontations and social unrest. The power of the organized has clearly not been washed away by the results of the election. And so the Reagan Administration and the Congress will have to deal with these social forces just as previous administrations have.

Before responding with recrimination and oppsition to the Reagan program, we must first know what that program will be. At present, Reagan policy advisers appear to be recommending proposals which are at variance with one another. Some argue for huge cuts in government spending and for a balanced budget, while others believe that tax cuts will result in greater prosperity and greater tax revenues to fund government programs. Some Reagan advisers have begun talking about "urban enterprise zones" which would offer tax breaks for businesses locating in impoverished areas. Programs such as this should first be carefully examined by economists, public policy experts and those whom they will directly affect before they are rejected out of hand. Perhaps such proposals are flawed, but before we can make that judgment such programs have to be formulated and proposed.

In a word, blacks and organized labor should carefully monitor the policies of the new administration, attacking and criticizing those proposals which deserve to be repudiated. It is counter-productive to mount a political offensive without being fully aware of what we are up against.

And in the final analysis, blacks and other working people should maintain their confidence in the democratic process. If the Republicans fail to deliver on their promises of lowering taxes, stemming inflation, and decreasing unemployment, voters will have ample opportunity to send President Reagan and his conservative congressional colleagues a message by repudiating the Republican formula in upcoming elections.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
December 18, 1980

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

AFRICA, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND REAGAN

by Bayard Rustin

It is thirty years since Africa began to emerge from the shadows of European colonialism. The overwhelming majority of African states have had national independence for nearly two decades. Enough time has passed for drawing up a balance sheet on Africa and the state of African democracy.

And a brief survey of the extent of human rights and freedoms on that large continent reveals a disturbing state of affairs. By the reckoning of Freedom House, a respected monitor of human rights throughout the world and an organization on whose board I serve, of the 46 nations in Africa only 3 are assessed to be free. 17 are judged by Freedom House as partly free, and 26 are rated "not free."The most recent annual report of Amnesty International, a human rights organization which monitors the treatment of political prisoners, is a virtual catalogue of tortures and atrocities in Africa.

The world is well aware of the carnage committed in the Central African Republic by the deposed tyrant and self-styled "emperor" Bokassa and in Uganda by deposed dictator Idi Amin. But the Amnesty report singles out many other African states for flagrant human rights violations. The Cuban-backed Leninist regime in Angola continues to ruthlessly suppress dissidents and to execute political opponents.

Ethiopia, another Soviet and Cuban-backed regime, has had a succession of "Red Terror" campaigns against political opponents. These campaigns have involved, according to Amnesty International, "political arrests, mass killings, the exposure in public of the bodies of those summarily executed, and systematic torture." According to informed estimates, by early 1979, the Ethiopian regime held over

8,000 political prisoners. And as a consequence of unrelenting warfare between Ethiopia and Somalia, 1.3 million refugees have fled Ethiopia, creating a refugee problem rivaled only by Cambodia's.

South Africa, meanwhile, continues to imprison black political leaders, many of whom have died in police custody, and to make use of "banning orders" to exile democratic political opponents to isolated parts of that country. Additionally, there appears to be little lessening of the racist policy of apartheid, although that Policy is now opposed by significant portions of the white population as well as by blacks and other non-whites.

In North Africa, the Tunisian government of Habib Bourguiba has been engaged in a relentless campaign of harassment and imprisonment against independent trade union leaders.

The list of victims of African regimes of both the left and the right mounts daily. Yet the discussion of the state of human rights in Africa receives scant attention in the Western press, and was ignored by Reagan in his campaign.

Moreover, Reagan's victory has been greeted with skepticism by many Africans. For this reason the new administration must act with regard to Africa in an intelligent and comprehensive manner. It is crucial that a Reagan Africa policy promote democratic and anti-racist principles, while protecting America's vital interests. And it is equally crucial that it be a policy which seeks to pressure governments into abolishing torture of political prisoners and prohibiting the execution of political opponents.

The road toward such a policy lies in a strategy which is opposed to apartheid and which simultaneously highlights and opposes the alarming escalation of the Soviet and Cuban presence on that continent.

Such a policy would have the endorsement not only of many of Africa's political leaders, but it would also enjoy the support of broad segments of African society.

The question of democracy and human rights in Africa, however, must not be left to governments alone. It is equally the responsibility of those who have struggled for civil rights in this country. I hesitate to issue the call for a new campaign. Such declarations, if unsupported by organizational commitment, ring hollow and are without lasting significance.

However, the time is more than ripe for American blacks and other civil rights advocates to begin a discussion of how to help those Africans who are committed to democratic ideals and social justice.

In the wake of the controversies surrounding the resignation of Andrew Young as United Nations Ambassador, a number of black leaders voiced the opinion that it was time for blacks to play a leading role in shaping American foreign policy. The question of African human rights and the presence of Cuban forces in Africa present the opportunity for playing such a leading role.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
January 22, 1981

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

REBUILDING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

by Bayard Rustin

The aftermath of the Presidential Inauguration, with its overt demonstration of upper class grandeur and hollow pageantry, suggests that the Reagan Administration will be one which places much emphasis on style at the expense of substance. And although the specifics of the Reagan program have not yet been spelled out, even the most casual observer is capable of sensing the orientation of Reagan's economic program. Moreover, the new administration's cabinet appointees on the domestic front are clearly uninspiring. They range from rabid conservative ideologues of the David Stockman stripe (with their preachments of economic disaster) to untested corporate figures such as Ray Donovan, who has been designated by Reagan to serve as Secretary of Labor.

In the face of a gloomy assortment of symbols, programs, and personalities, it seems entirely appropriate for those who are committed to the principles of social and economic justice to begin thinking about constructing a viable alternative to the conservatism of the Republican Party.

Perhaps more than anything else, the 1980 election revealed that the Democratic Party lost a large portion of its traditional constituency largely because it failed to articulate a cohesive and inspiring vision of American society. This lack of vision led to the inevitable factionalism which typified the Democratic Convention. The party's lack of vision was in large measure a consequence of President Carter's Piecemeal approach to economic matters and to some extent it was also a product of his insistence that the country's problems were too substantial to be solved by the office of the Presidency. A lack of vision was implicit

-more-

in Carter's assumption that there were great limitations on what government could do.

By contrast, the Republicans succeeded in conveying to the electorate that theirs was the "party of ideas," Albeit wrong ones. The Republicans were also successful because they capitalized on serious Democratic blunders in foreign affairs and because they exploited widespread discontent with the state of the economy.

How then is the Democratic Party to rebuild? How is it to regain the initiative once again? Although many party activists are convinced that the answer rests in revising party rules to assure greater participation by professional politicians, I believe that such a necessary revision is far from the real answer. What is even more necessary is the party's careful reassessment of its principles, direction, and goals. Liberal Democrats, in particular, must demonstrate that they have a vision larger than one which merely seeks to preserve the status quo. With the Executive branch and the Senate in the hands of the Republicans, and with an effective conservative majority ascendant in the House of Representatives, the Democrats have the luxury of reassessing programs and approaches.

Vital issues remain on the agenda. A full employment program is without question both needed and potentially popular with the electorate, as is support for prudent increases in health and education expenditures. Democrats also need to develop an effective program to deal with inflation and at the very least should begin a discussion of the advisability of wage, price, and profit controls. Moreover, the party needs to shed its lackluster image in the area of social programs. The Democrats have been portrayed by their opponents as the party of government handouts. This perception not only is unpopular and harmful to the electoral chances of the party, but it must be replaced with a strategy of combating poverty through jobs creation in the private sector and through a wide-ranging jobs-training and education package which would reach to all poor people, whether they are

-more-

black, Hispanic or white.

In the area of foreign affairs, the Democratic Party must continually stress its commitment to the cause of freedom worldwide and to a strong American defense. But Democrats must also stress their differences with Reagan's foreign policy, particularly in their approach to the third world and in their consistent support for democracy and human rights.

All these issues must be placed on the agenda if the Democratic Party is to succeed in rebuilding. Of equal importance is that the development of a new program must be undertaken in concert with the traditional constituencies of the Democratic Party: with representatives of organized labor, the black community, Jews, and other ethnics. The foregoing of a consensus must occur with broad-based input. But the interests of each group must eventually be creatively molded into a cohesive vision of a more just America. The Republicans can only become the party of the majority, but only if the Democrats are not up to their task.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
February 5, 1981

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

BLACKS IN ISRAEL

by Bayard Rustin

Last week an unofficial delegation which I headed returned from Israel, where we investigated the status of the Black Hebrews.

The Black Hebrew Community came to Israel via Liberia in 1968. At first they were welcomed by the Israeli government, given temporary legal status and helped to find employment. However, when later it was perceived that the tenets which this group of American blacks espoused could not be defined as Jewish, when the Black Hebrews began to claim that the land of Israel rightfully belonged to them, and when illegal immigrants began to increase their numbers substantially, relations between the Black Hebrews and the Israeli authorities began to deteriorate rapidly.

This led some individuals, who seek to worsen black-Jewish relations, to charge racial bias by Israel. They did not bother to ascertain the facts beforehand.

Our group consisted of a number of American civil rights activists, including Alexander J. Allen, Vice President of the National Urban League; Lewis J. Carter,III, National Labor Director of the N.A.A.C.P.:; Mrs. Arthur C. Logan of the National Council of Negro Women; Dr. Archie Buffkins, of the Task Force on International Higher Education in Israel; and Charles Bloomstein of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund.

The delegation's trip to Israel had a two-fold purpose: we sought to ascertain the truth and also to help secure the human rights of the Black Hebrews.

After eleven days of investigation and extensive meetings with representatives of the Israeli government, the Black Hebrews, other blacks living in Israel, including former members of the Black Hebrew Community, various residents and groups in

Dimona and Arad, and U.S. Embassy people, our group issued its report. In our investigation we painstakingly inquired into whether there was official Israeli racism, spending considerable time with non-whites, we felt would be most sensitive to any such manifestations.

We asked the American ambassador and his senior staff members if they had received complaints of racism from black Americans. The embassy staff indicated that it has not received a single such complaint in the almost four years the present ambassador had been in Israel.

Indeed, Ben-Ami Carter, the leader of the Black Hebrews, told us that he did not consider that his group's problems spring from official racism, although he did mention that he felt a few individuals in the neighboring area had exhibited racist attitudes. Other blacks, who live in or are visiting Israel, assured us that there was no official racism, so did two separate groups of blacks from Ethiopia.

The only instance, we found of discrimination by color was the situation at Ben Gurion Airport. In an effort to prevent any more Black Hebrews from entering Israel illegally, Israeli officials had been subjecting blacks to special scrutiny. As our report noted, "At present police officers are taking some black Americans from the passport control checkpoint line before they reach the immigration officer, obviously on the basis of color.." Such treatment, our group felt, has to cease both because it is unfair and because it can be used by the enemies of Israel and of the Black-Jewish alliance. We feel that while this discrimination is obviously racial, it is not based on racist attitudes. And in response to our urgings, Yosef Burg, the Israeli Minister of the Interior, indicated that airport procedures would be changed and improved.

The problem of the Black Hebrews is complicated. The group has a highly authoritarian structure and a rigid ideology reminiscent of some religious groups in the United States. In addition, as our report noted, the group's "self-

-more-

proclaimed messianic vision includes their supplanting the present legal Israeli Jewish government" by divine intervention. In addition, we expressed our concern about the hardships which former members of the Black Hebrew Community are suffering because of their extra-legal status in Israel.

Our group did not take sides, but sought simply to uncover the facts in this complicated matter which must, in the final analysis, be resolved by the government and people of Israel. We urged that the Israeli government act quickly and expeditiously in deciding the future of the Black Hebrews presently in Israel.

On the basis of our trip I can assert with confidence that the status of the Black Hebrews with respect to housing and adequate medical care has improved in the last several years. Furthermore, if temporary work permits are issued to the Black Hebrews, pending a decision as to their ultimate status, their basic right to earn a living will be adequately protected.

Israel is an embattled country, surrounded by enemies. Yet its democratic traditions give us confidence that the matter of the Black Hebrews will be dealt with humanely. In the last several years, black-Jewish relations outside Israel have undergone substantial strain. Misunderstandings and conflicts, such as this one involving the Black Hebrews, are not conducive to cooperation and mutual support. Yet blacks and Jews are linked by a common history of oppression, and in the United States they have been closely linked in their joint struggle for civil and human rights. Jews have historically been subjected to repression as an unwanted minority. The lessons they have learned from that oppression were evident to us throughout our travels in Israel. Most of the Israelis we met were motivated by the desire to act with justice and fairness, with color not a consideration.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
March 5, 1981

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

A RENEWED ATTACK ON LABOR

by Bayard Rustin

America's labor movement has rarely received a square deal from the press. Therefore it should come as no surprise that trade unions are currently being subjected to a consistent barrage of criticism. What is surprising, however, is the particular vehemence with which the trade union movement is being criticized at a time when it is attempting to move in directions which would increase its involvement in the political process and begin to offer a response to the Reagan Administration's economic proposals.

Press criticism has come from all corners. From the left, Stanley Aronowitz writing in The Nation, has lashed out at "entrenched leaders" who "not only control the mechanisms of power, but sit astride bureaucratic structures that work to defuse opposition." Business Week has criticized the AFL-CIO's Executive Council for generating "disappointingly stale bluster" and "blind repetition of well-worn platitudes." At a root, in Business Week's view, is the labor leadership's unwillingness to address questions of labor productivity and job performance. A labor reporter for the New York Daily News has suggested that "labor is losing its grip." And President Ronald Reagan has accused organized labor of being out of step with its rank-and-file.

Let's take a look at these charges one by one. Critics charge that labor is controlled by entrenched bureaucrats. The fact of the matter is that labor's leadership is democratically elected and elections are often close and hotly contested. Critics accuse labor of being uninterested in productivity. In truth labor is not only worried about American industry losing its competitive edge but there is statistical evidence which shows that in manufacturing, productivity of unionized workers is substantially higher than that of unorganized workers. As for the charge that organized labor is politically ineffective, the evidence of the last election shows that union members and their families voted for Jimmy Carter by a higher percentage than any other segment of the population with the exception of minorities. No one can deny that there was a shift away from Democratic candidates in the last election, but the blame for this shift must rest squarely with the Democratic Party which has minimized the input of labor leaders in its highest councils. And finally, President Reagan's suggestion that labor is out of step with its members is simply untrue. Union members are deeply concerned about such issues as plant relocation, workplace safety, job security, the minimum wage, and unemployment. It is Mr. Reagan's stand on these questions that is out of touch with worker needs and desires and not the labor leadership's.

The recent spate of poor press and President Reagan's criticism is not only ill-founded but it has obscured the fact that the labor movement is moving forward in a number of innovative directions. This month (March) the AFL-CIO is involved in a series of regional conferences at which the Federation's President Lane Kirkland and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Donahue will sit down with local and state trade union leaders as part of an effort to "help strengthen state federations and local bodies."

The AFL-CIO is also moving forward in an attempt to get the United Auto Workers to rejoin the fold. The federation has embarked on an effort to abandon its neutrality in party primaries and to take part more directly in the nominating process for national office. The Service Employees have launched an ambitious attempt to organize office workers. The Clothing and Textile Workers have won a major victory against the J.P. Stevens Company in the South by utilizing innovative techniques which involved consumer boycotts, pressure on the Stevens Company's business partners, demonstrations, and shareholders' proxy fights. And the labor movement has had tremendous success in increasing the levels of participation of black unionists, who today account for over 17 percent of the AFL-CIO's membership. Moreover, a recent study has found that black union members are far more active in the political process than their white counterparts.

-more-

With several exceptions, these new courses have been given short shrift by the press, which for the most part treats labor unions as an anachronism or an obstacle to progress and productivity. A mythology has arisn about trade unions which portrays the labor movement as an amalgam of special interests led by "cigar chomping" bureaucrats.

What the labor movement is really about, however, is a national network of 60,000 union locals. Each of these involves scores and often hundreds of union members in voluntary administrative, political and community activities. For the most part, local trade union unionists are part-time unpaid volunteers who hold down full-time jobs outside the labor movement and who have roots in their own communities. While the activities of the Moral Majority and conservative political action committees are given extensive play in the media, the wide-ranging activism of the union local is ignored unless a strike erupts. But the truth of the matter is that strikes are an exception rather than the rule (only 2 percent of collective bargaining results in strikes), while the undramatic day-to-day work of the local union is unreported and invisible to most Americans.

Meanwhile, labor's national leaders, intelligent, capable spokesmen for constituencies often larger than those of Congressmen and some Senators, are rarely solicited by the media to express opinions on vital national and international issues.

The events of the last year in Poland have evoked a great deal of favorable attention in our press. But little has been said about the role of a strong labor movement in guaranteeing the survival of a democratic society. Even less attention has been paid to the evidence that countries like Germany, Japan, and Sweden (all of which have experienced phenomenal growth in productivity since World War II) have more than twice the percentage of unionized workers as has the U.S.

A debate is beginning about productivity in our country. The first salvos in that debate have been fired by the press against the labor movement. Clearly, the labor movement can play a role in helping to increase worker productivity. But

-more-

worker productivity and job performance can only be improved if the labor movement is successful in enhancing a worker's sense of shared commitment in the workplace. Whether this is accomplished through increased profit sharing through co-determination as in Germany, or through consultation with union leaders in such issues as plant closings, plant relocation, and corporate secrecy, the central role of organized labor must be acknowledged.

The answer to increased productivity lies in greater cooperation between employers and workers and their unions on the one hand and a renewed commitment to social justice on the other. An attack on the legitimacy of unions undermines such an effort and is against the national interest.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
April 2, 1981

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

DEATH IN SOMALIA

by Bayard Rustin

Somalia, located in the strategically vital Horn of Africa, is one of the world's poorest countries. Since October, 1979 an average of 1,000 refugees per day have been crossing that country's borders, fleeing the disputed Ogaden region of Ethiopia. The overwhelming majority of these refugees are women and young children.

In scale, the tragedy of Somalia rivals that of Indochina and its boat people. And yet the world community largely has been indifferent to the suffering of the unfortunate Somali victims of Ethiopian brutality. Moreover, little attention has been paid to this problem by the black community in the United States.

Recently, I returned from Somalia, where, as part of an International Rescue Committee study group, I observed first-hand the dimensions of the refugee problem.

In one arid refugee camp into which approximately 65,000 Somali women and children have been crammed I observed a thin, sickly young mother taking her child to a nearly dried up river to feed her baby what she knew was poisonous water. Her desperate act was intended to provide temporary comfort for a child which she knew would ultimately die whether of dehydratinn or the muddied water's poisons.

In another instance, our small group was able to save the life of one child by transporting it by jeep to a make-shift hospital where an understaffed medical team was able to help salvage an innocent life even as others were foredoomed to death.

The unrelenting flood of refugees is taxing the resources of a drought-stricken, underdeveloped country with one of the world's lowest standards of living. Yet Somalia's indigent population has had to absorb close to 1.5 million refugees into a country whose native population numbers 3.5 million. When proportionally adjusted

-more-

to America's population, this is as if our country had to absorb seventy, yes seventy, million helpless and starving poor.

The Somali refugees now live in makeshift encampments on barren territories carved out of the desert. Most of them live in ramshackle huts or worse. Many of the children are deformed by the bloated stomachs which indicate starvation.

Death is all pervasive in Somalia. The monstrous brutality of the pro-Soviet Ethiopian regime, coupled with a drought which is affecting all of East Africa, has resulted in widespread death and misery.

While famine and drought are crucial contributing factors to the steady stream of refugees, it does not help explain the reason why these refugees are streaming only in one direction: toward Somalia and away from Marxist-Leninist Ethiopia.

The roots of the Somalian tragedy derive in part from the historical decision to retain Africa's colonial borders. As a consequence, many African ethnic groups have been divided between several countries and are not allowed to live together in states which correspond territorially to historical and cultural traditions.

This pan-African problem will result in continued upheaval in the decades ahead. And yet those who argue that ethnic peoples such as the Somalis should remain a divided nation, ignore the fact that national identity remains a principal source of upheaval and discontent in Africa and throughout the world.

Clearly, what is needed is a far-reaching negotiated solution to the struggle for control of the Ogaden. Yet such a solution appears to be very far off. What is needed immediately, however, is massive international humantarian aid; aid in the neighborhood of $500 million. Our International Rescue Committee mission has recommended that the U.S. commit itself to $150 million of such aid.

Currently, the U.S. contributes one-third that amount through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Unless additional support is forthcoming from the United States and the world community, hundreds of thousands of innocent Somalis will die. Blacks, and indeed all Americans, cannot remain indifferent to

-more-

the plight of the starving and drought-stricken Somalis.

The world community responded with amazing generosity to the plight of Indochinese refugees. The world must respond with similar compassion to the horrors which plague Somalia. If we do not have the compassion to help the dying mothers and children from the Ogaden, then most certainly we will not have the compassion to solve the severe problems which affect minority and other poor Amercians at home.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
May 7, 1981

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

SOCIAL CHANGE IN POLAND

by Bayard Rustin

Recently I returned from Poland where I was invited to lecture by a regional section of Solidarity, the independent trade union movement.

What was most striking about that country was the sense of openness and frankness which was everywhere evident. Even people whom I did not know (cab drivers and waiters, for example) spoke openly and frankly about the problems their society faces. Criticism was openly voiced, and the bulk of that criticism was directed at the Polish government and at the Soviet Union.

Among Poles there is of course the sober realization that their country faces serious economic problems and there is the awareness of the threat of Soviet invasion. Yet there is also a spirit of quiet optimism among the people. Above all there is the absence of fear.

Poles are aware that they are implementing a wide-ranging social transformation of their society and they are going about it an orderly fashion. The effects of this social transformation are no less than revolutionary.

The driving force behind the move to democratize that totalitarian country is the 10-million strong Solidarity trade union movement. Solidarity is guided by a profound respect for the principle of disciplined non-violence. Indeed, throughout the ten months of labor unrest there has not been a single act of violence committed by the Solidarity movement. Despite countless provocations, Solidarity's responsible leadership has succeeded in developing a movement that is restrained and disciplined. Moreover, it is a movement that is united by four guiding principles: Christianity, democracy, socialism and equality.

-more-

As Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa indicated to me, the union does not wish to assume primary responsibility for Poland's economic affairs. The union would prefer to maintain the traditional separation between management and labor. Solidarity's attitude toward economic matters is perhaps best summarized in one of the union's mottoes: "Nothing about us without us."

Solidarity's activities clearly are not limited to those of trade unions as we know them in the United States. As Walesa told me, "Only one-fifth of what we do is of a trade union nature." The union's remaining activities center on such questions as eliminating the vestiges of censorship, winning access to radio and television, safeguarding the independence of educational institutions, and defending unjustly arrested political activists.

What is particularly striking about the Polish Solidarity movement is its many similarities with the American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. In both movements dignity is a constant and all-pervasive theme. Both movements had strong religious roots. The American civil rights movement, like the Polish movement, was built upon a foundation of non-discrimination and tolerance. And both movements have deeply rooted traditions of non-violence.

Nor is this comparison merely superficial. A number of Poles I spoke with mentioned how inspiring the televising of Roots was. "It told us that you have to struggle to win your dignity," one worker told me. Others mentioned having seen films on the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. "They were almost like an instruction manual on how to build a movement," one Solidarity activist suggested.

Clearly the dream of a free and just society is universal. It has lived and flowered in Selma and Montgomery. Today it lives and thrives among the workers of Poland. It can never be silenced by guns or tanks, for man's will to freedom can never be fully suppressed. It is this will to freedom that unites us in the West

-more-

with those who are in the East.

The Polish people are transforming and humanizing their society. Only the possibility of Soviet invasion looms as an obstacle to their progress. For this reason, it is incumbent on the democratic countries of Western Europe and North America to exert coordinated pressure upon the USSR to prevent the tragedy that would follow a Soviet invasion. Western firmness in the face of Soviet aggressiveness throughout the world is one of the most important factors in safeguarding the promise of Solidarity. And Solidarity's continued existence is one of mankind's greatest hopes for lasting peace.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
July 9, 1981

For further information, contact:

Rustin & Hill Column

A VICTORY IN THE SOUTH

by Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

The recent victory in Mississippi's interim election by Wayne Dowdy, a labor and black-endorsed Democratic Congressional candidate, is no mere accident. It may well be an indication of a turn in public opinion against the Reagan administration's conservative economic policies.

Mississippi's Fourth District, which has elected the first solidly pro-labor congressman in that state's history, is populated in significant numbers by white collar, well-to-do whites, who have provided Republicans with a strong base of votes. Even John Stennis, a respected state legislator and the son of a popular Democratic Senator, lost in the district in 1978 by a margin of nearly two to one. This year not only has the district backed a Democrat, it has elected a Democrat who strongly supports the extension of the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and backs legislation which would provide food stamps for striking workers. Moreover, Mississippi's voters have defeated a Republican who based his campaign on staunch support for the Reagan economic program.

The key to Rep. Dowdy's victory was the coalition forged between blacks and organized labor, whose hard work turned out the vote. Local public opinion polls also indicated that another factor in the Democratic victory was considerable unease among voters concerning President Reagan's proposals for cuts in Social Security benefits. Southern Republicans are already beginning to express anxiety over the obvious lack of public support for the Reagan program. In the words of Congressman Newt Gingrich, a Republican from Georgia, "Reagan is currently winning the votes in the House, but not the argument in the country."

182

-more-

Significantly, it was a high black voter turnout which proved to be decisive in the Mississippi election's results. This turnout indicates that Southern blacks may emerge in 1982 as a pivotal force in the drift away from conservatism and the inroads made by Republicans since the advent of Richard Nixon's "Southern Strategy."

If Southern black voters participate more actively in the electoral process, and if they join with organized labor in its drive to unionize the South, a significant step will be taken toward equalizing wages and eliminating racial inequality.

In 1978, the last year in which statistics are available, black workers in the South earned only 78 percent of the wages of their white counterparts. Throughout the rest of the United States, black workers earned 99 percent of white workers' wages. This revealing statistic indicates that it is the South which remains the major stumbling-block to eliminating wage discrimination in the United States.

Another disturbing fact is that despite the recent business boom in the South, Southern workers (black and white) earn 17 percent less than workers elsewhere in the United States. This wage discrepancy is directly attributable to a lower rate of unionization. As a recent article in the U.S. government's *Monthly Labor Review* indicates, in those industries in which Southern workers are highly unionized (paper products and chemicals) Southern workers "earn as much or only slightly less than other workers."

The agenda for the South in the next years, therefore, is clear. Only a program of increased unionization and black voter participation in the South can help to overturn the persistent problem of black inequality. Wayne Dowdy's July 7th victory, the product of cooperation between blacks and organized labor, demonstrates that such a program is attainable.

In the meanwhile, the Dowdy victory is an eloquent warning to those Southern conservative congressmen, known as the "boll weevils," who have deserted the humane principles of their party by backing the Reagan administration's budget cuts. It

-more-

is also a warning to the Reagan administration, itself. Budget cuts for the poor and for workers and tax cuts for the rich are no economic program; they are a callous attempt to transform government into an opponent of social justice and to make of government a proponent of the interests of big business and the wealthy. Mississippi's voters have taken their stand and voted a resounding "no" to the administration's policies.

****

Leo Cherne

NEWSDAY, FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1981

A Flood of Refugees Still Keeps Pouring Into Somalia Desert

By Bayard Rustin

Somalia, on the strategically vital Horn of Africa, is one of the world's poorest countries. Since October, 1979, ethnic Somali refugees at an average of about 1,000 per day have been crossing that country's borders, fleeing the disputed Ogaden region of Ethiopia. The overwhelming majority of these refugees are women and young children.

In scale, the tragedy of Somalia rivals that of Indochina and its boat people. And yet the world community largely has been indifferent to the suffering of the unfortunate Somalis. Moreover, little attention has been paid to this problem by the black community in the United States.

Recently, I returned from Somalia, where, as part of an International Rescue Committee study group, I observed first-hand the dimensions of the refugee problem. In one arid refuge camp, into which approximately 65,000 Somali women and children have been crammed, I observed a thin, sickly young mother taking her child to a nearly dried up river to feed her what she knew was poisonous water. Her desperate act was intended to provide temporary comfort for a child she knew would ultimately die.

In another instance, our small group was able to save the life of one child by transporting it by jeep to a makeshift hospital where an understaffed medical team was able to help salvage an innocent life even as others were foredoomed.

The unrelenting flood of refugees is taxing the resources of a drought-stricken, underdeveloped country. Yet Somalia's indigent population of 3.5 million has had to absorb close to 1.5 million refugees. When proportionally adjusted to America's population, this is as if our country had to absorb 70 million helpless and starving poor.

The Somali refugees live in makeshift encampments carved out of the desert. Most of them live in ramshackle huts or worse. Many of the children are deformed by the bloated stomachs that indicate starvation.

Death is all-pervasive in Somalia. The monstrous brutality of the Ethiopian regime, coupled with a drought that is affecting all of East Africa, has resulted in widespread death and misery. While famine and drought are crucial contributing factors to the steady stream of refugees, it does not help explain the reason these refugees are streaming only in one direction: toward Somalia and away from Marxist-Leninist Ethiopia.

The roots of the Somalian tragedy grow in part from the historical decision to retain Africa's colonial borders. As a consequence, many African ethnic groups have been divided among several countries and are not allowed to live together in states that correspond territorially to historical and cultural traditions.

> ***"What is needed is a far-reaching negotiated solution to the struggle."***

This pan-African problem will result in continued upheaval in the decades ahead. And yet those who argue that ethnic peoples such as the Somalis should remain a divided nation, ignore the fact that national identity remains a principal source of discontent in Africa and throughout the world.

Clearly, what is needed is a far-reaching negotiated solution to the struggle for control of the Ogaden. Yet such a solution appears to be far off. What is needed immediately, however, is massive international humanitarian aid; aid in the neighborhood of $500 million. Our International Rescue Committee mission has recommended that the United States commit itself to $150 million in such aid.

Currently, the United States contributes one-third of that amount through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Unless additional support is forthcoming from the United States and the world community, hundreds of thousands of innocent Somalis will die.

Bayard Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
July 23, 1981

Rustin Column

SOCIAL INSECURITY

by Bayard Rustin

Insesnsitivity and lack of compassion increasingly are becoming the hallmarks of the Reagan Administration's domestic program. As the consequences of the Administration's budget cuts are becoming apparent, more and more Americans are turning against Ronald Reagan's policies.

No policy, however, has met with stiffer opposition that the President's proposals to change the Social Security system. These proposals, which are without precedent, center on a number of sharp reductions. If the Reagan plan were enacted, the maximum benefit for a 62-year-old retiree would fall below the official poverty level. There would be a one-third overall reduction in the disability program which protects those who are too ill to work. Cuts in future benefits would total approximately 10 percent.

The total reductions add up to an astonishing $82 billion even though the Social Security fund anticipates temporary shortages of only $10 billion in the next five years. Moreover, these shortages can be met with a loan of reserve funds from other components in the Social Security system.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who has emerged as a leader in the fight to preserve the Social Security system has referred to the Administration's proposed cuts as "a campaign of political terrorism."

Yet despite widespread criticism and a rebuke from the Senate, which has voiced its unanimous opposition to the Reagan proposals, the Administration has insisted on carrying forward its attack on Social Security. The President has announced that he seeks to eliminate what is referred to as the minimum benefit. The minimum benefit is the amount (currently $122 per month) which is paid to any-

-more-

one who has worked for 40 quarters in employment covered by Social Security. This means that this minimum is extended to any worker who has paid into the Social Security system for at least ten years. The President proposes paying only the amount individuals have paid into the fund, which on surface might appear to be a fair solution.

Yet the President's proposal callously disregards the impact of such a cutback on flesh and blood human beings. The elimination of the minimum pension would hurt those who are among the poorest and oldest people in our society. It would take away benefits from the most defenseless sector of our society. Most of the recipients of the minimum benefit according to Rep. Jim Wright of Texas, "are in their seventies and most of them are women."

Democrats have taken the lead, both in the House and in the Senate, in criticizing the President and opposing the effort to drastically cut Social Security benefits and coverage. But Democrats are not the only ones who have expressed concern about the Administration's approach to Social Security. Rep. Robert Michel, the House Republican leader, has admitted that the Administration has been "insensi--tive" in its handling of the issue. And many Republican political analysts are admitting that the strong showings of Democrats in two recent special elections to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives are in large measure attributable to public dissatisfaction over the Reagan approach to Social Security.

Moreover, public discontent over the Reagan approach to government has finally begun to be reflected in public opinion polls. The latest Harris survey indicates that by 61 to 33 percent, a majority of Americans believes that the President's economic policies "will be unfair and cause hardship on the elderly and those on pensions." By 57 to 34 percent, Americans also believe that the President's policies will "be unfair to the poor."

When historians look upon the Reagan Presidency they may well ascribe May 12th, 1981 as the beginning of its downfall. It is on this day that the Reagan Administration unveiled its plan to gut the Social Security system, thus violating one

-more-

of Ronald Reagan's own campaign promises. It is on May 12th that the American people, young and old, black and white, at last began to sense that rigid conservative doctrine, when applied to flesh and blood human beings, can mean great suffering and anguish to our country's elderly and poor.

Historians may well conclude that, ironically, it was Ronald Reagan's insensitivity to his fellow senior citizens which signalled the beginning of the end of what was to have been the "Reagan Era!"

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
August 20, 1981

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE GAMBIAN GAMBIT

by Bayard Rustin

The President of one of Africa's democracies is abroad. In his absence, Leninist revolutionaries stage a coup d'etat. After seizing a number of hostages, including part of the President's immediate family, the coup attempt crumbles when it fails to win the support of the country's tiny military force and is repulsed by troops from a neighboring country.

The scenario for a Hollywood thriller? The synopis of a novel by Frederick Forsyth? No. The events just recounted occurred at the end of July in Gambia, one of Africa's few democracies.

Gambia is a tiny West African country with a population of some 600,000. Indeed most Americans would be hard-pressed if asked to locate it on a map. Yet it remains one of the most important countries on the African continent because of its political system. Gambia is a rarity in Africa--a fully-functioning, multi-party parliamentary democracy. In Gambia the media operate freely. Trade unions are not brutally repressed and the courts maintain independence from the government.

Gambia is hardly an idyllic paradise. Its economy, primarily based on agriculture, is unable to alleviate the problems of poverty which persistently plague most of the Third World. Illiteracy remains very high.

Yet despite its problems, Gambia has remained a peaceful country in which political groups have resolved differences through the ballot box. Indeed, the country faced so little internal violence that it functioned with a standing military force of 500.

The calm that had characterized Gambia was shattered on July 29th when a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla force led an assault on the Presidential Palace and the

-more-

radio station in the capital city of Banjul. The intervention of 5,000 troops from Senegal (reportedly aided by Great Britain) and the failure of the guerrilla's to win support from the Gambian military and the general population ended in the restoration of the duly elected Gambian government.

President Dawda Jawara, who was in England attending Britain's royal wedding, when the coup was launched, is insistent that the guerrillas were trained and armed by an outside power. The Senegalese have been more precise in pinning the blame. They have released photographs of Soviet Kalashnikov rifles which were captured from the rebels. It has also been revealed that a Soviet ship unloaded 60 Soviet-made Lada cars in Gambia's capital, four days before the attempted coup. The Senegalese assert that, not coincidentally, the guerrillas knew precisely where the cars were located when they moved into action and used the Soviet-made autos in their military actions.

The direct complicity of the Soviet Union and its surrogates is difficult to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt. However, the preponderance of evidence suggests that the guerrillas enjoyed the support of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. Such blatant outside intervention in the internal life of a sovereign state deserves to be roundly condemned by international public opinion. Yet many African states have been notably silent in voicing their opposition to this latest instance of Soviet meddling in African affairs. While this silence is clearly dishonest, it is also reflective of the widespread fear by many African leaders of Soviet intervention in their own countries.

The very fact that the coup in Gambia was at all attempted indicates that its Leninist perpetrators were counting on success. They were prepared to abandon even the semblance of due process and fair competition in the arena of electoral politics and to act in a violent and ruthless fashion. For small third world countries such as Gambia there are only two ways to resist such attacks: arming to the teeth and creating a garrison state which heavily taxes already overburdened economies or else

-more-

counting on the intervention of more powerful allies.

The former approach is untenable and undesirable. The latter approach is filled with uncertainty about the reliability of allies in the face of foreign-backed aggression.

Clearly, there are no easy answers to providing protection for fragile democracies and independent states such as Gambia. However, it is equally clear that the answer does not lie in the abdication by the United States and the West of their responsibilities to the world's more democratic and less repressive governments.

The case of Gambia is not an isolated instance. Rather, it is indicative of a trend that should give pause to those who oppose an active American or Western role in the world.

****

BAYARD RUSTIN IS CHAIRMAN OF THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
September 10, 1981

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

REMEMBERING ROY WILKINS

by Bayard Rustin

Roy Wilkins was a gentle man with a strong will. He was a man of keen judgement and open-mindedness; a man who was willing to change his mind. In a very real sense he was the statesman of the civil rights movement.

He was not a man of charisma. He was not a speaker who could electrify crowds with his rhetoric. His strength and his lasting contribution to the civil rights movement rested in his thoroughness, his quiet determination, and his organizational talents.

It was under Roy Wilkins' aegis that the true black Declaration of Independence was written. It was not a single document such as the one drafted by America's Founding Fathers. Rather, it was the immense project of legal proceedings and test cases which were initiated by the NAACP, which included the Brown v. Board of Education decision, and which continued far beyond it. These decisions won rights for blacks in enclave after enclave of American society.

I first directly collaborated with Roy Wilkins during the planning stages of the 1963 March on Washington, which was initiated by A. Philip Randolph, the great black labor leader.

At first, relations between us were somewhat strained because Wilkins, a cautious man by nature, was troubled by my personal history of involvement in socialist and other radical causes. Yet despite initial misunderstandings, once we had begun working together and had come to understand that our goals for the black community were similar, we formed a close bond of friendship.

Despite his initial coolness to the idea of a March on Washington for civil

182

-more-

rights and economic justice, once Roy Wilkins was convinced of the project's merits, he and the NAACP were to give the endeavour the strongest financial and organizational support it was to receive.

That the March was a great success was in large measure due to the organizational network Wilkins had established. And it was at Wilkins' insistence that Martin Luther King,Jr. was chosen to be the final speaker at that March and there delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech before 250,000 participants.

Because Roy Wilkins had a keen sense of what blacks wanted and because of his effectiveness in expressing the needs and desires of black Americans, he was frequently vilified by a minority of black extremists who sought to arrogate for themselves the right to speak in the name of all blacks.

Wilkins played a central role in leading black community opposition to the black power and separatism movements which did so much to weaken black political power and to heighten racial tensions. He was a committed integrationist and he battled all the way with such extremists as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, who today are mere footnotes in the history of black political life.

Wilkins' contributions were great and lasting. They have survived him, above all, in the form of the NAACP, the organization which he helped build into a network with over 400,000 members. His stewardship of the NAACP encompassed the period of the 1950s and early 60s in which the civil rights movement made its greatest progress. He, likewise, led his organization in the more difficult and frequently disappointing period which was to follow.

The death of Roy Wilkins marks the final chapter of a great era in the history of the civil rights movement. It was an era of great visionaries and leaders--Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young, and Roy Wilkins.

We are now, without question, firmly entrenched in a new era, and era whose outlines are not yet easy to perceive. The civil rights movement stands at the crossroads. Today, its influence is lower than at any point since its inception.

-more-

It confronts the dangerous problems of a hereditary and ever-growing underclass of black poor, of economic inequality, and of an Administration which is indifferent to the plight of the poor and working poor.

The civil rights movement is at a crossroads. One can only hope that new Roy Wilkinses will emerge to lead that movement down the proper path.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
October 6, 1981

For further information, contact:
Bayard Rustin

BAYARD RUSTIN ON THE ASSASSINATION OF ANWAR SADAT

The assassination of Anwar Sadat, a man of peace and outstanding courage, is a tragedy.

The United States must make every effort to see that his death does not result in tragedy for the Middle East.

Given the turmoil his death may well create in the Middle East, it becomes imperative that no additional problems be introduced into that turbulent area at this time.

I therefore urge President Reagan to immediately withdraw his proposal for supplying Saudi Arabia with AWACS.

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: For further information, contact:

Immediately
October 15, 1981

Rustin Column

THE PLIGHT OF THE WORLD'S REFUGEES
by Bayard Rustin

The awarding of the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is an act that should be heartily applauded. The award will serve to focus world attention on an international problem which has reached epidemic proportions: the plight of the world's refugees.

It is estimated that this year there are between 14 million and 18 million refugees in the world. These millions upon millions of men, women, and children have been forced to flee their homelands as a consequence of war, disease, and poverty. Since 1980, well over one million people have fled Ethiopia as a consequence of war and the policies of a barbaric Leninist regime. Refugees from Afghanistan now number over 1.4 million. These figures are shocking and horrible. And yet they are dwarfed by the number of refugees from Indochina. These total over six million and include approximately four million displaced Cambodians who have been forced to abandon their towns and villages as a direct result of the Pol Pot regime's barbarism, and as a consequence of a Vietnamese and Soviet-backed invasion. Organizations such as Care,the International Rescue Committee, and the French-based Physicians Across Borders have exhibited remarkable skill in coordinating support for refugees the world over. Many such organizations have addressed the refugee problem without regard to political considerations and have provided charitable aid to Haitian refugees fleeing dictatorial oppression, Soviet Jews fleeing Kremlin-inspired anti-Semitism,Vietnamese boat people, and Cuban refugees fleeing Castro's prison island. Yet this flood of refugees cannot be dealt with by charity alone. The problem must also be resolved by attacking it at its roots--the absence of democracy, the expansion of totalitarianism, and the upsurge in war. War, much of

-more-

it a consequence of Soviet expansionism, and a large part of it a consequence of ultra-nationalism and chauvinism is one of the great scourges of our times. Clearly, the efforts of charitable organizations must be complemented by an American foreign policy which has as its aim the limiting of Soviet aggression and the construction of a stable and peaceful world.

The plight of refugees has not been alleviated by the economic difficulties that have afflicted Western Europe and the United States. It is these countries which have supplied the bulk of assistance to the poor of the world. Yet at a time when their own populations are feeling the serious effects of an economic downturn which is eroding their own standard of living it is often difficult for many Americans and their West European counterparts to understand why massive aid to refugees is of vital importance. Black Americans disproportionately suffer from unemployment and poverty. And some blacks have argued that we should take care of our own problems first and not worry about those of the rest of the world. Yet this, in my judgment, is a remarkably short-sighted and narrow point-of-view. For if America is not willing to help in relieving the plight of those refugees who are starving and near death how can we be sure it will be compassionate enough to solve the problems which afflict our own nation's poor and working poor? It is important for blacks and all Americans to realize that suffering knows no boundaries.

Our country has historically provided a haven for the world's refugees. In part, it is their contribution which has helped to make our country great. American policy must continue to reflect this tradition. This policy must reflect the spirit of the Nobel Committee's award statement.

"Refugees who dare not return to their native land must be given an opportunity to start a fresh life in their host country. Still more important in the long run is the work of insuring that people are not compelled to save their lives by escaping from their native land with no prospect of ever returning."

-more-

America can continue to help alleviate the plight of the world's most unfortunate. Yet America will only do so if its leaders recognize that compassion knows no boundaries and that government must play a vital role in alleviating suffering both at home and abroad.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
October 29, 1981

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE HAITIAN DILEMMA

by Bayard Rustin

The ghastly sight of 33 drowned Haitians washed ashore onto a Florida beach has once again focused attention on the plight of refugees from that beleaguered land.

Haiti is a dictatorship in which the government-controlled militia has suppressed all forms of free political expression, has restricted the fundamental freedoms of the press and assembly, and has engaged in murder, execution, imprisonment without trial, exile, and torture. In the midst of this brutal violation of human rights the vast majority of the Haitian people live in abject poverty. The line between those fleeing that country for political reasons as opposed to those fleeing for economic reasons is fine indeed.

The mother of a pregnant Haitian girl who drowned in Florida has stated that she "would prefer to be shot rather than let her daughter's body go back to Haiti." Her vehement contempt for Haiti's government indicates that the Haitian refugees are not fleeing solely for economic reasons. Moreover, can there be any doubt that those who are willing to risk death at sea to reach refuge on our shores are fleeing a terrifying form of oppression?

In part, the Haitian dilemma is complicated by current immigration rules. Under these rules, "political" refugees enjoy important advantages: Their applications for asylum are quickly processed and they can receive an immigration status under which they can become American citizens within five years. However, there is an important qualification. Those who are deemed "political" refugees must have fled from a Communist nation such as Cuba, the USSR, East Germany, or Vietnam. Haitians, who escape the Duvalier dictatorship--which, though brutal, is not

-more-

Communist--are classified as "economic" refugees and thus subject to deportation.

While it is easy to understand the special treatment accorded to those escaping Communist tyranny, it is clear that similar protection must be extended to those fleeing other brutal dictatorships for political reasons. American immigration policy must rid itself of its double-standard in dealing with refugees escaping oppression. A single standard must apply to all victims of dictatorship and tyranny.

The Reagan Administration's efforts to deal with the influx of Haitians, to date, have been deplorable. The Administration has violated international law in setting up its "kangaroo courts" at sea. Moreover, it has proposed a major revision of immigration law which would permit detention of refugees in special camps exempt from most environmental codes. In addition, the Administration's plan seeks to severely limit the role of Federal courts in reviewing decisions made by the Immigration and Naturalization Service on deportations and the granting of political asylum.

Such emergency measures are a clear affront to human dignity and a violation of due process. They betray an absence of compassion and one can only hope that the proposals will be drastically revamped before being enacted into law.

Yet it is clear that the problem of an unending exodus of refugees from Haiti and other tyrannies will not disappear. What, then, can be done in order to assure that those who are fleeing political repression are treated fairly?

In my view the answer requires creating a board which would monitor and review applications for political asylum. Such a board could be created with the active participation of human rights and humanitarian organizations. The body could serve as a kind of an appeals board, charged with the responsibility of reviewing the often callous and legalistically-minded decisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The functioning of such an independent entity and the broadening of the concept

-more-

of a "political" refugee to include those who flee both right-wing and left-wing dictatorships would serve to make clear the basis of our nation's policies concerning refugees.

It would make clear to the people of Haiti and other dictatorships that if they can demonstrate convincingly that they are fleeing political oppression and not merely seeking to better their economic lot, then the United States remains a place of asylum, a sanctuary.

In the absence of such a clear-cut policy, which realistically acknowledges that the United States cannot open its doors to everyone who seeks to escape Third World poverty, we will be unable to prevent other catastrophes which so dishonor the soil of a country founded by refugees and immigrants.

****

apri
news release

7H

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: **For further information, contact:**

Immediately
December 3, 1981

Rustin Column

AMERICAN LABOR MOBILIZES

by Bayard Rustin

It had been billed as a centennial celebration. The American labor movement was to have gathered in New York's Sheraton Centre to look back proudly upon 100 years of organized trade unionism. Yet the 1981 AFL-CIO Convention, which had been planned as a celebration of labor's legacy, was transformed by the course of events into a convocation which is helping to set the agenda for those national forces committed to social justice.

There was little looking backward in the speeches and discussions which flowed from the speaker's rostrum. And while the portraits of George Meany, Samuel Gompers, Philip Murray, and Walter Reuther, which looked down upon the assembled delegates, were constant reminders of the labor movement's shining past, this Convention very much had its mind on the future and present.

Much media attention has justly been given to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's witty and sharp-edged dissection of the Reagan Administration's supply-side prescriptions. His attacks against the administration's "economic house of ill repute" and his biting sarcasm which declared that the President has "promised us a boom and brought us a bust" were quintessential Kirkland.

However, what was most significant about the Convention was that it signalled the emergence of the outlines of a political and economic program that can serve to revitalize the forces in this country which are committed to social justice. Rejecting the Administration's blind reliance on the forces of the market-place, AFL-CIO delegates issued a call for an "anti-recession package" of public works and public jobs.

The AFL-CIO proposal calls for a massive reindustrialization and remoderniza-

182

-more-

tion effort centered around a government-supported Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Corporation would target loans, loan guarantees, interest rate subsidies, and tax benefits to stimulate economic growth. Such aid would be primarily directed to high unemployment areas.

The AFL-CIO has also called for nationwide extended unemployment benefits for the long-term jobless, for temporary restrictions on imports which result in the loss of American jobs, and for the providing of funds for new low-income and middle-income housing.

Needless to say, such programs would cost money. Thus the AFL-CIO has joined in a call for funding these anti-recessionary programs by limiting the individual tax cuts for 1982 to a maximum of $700 per taxpayer, in this way preventing the huge tax windfall that will benefit those who earn in excess of $40,000 per year. The AFL-CIO also has called for trimming back the 10 percent investment tax credit to its original 7 percent level and has called upon Congress to revoke "the windfall tax exemption newly awarded to wealthy oil interests."

Labor, likewise, has renewed its commitment to a strong national defense but has asserted that defense increases should not be made at the cost of needed social programs.

Labor's program is prudent and workable. Yet such a program is virtually without value unless it can be communicated effectively to all Americans.

In this regard the 1981 AFL-CIO Convention also made important headway. A subtle and yet potentially momentous change is occurring within the labor movement. Increasingly, trade unions are making use of modern technology to maximize their influence on the political process. The labor movement is entering into the modern age with its reliance on television advertising, computerized direct-mail efforts, and public opinion polling to determine the needs and views of labor's constituency.

Indeed, the AFL-CIO Convention approved significant funds to be used for the creation of a Labor Institute for Public Affairs. The Institute will aid the

-more-

AFL-CIO's constituent unions in improving their capacity to communicate labor's point of view to the broad public.

Significantly, labor recognizes that getting its message across requires a substantial commitment of funds. Thus delegates voted a 50% increase in financial support to the labor federation in the next two years.

Where all of this renewed energy and effort will lead is difficult to predict. Yet if Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO can succeed in channeling the hundreds of thousands of workers who took part in September's Solidarity Day demonstration and direct them toward increased activity in behalf of candidates who support labor's program, then our country will be well on the road toward a more humane and responsible society.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
December 17, 1981

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

POLAND'S ANTI-WORKER CRACKDOWN

by Bayard Rustin

A military junta has taken power in Poland, suspended civil liberties, and moved with force and violence against the Polish people. The declaration of a "state of war" by General Wojciech Jaruzelski is a clear indication of the bankruptcy of the Communist system in that country.

Today Poland is an occupied country. It is a country occupied by Polish troops but commanded and armed by the Soviet Union. Make no mistake about it, Poland has been invaded--but from within. Yet despite the brutal provocations of Poland's military junta, the Polish people and their free trade union movement, Solidarity, have exhibited remarkable restraint and discipline. Reports reaching the West indicate that Solidarity leaders are urging striking workers to engage in passive resistance and not to respond with violence to government violence.

Despite the virtual cutoff of information about what is occurring in Poland the few reports which are succeeding in penetrating the tight security cordon around that country suggest that the strike movement is spreading and that Solidarity's call for a general strike is being heeded.

I visited Poland last April and met with a large number of Solidarity leaders and rank-and-file Polish workers. Most of the men and women with whom I spoke exhibited a great deal of level-headedness and a profound absence of fear. They were not radicals hell-bent on seizing state power. More importantly, Solidarity's leaders were keenly aware of the weight of their responsibility to millions of members. Solidarity may have been born out of conflict but it functioned and thrived because of its capacity and willingness to compromise. It was the government's unwillingness to strive for true compromise that led to the

-more-

recent declaration of matial law.

Solidarity conducted a series of regional elections soon after I left Poland. Approximately 90 percent of the unions 9.5 million members participated in this process, which was the first nationwide democratic election held in that country since the imposition of Communist rule.

Without question, the leaders of Solidarity together with the leaders of the Catholic Church, represent the true interests and aspirations of the people. It is they, rather than General Jaruzelski and the military junta, who are the embodiment of the Polish national will.

As I write this, strikes continue to erupt in Poland. The Polish workers defy orders to return to work; knowing full well that in their peaceful defiance they risk imprisonment or death.

If the news blackout imposed by the Polish government has not been lifted by the time you read this it will be an ominous sign that Poland is in the midst of a national catastrophe created by the Polish military junta. Whatever the outcome of the momentous events now unfolding in that country, it is clear that there can never be true peace and security while the fundamental rights of free speech and association are denied to the men and women who till Poland's soil, build its cars and tractors, and toil at its foundries.

No one can predict what will happen in Poland; but I believe that no wave of repression, no matter how severe can thwart the Polish people's desire to live in freedom.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
January 7, 1982

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

LABOR AND THE DEMOCRATS

by Bayard Rustin

January 1st may have marked the beginning of the new year, but it was four days later that the new political year began. On that day twenty labor leaders gathered for the initial meeting of the Democratic National Committee's Labor Council.

The establishment of the Labor Council is, in the words of DNC Chairman Charles Manatt, the party's tangible "recognition that in the last ten years, organized labor has not taken a direct, active role in the party's activities." Many factors led to this deterioration of relations between the Democratic Party and the labor movement. Not the least of these was George McGovern's muddled attempt to win the Presidency in 1972.

McGovern and his New Left cohorts, needlessly alienated organized labor by criticizing "labor bosses" and asserting to labor leaders that "the mood of America is against big business and big labor." Tensions were further heightened when the McGovernites succeeded in imposing a series of changes in Democratic convention procedures which helped to erode further the clout of organized labor in the party's highest councils.

In 1976, when Jimmy Carter ran for the Presidency, he never brought labor leaders and representatives into key roles in his campaign. Carter ran as an outsider and so labor leaders were viewed with suspicion in the President's small inner circle of advisers. By 1980, Carter had realized that there could be no election year victory without the full participation of organized labor. But the President's improved relations with union leaders were as much the product of the anti-union stance of his political opponent, Ronald Reagan, as they were of a genuine rapprochement. Moreover, they clearly were too little too late.

-more-

The 1970s saw the diversion of the Democratic Party from its primary responsibilities--the forging of a national coalition on such vital issues as full employment, urban poverty, reindustrialization, and inflation--and the supplanting of these with divisive social issues such as calls for mandatory quotas. The end result was the alienation of leaders who represent the interests of tens of millions of union-members and their families.

In the absence of labor's presence and input in the Democratic Party's highest councils, the gulf between the two groups could not be narrowed. But today, with the Reagan Administration's launching of the most significant political attack on the interests of working people in the post-New Deal era, Democrats and labor both have come to realize that each cannot do without the other.

Democrats have fared poorly in the years of their estrangement from trade unions and the working people they represent. And labor has begun once again to accept the view that a bi-partisan strategy is impossible, when the attacks against strict occupational safety and health standards, adequate unemployment benefits, health care, and social security benefits for retired workers, all bear the imprint of one party--the Republicans and their Administration.

Some have argued in the past that organized labor should remain outside the political infighting that frequently characterizes direct involvement in one party or another. Yet the evidence of recent years shows that unless labor is in there playing a key role in developing a program which will attract working people and selecting through the primary process candidates who reflect the concerns of workers and their families, the voter is often faced with a paltry choice between the lesser of two evils: between conservative "Boll Weevils" and ultra-conservative New Right union-busters.

Thus, the return of organized labor into the highest councils of the Democratic Party is a development which will go a long way toward rejuvenating a party that is hungry for ideas and looking for direction. The input of trade unionists into the

-more-

work of the Democratic Party at the national and local level can only have a salutary effect on the political process.

But how far this effort ultimately goes remains yet to be seen. A crucial test will come this November, when 33 Senate seats and the entire House of Representatives are up for grabs. The 1982 election, without question, will be a decisive referendum on the Reagan Administration and its conservative approach to governance. It will likewise be the first test of the effectiveness of labor's renewed involvement in the Democratic Party.

Last fall, some 400,000 trade unionists joined together in the largest demonstration in American history. If the trade union movement can channel the energy and enthusiasm of those marchers into effective political work within the Democratic Party, it will help bring the promise of a society based on justice and equality one great step closer to fruition. It may also, ironically, lead some Republicans to rethink their own positions and help bring a halt to that party's political drift to the right.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
February 4, 1982

For further information, contact:
Runstin Column

THE USES AND ABUSES OF ANTI-COMMUNISM
by Bayard Rustin

The South African government has proposed substantial new curbs against journalists, both white and black, in that country. These curbs revolve around the establishment of a government body which would have the power to license all journalists and to ban them from writing articles for South African periodicals. South African officials claim that such a step is necessary to counter the threat of a "Soviet disinformation" campaign aimed at the "political and moral subversion of the white man."

These proposed restrictions upon press freedom in South Africa are not merely unjust and duplicitous; they are a clear and resounding admission that resistance and opposition to apartheid rule is growing within both the black and white communities in that country.

The English-language press in South Africa has assailed the government's attempt to clamp down on the press. The Cape Times declared that if the proposal is passed by the South African Parliament "there will no longer be a free press in South Africa." Even the right-wing Johannesburg daily, The Citizen, has echoed this view.

At the heart of this undemocratic and repressive South African attempt to curb press freedoms is the argument that Communist subversion threatens the country. This argument may or may not be correct. It is clear enough that the Soviets are seeking to back certain forces in the region which, if victorious, would impose a totalitarian Leninist dictatorship on blacks and whites alike. But the invocation of an anti-Communist argument by the South African government is both hypocritical and deceitful. Anti-Communism, (the legitimate opposition to the establishment of

-more-

Leninist dictatorships throughout the world) only has meaning if it is linked to a democratic and racially just worldview. The reason Western trade unionists and human rights advocates are opposed to Communism worldwide is because they are aware that Communist regimes deny their citizens the fundamental rights of free association, free press, and free speech. The recent events in Poland are perhaps the clearest . example of this.

Democratic anti-Communistss have included in their ranks such illustrious figures as civil rights leaders A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins; trade union leaders George Meany and Lane Kirkland; socialists and social democrats such as African leader Leopold Senghor, Norman Thomas and French President Francois Mitterrand. All of these public figures have had a profound commitment to democracy.

Each of them has asserted that anti-Communism has no moral basis unless it is linked to a strong commitment to democratic procedures and human rights. The South African government can make no claims to such a commitment. Its history of rule is one of tyranny against all blacks and non-whites. It is likewise a history of repression against those whites who forcefully oppose apartheid.

In the 1950s, democratic anti-Communists were dealt a severe blow by Senator Joseph McCarthy and his fellow witch hunters. Their campaign of domestic repression discredited the very legitimate moral basis for anti-Communusm. McCarthy's shameful actions and violations of civil liberties did much to weaken the cause of a democratically-based anti-Communism. As such, in the final analysis, McCarthyite anti-Communism served to weaken the democratic opposition to Leninist dictatorship.

Today, the South African government would have us believe that it is repressing free speech and dissent in order to protect its citizens from Communism. Rather, by its oppressive and undemocratic actions, it is paving the way for a possible Communist victory.

Despite their protestations to the contrary, South Africa's racist leaders, are in fact the strongest allies of Communism. For the unjust, dictatorial system which

-more-

they administer helps fuel Communist demagogy and increases the chances for Communist successes. South Africa's only way out is through democratic transformation. And this transformation can be achieved only through the strengthening of the black trade unions and other democratic forces within that country.

True democratic anti-Communists must be united in their vocal condemnation to this most recent attempt by the Pretoria government to crush some of that society's few remaining enclaves of freedom. Democratic anti-Communists must forcefully condemn the demagogic and immoral attempt by South Africa to abuse anti-Communism and to make of it a tool for continued repression.

****

Bayard Rustin is Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

apri
news release 28

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
March 11, 1982

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

MITTERRAND AND REAGAN: A STUDY IN CONTRASTS

by Bayard Rustin

The recent visit of French President Francois Mitterrand to the United States for discussions with President Reagan resulted in an encounter between two of the Western world's most important leaders.

The Reagan-Mitterrand summit was likewise a meeting of two leaders who took office under remarkably similar circumstances. Both Presidents were elected a year ago after having campaigned on the promise of increasing productivity and creating new jobs. Both sharply criticized the foreign and domestic policies of their predecessors. Both defeated moderate incumbents by arguing that what was needed was a radical change of course in government. To some degree, both have felt the need to decentralize the structure and functions of government.

Here, however, the similarities end. For the recent summit of the French and American Presidents was a dialogue between two leaders whose approach to quite similar economic problems is based on fundamentally different assumptions.

President Reagan's policies are based on a total faith in the functioning of the market system. For Reagan it is government intervention in the economy which has been responsible for high unemployment, a decline in productivity, and inflation. In Mitterrand's view, it is the government's failure to play a leading role in the economy which is at the root of his country's economic problems.

Since coming into office the French President has:

*given hefty raises to France's lowest paid workers;

*nationalized France's banks and nine large industrial corporations;

*has cut the work week from 40 hours to 39, with an additional

-more-

182

cut of 4 hours to follow;

*has increased the paid vacations of French workers from four to five weeks.

The last two measures are intended not merely to provide workers with more free time and thus make them more productive during the hours in which they work. These policies also have the effect of spurring further hiring and thus serve to ease unemployment.

When Mitterrand came into office many conservatives were suggesting that France would soon be transformed into a "collectivist hell." In point of fact the changes that have been implemented are far-reaching but entirely consistent with democracy and individual freedom.

The overall goal of the Mitterrand policies is to produce a growth rate of three percent. Most experts predict that in 1982 France will achieve at least the level of 2.5% growth, which would push it well ahead of its European partners and the United States.

As a result of the Reagan Administration's policies, Americans have seen a decline in the annual rate of inflation. However, this decline has been achieved at the cost of a recession, high unemployment, and industrial decline. France continues to suffer from inflation. But under Mitterrand the inflation rate is no higher than it was under his more conservative predecessor. Moreover, France is in the midst of an impressive economic expansion.

While President Reagan has been drastically cutting government spending for scientific and technological research, President Mitterrand has announced an ambitious program of government-funded research in electronics, computer technology, and energy. The French President recognizes that only those countries which spend money on science and education can hope to compete in an increasingly technological world.

President Reagan's policies are based on a blind reliance on market forces

-more-

and on a belief that government has no role to play in securing social justice. President Mitterrand believes that government must be an important partner in industrial growth and must strive to create a more just and humane society, a society which is concerned about its poor and disadvantaged.

France's socialist and social democratic leaders reject the view that the only way to control inflation is to bring about a recession. One of President Mitterrand's closest economic advisers has stated that such an approach is "absurd. You can beat inflation only by increasing productivity."

No one can predict whether Mitterrand will succeed. However, if his policies result in economic growth and greater social justice for French workers, they will suggest an interesting model for a way out of the Reagan Administration's economic mess. Mitterrand's social democratic experiment may eventually provide some answers to developing a policy for combatting the high interest rates, recession, and high unemployment which have gripped the United States.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
April 7, 1982

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

EL SALVADOR'S ELECTIONS

by Bayard Rustin

No recent issue in foreign affairs has aroused as much heated controversy as the American role in El Salvador. A number of critics of the Administration's policy toward that tiny Central American country have argued that we have no business backing what they assert is a ruthless, murderous junta. Others have argued that the Salvadoran military is the only force capable of preventing the victory of anti-American Marxist-Leninist guerrillas who threaten the stability of the entire Central American region and our own national security.

The American labor movement has taken a middle position. It has indicated that it is willing to endorse continued U.S. financial assistance to El Salvador so long as that country's leaders remain committed to pursuing a policy of authentic land reform, the cornerstone of social justice. American labor has argued for a peaceful solution to this tragic country's plight and therefore viewed elections in El Salvador as a potentially important step in a peaceful transition to democracy and stability.

In calling for such a policy the AFL-CIO has reflected the views of the leading peasants' and urban workers' trade unions, believing that they represent the sentiments of the vast majority of El Salvador's working people.

When elections were called for late March many critics argued that they would be an unmitigated disaster. Opposition left-wing parties had urged a boycott of the elections and the Leninist guerrillas had boldly predicted that they would conduct a military offensive that would paralyze the country and make the elections impossible to carry out. Some American newspaper pundits suggested that in a country

-more-

as poor as El Salvador people are more interested in bread and land than in casting a vote which may not affect their lives in the slightest.

Opinions on the voter turnout were offered from all circles. Some predicted that 15 percent of El Salvador's 1.5 million eligible voters would take part. The optimists predicted a turnout of no better than 35-40 percent. In the midst of a dangerous war, the argument went, most people would stay at home. There could be no legitimate election.

All of these opinions and analyses were made by outsiders. Regrettably no one had bothered to consult the Salvadoran people.

For on March 28th they delivered their own verdict on the electcral process. And that verdict was for democracy and peaceful change.

I traveled to El Salvador to witness the elections as part of a non-governmental delegation organized by Freedom House, a highly respected U.S. human rights organization. I was able to witness the electoral process in numerous polling sites and to speak with many ordinary Salvadorans. From most of them I heard the same message: what they wanted above all was an end to the bloodshed. They were voting, many told me, to register their support for peace.

The outpouring of voter participation astounded even the optimists. When the counting was completed approximately 80 percent of the country's adults had exercised their franchise, and this despite Central America's history of electoral fraud and military coups which denied ordinary people a say in determining their country's future.

The outpouring of voters was a tremendous boost for the democratic process. These ordinary people, many of them illiterate or uneducated, were asserting that they wanted to determine their destiny.

The results of the voting indicate that the moderate Christian Democratic Party continues to be that country's most popular political group. The electoral strength of the anti-democratic, right-wing Arena Party surprised many. But in

-more-

the Salvadoran context that party's demagogic promise of bringing order to the country by wiping out the guerrillas exerted a great deal of appeal to people victimized by three years of devastating and bloody civil war.

The Arena Party is indeed anti-democratic, but if it seeks to act in an undemocratic way, it will lose most of the significant support it won through the ballot box. For the very process of democratic elections has created an unwritten code of conduct to which Salvadoran political leaders must respond. Even the anti-democratic guerrillas must confront the reality that the Salvadoran people do not desire to take up arms to change their society, but prefer to turn to an orderly, democratic and peaceful process for resolving political differences.

For Americans, particularly for the fifty percent of eligible voters who did not vote in the 1980 Presidential elections, the fervor and perseverance with which the Salvadoran people participated in their own elections stands as a shining example of how precious is the right to vote.

No one can predict what El Salvador's ultimate fate will be. One can, however, assert that if the people are allowed to have their say they will opt for peace and democracy.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release Immediately
May 6, 1982

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

MRS. BOZEMAN, MRS. WILDER AND THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

by Bayard Rustin

After months of hesitancy and opposition, President Reagan has at last agreed to support the essentials of legislation which will extend the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The plan, which has won the support of civil rights and legislative leaders, endorses the concept of examining the effects of local laws and practices to determine whether discrimination has resulted, but wisely goes on to specifically deny that minorities must be elected precisely in numbers equal to their proportion in the population.

President Reagan agreed to accept this Voting Rights extension only after pressure was exerted upon the White House by Republican moderates who are fearful of a 1982 disaster at the polls. His recalcitrance has been roundly condemned by those who are dedicated to equal rights under the law.

Yet despite evidence of clear and widespread support for extending the Voting Rights Act, for many Americans, the issue of voting rights seems to be a relic of the past. Indeed, there is a widespread indifference to the obstacles minorities face in their efforts to fully participate in the political process.

One frequently hears expressed the sentiment that black Americans no longer face hurdles in participating in the selection of their governmental leaders. Occasionally this indifference is eloquently answered by a profoundly moving and disturbing event. One such recent event highlights the difficulties and frustrations blacks continue to encounter when they seek to participate in our democracy. It is the case of Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder, two voting rights activists

-more-

from Pickens County, Alabama.

Pickens County is a throwback to the old South. The county's towns are quiet. There is little activity on the streets of Carrollton, the county seat. Pickens County seems unaffected by the passage of time, particularly in the area of race relations.

Blacks and whites do not mix. Integrated gatherings are made the subject of harassment. According to a report in the May issue of Ebony Magazine, in many instances, "blacks are subjected to arrest if they socialize with whites." And despite the fact that 42 percent of Pickens County is black, no black candidate has ever been elected for county-wide office.

It was in this context that Mrs. Maggie Bozeman, 51, and Mrs. Julia Wilder, 70, conducted their quiet work of registering minority voters. Mrs. Bozeman and Mrs. Wilder not only were active in efforts to increase black voter participation, but through their work in the Pickens County Voters League and the NAACP, they had earned the reputation of being the county's top civil rights activists.

Their careers, although worthy of praise, would not have earned them much public attention if not for the fact that they were charged with voter fraud by the Pickens County authorities. It turns out that in 1978, Mrs. Bozeman and Mrs. Wilder were active in helping illiterate and elderly black voters cast absentee ballots during a Democratic Party primary. Each of these absentee ballots was duly notarized and properly handled. Yet one 79-year-old woman, who had signed an absentee ballot, turned up at the polls and insisted that she had not signed any such document. When 12 other black voters testified that they had consented to use such ballots, the elderly woman merely asserted that she couldn't remember signing.

On the basis of this single piece of flimsy evidence, two all-white juries sentenced Mrs. Wilder and Mrs. Bozeman to five and four years of imprisonment respectively.

The convictions were upheld by an Alabama Court of Appeals, and the two

-more-

women were locked behind bars for 11 days when Alabama's Governor, Fob James, intervened and placed them in a work-release program in which they are not jailed. The Governor's action gives credence to the view that Mrs. Bozeman and Mrs. Wilder were imprisoned falsely.

It also suggests that the conditions under which black community and voting rights activists frequently work are fraught with risk. Pickens County is, after all, not an isolated case. There are numerous communities in the South and elsewhere in which severe polarization exists between blacks and whites and in which racist attitudes surface. This state of affairs and the patently unfair sentencing of Mrs. Wilder and Mrs. Bozeman suggest that the Voting Rights Act deserves extension and strengthening.

In the meanwhile, the Bozeman-Wilder case serves as an example of a great injustice and a reminder to blacks and whites alike of the importance of the precious right to vote.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
July 15, 1982

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE SOVIET EMPIRE AND THE THIRD WORLD

by Bayard Rustin

For many years the Soviet Union has carefully worked to project an image of a world power opposed to racism and committed to national liberation. The USSR has aligned itself with numerous national liberation movements which maintain an anti-American stance. It has also attempted to create an impression of a state committed to providing economic assistance to struggling African and other Third World countries.

That the USSR, to some extent, has succeeded in projecting such an image testifies to the skill of Communist propaganda and to the power of the "big lie." In recent years, the true nature of Soviet attitudes toward national liberation and colonialism has become more widely understood within underdeveloped countries. Third World countries also are gaining a first-hand understanding of the nature of Soviet aid. For, in point of fact, virtually all Soviet assistance to the Third World today is given in the form of military aid which is used to prop up exploitative dictatorships that seek to hold power in the face of widespread opposition by building a repressive police state patterned on the Soviet model. The Soviets provide virtually no economic assistance to African or other Third World countries. Moreover, the USSR contributes not a single ruble for the refugee relief work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The USSR's brutal military occupation of Afghanistan and its attempts to deny self-determination to the Afghani people have further served to diminish Soviet influence in the Third World. Soviet conduct in Afghanistan likewise, has re-emphasized the true nature of the Soviet state.

Although at the United Nations the USSR frequently is at the forefront of

-more-

resolutions against imperialism and colonialism, nothing can obscure the fact that the USSR, itself, is the world's last great remaining colonial empire. The USSR, in fact, is a continuation of the centuries-old Russian Tsarist Empire and today includes in its clutches such nations as the Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, Latvia, and Estonia. The peoples of each of these nations, as well as of such Soviet satellites as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, continue to be denied their elementary right to self-determination.

In their overtures to Africa and the Third World, the Soviets have sought to exploit the carefully constructed myth of the USSR as a racially tolerant society. Recent evidence, however, leads to an entirely different conclusion.

A study just released by the Rand Corporation, a respected research institute which conducts studies for the U.S. government and for private organizations, indicates that racial prejudices are extremely pronounced in the Soviet military and have resulted in violent conflicts and discrimination against minorities. The fundamental source of such conflict is between yellow Central Asians, most of whom are Moslems, and white Europeans. According to some of those interviewed in the Rand report, military officers encourage racial and ethnic conflict because it is easier to control a multi-racial and multi-national force whose members are divided by barriers of prejudice, language, and culture. In essence the Soviet military is applying the tactic of 'divide and rule' which has so successfully fragmented opposition in the Soviet Union as a whole.

For decades the Soviets have been able to suppress reports of incidents involving racial and national conflict in the USSR. They have been successful in doing so because totalitarian dictatorship makes it possible for the authorities to effectively stifle the free flow of information. In recent years, however, self-published underground newspapers issued by democratic activists in the USSR, have begun providing a clearer picture of the nature of Soviet reality. Reports of racial incidents involving Soviet citizens and black African students attending Soviet universities have also reached the West with increasing frequency.

more-

From this small but impressive assortment of evidence it is possible to conclude that the USSR confronts a serious problem of racial, religious, and ethnic prejudice. In large measure such prejudice is the product of the official government policy of anti-Semitism, of state opposition to religious and cultural freedom, and of the attempt by the Soviet government to Russify the entire population of the USSR, i.e., to impose the Russian language on non-Russian peoples. In part the ethnic and racial prejudice which is so widespread in the USSR is the product of an imperial ideology masking itself behind slogans of "friendship among nations" and "internationalism."

As the nations of Africa and of the Third World become more acquainted with the realities of the Soviet system and of the large gap between Soviet rheotric and performance, there will be a further erosion of the USSR's influence in the Third World. This is a healthy and necessary development which can play a significant role in furtheringthe democratic transformation of the Third World. Such a process can be aided by the counter-example of firm American commitment to racial justice at home and by a consistent American policy which speaks out against apartheid and racial injustice the world over.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
July 1, 1982

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION STRUGGLE

by Bayard Rustin

South Africa is a divided country. Through a dehumanizing and degrading system of racial separatism and oppression, South Africa's white minority has sown the seeds of violence.

The unwillingness of the white South African leadership to implement significant reforms has helped strengthen the hand of anti-democratic left-wing opposition movements. For those who are committed to the establishment of a non-racist and democratic South Africa, the growth in left-wing radicalism is as disturbing as the parallel growth of right-wing extremism within the white Afrikaner community.

Riots and protests--a product South Africa's denial of basic human rights and democratic freedoms to the vast majority of its population--erupted with increasing frequency in the late seventies. Industrial unrest was on the upswing as South Africa's black workers began asserting their demands with greater self-confidence. Under the pressure of this upswing in protest the South African government passed labor reform legislation in 1979 guaranteeing black and other non-white workers the right to join and establish trade unions.

And while this reform has not eliminated an apartheid system under which black workers are horribly exploited and degraded, it has set into motion powerful forces which can eventually lead to a peaceful transformation of South Africa.

In recent years South Africa has been witness to a remarkable upsurge in the black trade union movement. Although the leaders of that movement are subjected to harassment, intimidation, arrest and, sometimes, death, although dozens of trade unionists languish in jails and are subjected to torture and degradation, a number of trade union federations have emerged and shown substantial growth since 1979.

-more-

182

The largest of these unions in the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU). FOSATU's membership has climbed within the last year from 59,000 to 95,000. The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) has likewise exhibited phenomenal growth and now includes 50,000 black workers in its membership.

In all, less than 200,000 of South Africa's black workers belong to trade unions. The organizing of a larger proportion of the black work-force has been blocked through the South African government's repression of trade union leaders, through the impounding of union records and property, and through the disruption of union meetings.

Moreover, because some 60% of South Africa's workers have less than a primary education and 30% have had no schooling at all, black-led union's must engage in a painstaking process of training and developing new black trade union leaders.

Without question, the road ahead for South Africa's black workers is perilous and difficult. But the amazing progress they have made in recent years indicates that the movement has unlimited potential for becoming a principal factor in the toppling of racism and in the establishment of democracy.

Like Poland's workers, South Africa's black workers are motivated by a simple desire. to live in dignity, to speak freely, to work in a healthy environment at a decent rate of pay, and to determine their own destines. It is this democratic impulse which makes support for South Africa's black trade unions so essential to the promotion of human rights. It likewise, is, the reason why, in 1981, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO adopted a "Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unionists in South Africa." The program, which is raising funds from individual workers, international unions, and union locals, seeks to provide labor education for black South African trade unionists, to promote union organizing and recruitment, to establish a legal fund to defend arrested and harassed workers., and to provide black and multi-racial unions with office equipment, typewriters, and duplicating machines.

Some voices in the United States and in the black community have argued that the best strategy toward South Africa is one of boycotts and disinvestment. But in the view of many respected advocates of democracy and human rights, such a policy would lead to the isolation of democratic elements within South Africa. As Franklin Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation and a respected black leader, has argued, 'Maximizing U.S. influence in South Africa requires both contact and actions and words that make our fundamental opposition to apartheid unmistakably clear.'

Many South African black trade unionists agree. After all, they have made their most substantial progress in organizing workers in factories run by Western-based multi-nationals. Such Western-based corporations are subject to pressures exerted by trade unions and human rights advocates within their own countries and are frequently less resistant to unionization.

In his recent speech to the members of the British Parliament in Westminster, President Reagan called for a worldwide crusade for democracy and freedom. If these words are to be more than empty rhetoric, they must be backed by significant American support for those organizations inside South Africa working for democratic change. And the cornerstone of any such democratic strategy must be the support of South Africa's young but growing black trade union movement. American trade unions, led by the AFL-CIO, are beginning to develop such concrete support. It remains to be seen whether they will be joined in this endeavour by other segments, both black and white, of the American community.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
August 12, 1982

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

CIVIL RIGHTS AND UNCIVIL WRONGS

by Bayard Rustin

According to a recent report in the New York Times, the Harvard Black Law Student Coalition and the Harvard Third World Coalition are calling for a boycott of a Harvard Law School course on race and legal issues because that course will, in part, be taught by a white civil rights lawyer. The lawyer in question is Mr. Jack Greenberg, executive director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The leaders of the boycott are protesting Jack Greenberg's appointment for two reasons. Because he is white, the students believe that Mr. Greenberg, is, in the words of the Third World Coalition, unable to "identify and empathize with the social, cultural, economic, and political experiences of the third world communities." Secondly, the students are opposed to Mr. Greenberg's serving as director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, again presumably because he is not black.

The objection to Mr. Greenberg's role in teaching the Harvard course and to heading the Legal Defense Fund simply because he is white amounts to nothing more than blatant racism, i.e. the denial of a person's right to pursue certain activities solely on account of his race. Blacks, as victims of racial discrimination, should be the first to reject the view that race can disqualify one from any particular pursuit.

Anyone who objectively examines the record will conclude that Jack Greenberg is eminently qualified both to teach civil rights law and to direct an important civil rights organization. Indeed, during his twenty years as head of the Legal Defense Fund, Mr. Greenberg has shown himself to be one of our country's most

(more)

182

effective fighters for racial justice and civil rights. Over the years he has directly participated in many of the landmark civil rights victories which have been won in our nation's courts.

What, then, one might ask, has provoked the militant protest of Harvard Law School's young blacks? Today, black law students at Harvard feel frustration at the fact that their less privileged counterparts in the ghetto are suffering unemployment rates approaching fifty percent. They feel great unease over the current administration's callous disregard for such matters as equal employment opportunity. They are angry at what they rightly perceive as an abandonment by the federal government of its legitimate role as a leading advocate of civil rights. In this context it is entirely understandable that these students would seek to make their voices heard. It is regrettable, however, that their militancy and sense of social responsibilitity manifests itself in this fundamentally destructive and irresponsible way.

Harvard's young blacks are pursuing their education not only as a result of their abilities, but also as a consequence of the opportunities opened to them by the civil rights battles waged both inside and outside the courts. It is ironic--indeed perhaps tragic--that they would vent their rage on Jack Greenberg, a talented and sensitive man who has contributed in no small measure to the freedom and dignity of young black Americans.

There is something else underlying the black protest at Harvard. It is the mistaken view that, somehow, the issue of civil rights is an issue which is exclusively black. Nothing could be further from the truth. Civil Rights is an issue of universal significance and, as such, should be important to all Americans. Civil rights, moreover, is an area in which progress cannot be attained without the building of a strong and wide-ranging coalition of blacks and whites, Christians and Jews. Blacks, despite their large numbers, constitute a minority in American life. They cannot achieve progress by going it alone. Attacks such as the one against Jack Greenberg may have the harmful effect of discouraging idealistic whites from participating fully in the battles for civil rights and social justice.

We don't need to worry about Jack Greenberg. He will not be discouraged and his organization will continue to make a contribution to the advancement of racial justice and human rights. We have more cause to worry about the leaders of the Harvard Black Student Coalition. Unless they change their perspectives they will be ill equipped to serve the cause of civil rights, a cause which their recent actions have served to undermine.

****

Bayard Rustin, Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, received an Honorary Doctorate in 1980 from Harvard University for his contributions to the cause of civil and human rights.

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
September 16, 1982

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE TRUTH ABOUT LEBANON

by Bayard Rustin

The recent conflict in Lebanon has once again placed Israel at the center of heated controversy. Sensational newspaper headlines suggested that the Israeli Defense Forces inflicted wanton destruction upon the Lebanese people. Charges of "genocide" and "holocaust" were unjustifiably bandied about.

I have just returned from a trip to Israel and Lebanon as part of a delegation including a Catholic Bishop, a Catholic trade union leader, a leader from the Greek-American community, and a Baptist minister. I traveled in an attempt to piece together the truth about Israel's advance into Lebanon. My impressions from the week-long visit suggest that the U.S. media have failed the public and have not provided Americans with an accurate picture of what transpired during the two-month-long conflict between Israel and the Syrian-backed Palestine Liberation Organization.

Why did Israel receive such a uniformly bad press? In part, I believe, this was due to the Israeli decision to apply a press gag in the early days of the military action. That unnecessary attempt to restrict information made it appear that Israel had something to hide and fanned the flames of reckless speculation. Israel's quick reversal of this inauspicious policy could not totally undo the temporary damage to Israel's image.

A second reason for the bad press was the Israeli decision to proceed beyond a self-imposed 25-mile advance. The advance on Beirut therefore was widely seen as contradicting Israel's self-proclaimed intentions not to march into Beirut.

During my visit to Lebanon I traveled to the cities of Tyre, Sidon and Nabatiya, which according to press accounts had been virtually destroyed. Our

-more-

delegation found each of them vital, populated, and thriving under Lebanese civilian control. Everywhere we could see people picking up their lives and attempting to rebuild their communities after seven years of a P.L.O. reign of terror.

Sidon was the most damaged of the cities we visited. No one would deny that the Israelisdid inflict damage. But even here only isolated sections of the main street--the road to Beirut--showed heavy damage. Side streets and most of Sidon's other principal thoroughfares were relatively untouched. It was clear to us that the widespread destruction reported in the U.S. media was grossly exaggerated.

We found evidence of something else which has largely been ignored in Western reporting: the widespread contempt of the Lebanese people for the P.L.O. In spontaneous private conversations with Lebanese citizens we uncovered extensive evidence of PLO terror. In the areas which the PLO controlled there was no civilian system of justice. There was no functioning police force, no due process, no court system, no right of appeal. What law there was was PLO law; what justice there was was PLO justice. Those of us whose black ancestors lived in areas dominated by the Ku Klux Klan have special reasons to know what that means. For the powerless, it means, intense, continuous, and unending personal insecurity. In short, it means terror.

By contrast we have the evidence of Israeli conduct during the military action in Lebanon. The Israeli army scrupulously adhered to a code of conduct unprecedented in the annals of war. Israeli troops, at great risk to their own lives, took extraordinary measures to avoid injuring non-combatants. Combat soldiers in the field confirmed to us that they were instructed not to fire at non-military sites except in response to fire emanating from such sources. One Israeli Lieutenant told us that his unit suffered casualties, including six lives in Sidon because his troops had adhered to these instructions. The officer felt that his 42-man unit would have at most suffered two or three casualties had it been free to fire at will.

-more-

Such conduct, however, virtually was unreported in our press, Instead, reports were daily given over to the citing of astronomical casualty figures supplied by the Palestinion Red Crescent, a politicized organization headed by Yasir Arafat's brother. Little attention also was given to the revitalization of the towns and cities of Southern Lebanon, after the Israeli action. In the case of Nabatiya, a Moslem town in Southeastern Lebanon, we found a thriving, bustling regional center in which people walked and spoke freely. The town, we learned had seen its population fall from 55,000 to 12,000 under PLO occupation. Today, it is returning to its former size.

The evidence of the disservice done Israel by the media is conclusive. Now that the PLO has left Lebanon and the conflict has somewhat abated, it will be possible for the American and Western press to dispassionately piece together the story of what actually occurred during the Israeli invasion. The truth, when widely reported, should reassure Americans of Israel's firm commitment to the protection of innocent lives and to the integrity of a Lebanese state led and controled by the Lebanese.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
September 30, 1982

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

THE VIBRANCY OF ISRAEL'S DEMOCRACY

by Bayard Rustin

The viciousness and inhumanity of the massacre of Palestinian refugees in West Beirut has resulted in a worldwide outcry. Yet nowhere has that protest been stronger or the public demonstrations larger than in Israel, where the people have been outspoken and unequivocal in their condemnation of the murder of hundreds of Palestinians by Lebanese Christian militiamen.

Israeli writers and artists, trade unionists and religious leaders, as well as prominent spokesmen across the entire Israeli political spectrum, have joined in the denunciation of the heinous crime in Beirut. Members of Prime Minister Begin's cabinet have resigned to protest his reluctance to launch an independent inquiry. A massive chorus of voices has called for the resignation of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. Many Israelis have called upon Prime Minister Begin himself to resign.

On Saturday, September 25th some 400,000 demonstrators gathered in a huge protest in Tel Aviv demanding an open investigation to determine the extent of the Israeli leadership's involvement in the Beirut massacre. As someone who spent half a year coordinating and laying the groundwork for the 1963 March on Washington, in which 250,000 demonstrated, I can only marvel at the magnificence of this spontaneous expression of Israel's conscience, in which over 10% of her people participated.

The public expression of Israeli outrage over their government's mishandling of its voluntarily assumed responsibilities in West Beirut is a testament to the vibrancy and vitality of Israeli democracy, and its fundamental commitment to humane values.

182

At first, Prime Minister Begin resisted calls for an independent inquiry into the extent of Israeli complicity in the Beirut massacre. But that enormous domestic public outcry pressured the Prime Minister and his cabinet into a startling reversal of policy.

There now will be an independent judicial commission of inquiry into the massacres in the Sabra and Shaliat refugee camps. This inquiry should and must resolve all questions concerning the guilt or innocence of Israel's government and military leaders. On the basis of the facts uncovered in that inquiry, the Israeli people and their elected representatives will be able, through the democratic process, to determine the fate of those found culpable. In the words of Labor Party Chairman Shimon Peres, "The question arises whether these statesmen who made the terrible mistakes can remain in office."

That indeed is the heart of the question that all Israelis will have to confront in the weeks ahead. Yet the very fact that Israelis have the freedom to answer this question is a testament to the strength of their democracy. Just as in our own country, the impeachment process led to the resignation of President Nixon for his involvement in the Watergate coverup and just as the judicial process led to the punishment of those guilty for the My Lai massacre in Vietnam, so in Israel the democratic process will be the ultimate arbiter.

Out of the shock of Shaliat and Sabra have come the first stirrings of a way out of the Middle East's latest tragedy. And as we justifiably join the chorus of condemnations of the Beirut massacre we can only hope that the new Lebanese President Amin Gemayel will follow Israel's example and launch his own independent inquiry to punish those directly responsible for the outrage. Such a move would augur well for the new Lebanese President, who faces the difficult task of constructing a stable and democratic society.

The events of recent days serve to restore our faith in the judgement of the Israeli people. They have made absolutely clear that not external pressure, but the internal expression of Israeli morality and conscience, led to the

-more-

establishment of the independent judicial commission of inquiry. This recent turn of events can comfort us, but it should not surprise us. For it is another affirmation of the wisdom of the people - the fundamental tenet of democracy.

Americans should recall the long and tedious process that led to the Nixon impeachment hearings. We should recall that calls for his resignation were ineffective until that process was well advanced. We can hope that the Israeli judicial inquiry will be prompt and speedy. But the recent expressions of conscience should make us confident that Israel's people will act wisely and democratically to set their own house in order. We should recognize that in launching their commission of inquiry the Israelis are on the right course. Calls by outsiders which prejudge the outcome may well prove counterproductive.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
November 24, 1982

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

ANDROPOV'S MANDATE

by Bayard Rustin

On November 2nd tens of millions of American voters freely exercised their electoral franchise and voted in democratic elections. The results of that election--substantial gains for the Democratic Party--were interpreted as a repudiation of Reaganomics and a shift away from the Administration.

Some 10 days later a second election occurred in the USSR. This one was not a nationwide referendum. In fact that election, although its repercussions are worldwide, involved a more limited number of voters--an even dozen in fact. No voter registration campaigns were conducted in that election.

Hundreds of thousands of volunteers did not man phones to assure that voters went to the polls. No issues were openly debated among contending candidates vying for public favor. Instead a dozen elderly men decided the direction of a world superpower in the shrouded secrecy of a Kremlin meeting room.

When Yuri Andropov emerged as the victor, he did so without the benefit of a broad national consensus. He was the instrument of the far narrower consensus of the totalitarian Soviet state.

In our own country much press speculation focused on what policy changes the shift in leadership might augur. Andropov, for 15 years the head of a brutal Soviet Secret police, was curiously touted by some as a closet liberal. Others more correctly cited his years of ruthlessness as director of the world's most feared security apparatus.

Few commentators, however, focused on the larger picture--the role of interest groups in the totalitarian state. Interest groups do indeed exist in Soviet society. However, these groups are different from the interest groups in our own country.

-more

182

All are devoted to a rigid party line. Only those groups which preserve the Soviet dictatorship are permitted to partake in the shaping of public policy. Independent interest groups, representing the desires of workers, national minorities and religious groups, are not permitted to make their voices heard in the debate over official policy.

Thus anyone who emerges to replace a fallen leader cannot be expected to embark upon a fundamentally different course. The power interests--the army, the secret police, the party bureaucracy--would not countenance such change.

In this regard the selection (actually, something akin to a coronation) of Comrade Yuri Andropov, is not like the political choices that you and I are entitled to make every Election Day.

Andropov's mandate is far more narrow. In the final analysis, under the Soviet dictatorship the Andropov mandate can only be the mandate of his predecessors--to brutally repress dissent and preserve the power of an entrenched dictatorial elite; to keep the Soviet powderkeg from exploding.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
January 6, 1983

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

RONALD REAGAN AND THE IDEA OF EQUALITY

By Bayard Rustin

The idea of equality is implicit in the very idea of democracy. Thus it comes as no surprise that when one traverses the breadth of American history one encounters such vital events as the struggle against slavery, the movement for universal suffrage, and the battle for civil rights. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that the history of American political life has been the history of the struggle for equality.

In the twentieth century the American idea of equality has encompassed not only the right of every American to participate equally in the political process but also the right of every American to live a productive life free of the fetters of poverty.

The creation of some of our nation's most significant programs--the Social Security system, federal aid to education, and unemployment insurance for the jobless--constitute clear proof that the contemporary American view of equality includes the conception of a guaranteed standard of living for all Americans.

In the post-World-War-II era we have experienced tremendous growth in economic productivity and have witnessed unparalleled increases in the standard of living of all Americans. At a time of massive economic growth even those at the very bottom of the economic ladder were able to make some progress in improving the conditions of their material life. Economic prosperity, however, did not diminish the feeling of most Americans that they are entitled to a fair share of our nation's wealth and bounty. The labor and civil rights movements were instrumental in advancing the cause of a more equitable distribution of our nation's wealth through social legislation and collective bargaining agreements.

-more-

In short the idea of greater economic equality has been an unstated premise of the great social movements of the twentieth century. Yet in the two short years of the Reagan Administration, the progress of Americans toward greater equality has been dealt a sharp setback.

According to recent studies conducted by the Urban Institute, a non-profit research organization, and the Congressional Budget Office, the overall effect of the President's tax and budget cuts has been to make the rich richer while the poor get poorer.

According to the Congressional Budget Office the net effect of the Reagan program on households with incomes of under ten thousand dollars is a loss of $240 dollars in income and services. For those households earning $80,000 or more the net effect is a staggering gain of over $15,000.

Moreover, Reagan's economic revolution has born no fruit for the vast majority of Americans. According to Urban Institute; "The broad middle class will realize modest reductions by 1984 in their real after-tax incomes." On the other hand, "Substantial gains will accrue to higher income families." Additionally the policies of the Administration and the current recession have resulted in a significant upturn of poverty. By 1979 the incidence of poverty had fallen to 11.6 percent but in the first year of the Reagan Administration rose to 14%, with an even higher rate projected by the end of 1983.

In short, the evidence suggests that the major accomplishment of the Reagan Administration has been the transfer of wealth from the very poor to the very rich. This trend marks a reversal of a fifty year-long trend toward greater social justice.

The Reagan Administration has helped to undermine the social cohesiveness which is necessary to build a strong and productive America. The reversal of the regressive effects of the Administration's "supply-side" tax cuts must therefore have a place in any future agenda for social justice and economic progress--an agenda which derives from the very idea of democracy.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
February 3, 1983

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

THE NEW DEMOCRATS AND BLACK WORKERS

by Bayard Rustin

After the November 1980 election it was the conventional wisdom that the Democratic Party suffered a substantial electoral setback largely because it had failed to put forward a coherent program. The Democrats, it was generally asserted, were starving for ideas while Republicans, with their supply-side program, were on the ideological offensive.

Today after two years of recession and a post-Depression record unemployment rate of 10.8 percent for all workers and over 20 percent for blacks, the term "supply-side" has all but vanished from the political lexicon. With their policies a shambles it is the Republicans who appear to be in ideological disarray.

Moreover, among many young Democratic political leaders, the outlines of a new economic and social agenda are beginning to emerge. What is most surprising about this agenda is not only its pragmatism, but its growing popularity with the American people.

The "new" Democrats, as they are called, favor such concepts as jobs programs that would help rebuild roads and railways which constitute a vital part of our nation's industrial infrastructure; increased support for research and education; tax reforms which would eliminate many deductions in favor of a simpler progressive income tax; and a Reconstruction Finance Corporation which would stimulate private industry and in this way lead to increased employment. A center-piece of the new Democrats program is the idea that the U.S. should develop a government-led industrial policy which would help stimulate investment in high-growth areas while rationally retraining displaced workers for jobs in the changing industrial setting. In the view of the new Democrats, for example, out-of-work steel and auto workers

-more-

182

(many of whom will never again find jobs in their industries) would be trained in the skills necessary to secure jobs in such high-growth areas as the computer industry. The underpinnings of the new Democrats approach can be summed up in the view that the government should actively intervene in the economy and work to establish a tri-partite partnership between government, business, and labor to make our country more competitive internationally.

For black workers, many of whom have been employed in the industries hardest hit by the recession, the idea of a program which would stress retraining and education is one that is certain to be popular. Yet what is quite surprising is the widespread popularity of a broad range of "new" Democratic, or "neo-liberal", ideas.

According to a recent Business Week poll by Louis Harris, 81 percent of Americans support the "new" Democrats idea to "get labor and industry to swap lower wage increases for a more competitive economy--and more jobs." 64 percent of Americans support the concept of eliminating "tax loopholes and deductions to reduce tax rates for everyone." By two to one Americans now support having "the federal government stimulate private industry rather than support federal jobs programs" as a way of easing unemployment. Most importantly, when asked whether they would vote for a "new" Democrat or for Ronald Reagan if an election were held today, 62 percent of those questioned chose the Democrat. Only 31 percent indicated support for President Reagan.

Such demonstrable popularity of "new" Democratic ideas is certain to make them attractive to more and more Democratic political figures.

More significantly, the debate within the Democratic Party and within the nation over the future of our economy and the proper role of government is certain to be stimulated by the ideas of the neo-liberals.

-more-

Blacks and organized labor will have their say in shaping any future agenda of the Democratic Party. But without question it is already clear that the vast majority of ideas advanced by the "new" Democrats serve the needs of blacks, the poor, and all workers.

****

Bayard Rustin is Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
February 24, 1983

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

AFRICA'S NEWEST REFUGEES

by Bayard Rustin

No year passes without some great crisis involving refugees. The circumstances of each crisis are now almost predictable. The pattern has been repeated in a variety of settings. Almost always the victims are black or yellow. Almost always they are fleeing abject poverty or some form of political barbarism. Almost always the world stands by unable or unwilling to prevent the tragedy that unfolds before its eyes.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s our attention was successively riveted to the plight of Indochinese refugees--Vietnamese and Cambodians fleeing their cruel Marxist-Leninist dictatorships. Later our attention focused on Somali refugees fleeing the oppression of the Ethiopian dictator Colonel Mengistu. Last year Americans confronted the dictatorial cruelty and abject poverty which drove thousands of Haitians to our shores. Now it is the turn of the Ghanaians.

Over 2 million Ghanaians have lived in Nigeria for years as a result of that country's petroleum-based economic expansion. Because oil prices have plummeted as a result of declining Western demand, Nigerian President Shehu Shagari ordered the expulsion of all Ghanaians working in his country. Shagari accused the Ghanaians of ruining his country's economy by taking needed jobs and draining the country's resources. He told the estimated two million Ghanaians living in Nigeria to clear out and return to their native land within two weeks.

The result was a mass exodus and a refugee problem of staggering proportions. The virtually uninterrupted sea of refugees pouring into Ghana brought with them stories of incredible inhumanity. Ghanaians were robbed of their luggage and other belongings by Nigerian thieves. Near Nigeria's capital in the slums of

-more-

Ijora, bodies of mutilated young Ghanaian women were found among eight corpses. Many of those who fled did not finish the 120-mile trek back home, having died of starvation and exhaustion, buried anonymously in the bush and along the beaches.

Once in Ghana, the refugees were faced with starvation in a desperately poor country whose government already faces severe economic difficulties and is on the verge of bankruptcy.

Some international relief has been forthcoming. The U.S. has committed nearly 800 tons of food; the European Economic Community has granted $5.5 million in emergency refugee aid.

While some observers recognize that Nigeria could no longer afford to cope with a huge population of foreigners who strained its economy, virtually everyone believes that the rapidity with which the expulsion order was implemented caused needless suffering and death. Had the Nigerian leadership acted more responsibly it would have enabled international relief agencies to prepare for the influx of refugees into Ghana.

Yet, the blanket expulsion may eventually backfire on Nigeria. Work reportedly has stopped on a number of construction sites which utilized Ghanaian workers. The school system was heavily dependent on Ghanaian teachers, who, although formally unaffected by the expulsion order, now find the atmosphere within the country virtually intolerable. Moreover, such oppression can lead to increased tensions within Africa and may rekindle longstanding ethnic animosities.

In the final analysis the plight of the Ghanaians underscores the fact that the idealized view of racial solidarity is far from a reality in African life. Thus, the fact that this cruelty has been perpetrated by blacks against blacks should not surprise us. It should, however, call forth a vigorous response from both black and white Americans. What is needed at present is refugee assistance combined with a strong public condemnation of Nigeria's inhumane and irresponsibl conduct.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

April 21, 1983

A BLACK PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY?

by Bayard Rustin

Recent weeks have seen the emergence of a spirited discussion about a possible black candidate in the Democratic presidential race. Clearly, no black or civil rights leader would have reason to quarrel with the entry of a qualified black politician into the Presidential sweepstakes. After all, wouldn't the entry of a popular black candidate , raise certain issues of vital concern to the black agenda? Would not a black Presidential candidate serve to galvanize black electoral involvement in the electoral process? Wouldn't a black candidacy increase the number of black delegates to the Democratic Party Convention?

At first glance, the answer to all these questions might appear to be yes. Yet a closer examination of the issue provides a more complicated and less clear-cut picture.

Clearly, a black Presidential candidate would be in a position to raise issues of concern to black Americans. Yet a candidate who entered the Democratic primaries on the basis of a black candidacy and black agenda would deal a substantial setback to black community interests. The issues of greatest concern to black Americans, after all, are not exclusively black issues. The issues of jobs, unemployment, plant closings, education, crime, and poverty are part of the national agenda; they are problems which concern all Americans and must be posed in the broadest possible manner if we are to elect a candidate sensitive to the needs of blacks and all working people. A candidate who runs for President on a black platform, therefore, runs the risk of making such issues appear linked to more narrow special interests.

Clearly, a black Presidential candidacy would galvanize increased black voter interest. Yet the evidence of the 1982 elections is that blacks --who for the first time voted in higher proportions than whites-- can also be motivated to vote in greater numbers purely on the basis of political issues and economic interests.

A black Presidential candidacy might increase the number of black Democratic Convention delegates; but not by any significant number. Blacks clearly will be included in substantial numbers within the delegations pledged to the declared candidates (Mondale, Glenn, Hart, Cranston, Hollings, and Askew). Moreover, because of a shift of delegate strength to the Southern states, where the black vote is more highly concentrated, the number of black delegates to the convention in likely to be augmented.

Thus each of the major advantages of a black Presidential candidacy may not be so substantial as it first appeared. Moreover, there are serious drawbacks to a black Presidential entry:

* Such a candidacy would take away votes from the candidates who, in the absence of a black candidate, are most attractive to the black electorate.
* A black candidacy would mean that the likely nominee won the nomination with less black support and therefore might be less responsive to black interests.
* Blacks who voted for a black candidate would almost certainly be voting for someone who will not be the likely nominee.
* A black candidacy would clearly be perceived by many non-blacks as the candidacy of a special interest and could hurt the Democratic Party by making it appear beholden to special racial, ethnic, or other group interests.

* Because many black political leaders are likely to back other candidates, a black candidacy would add to the division of the black leadership and to the splintering of the black vote.
* A black candidacy might have the effect of heightening racial tensions and weakening the coalition of blacks, labor, and liberals, which is essential to Democratic electoral success.

No one can deny the right of a qualified black or white candidate to enter into the Democratic Presidential campaign. However, any black who might choose to make the run for President should only do so on the basis of a candidacy which appeals to the entire electorate and not only to the black community. An exclusively "black candidacy" not only would end in political failure and split the black electorate, it would do harm to the strategy of coalition politics and to the interests of the black community.

Thus, it is not at all surprising that many prominent black leaders, including the leadership of the NAACP, has expressed serious doubts about the advisability of a black Presidential candidacy in 1984.

Bayard Rustin is chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

*** *** *** ***

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
June 9, 1983

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

EDUCATION AND THE POOR

by Bayard Rustin

In recent days, the issue of education and its relationship to the social and economic stability of our nation has once again come to the forefront of press attention. A front-page article in the June 9, 1983 issue of the New York Times announces that "education is emerging as a major issue in the 1984 Presidential campaign," with Walter Mondale and Ronald Reagan both moving quickly to advance their views of the proper role of education in our society.

Other public figures also are joining this debate. In his recent maiden address to the U.S. Senate, New Jersey Senator Frank Lautenberg, likewise,focused on education in its relationship to the poor. The Senator warned that the technological and computer revolution now sweeping our nation and the advanced industrial democracies threatens to create a new class of poor people. Schools in poor districts have fewer computers and computer programs than schools in wealthier districts, Lautenberg noted. And while computers are reaching the homes and classrooms of the wealthier, more privileged children in our society, they are threatening to make the poor technologically illiterate in a world in which such literacy is vital for advancement. "The concept of computer literacy defines a new type of illiteracy, and the potential for new and distressing divisions in our society," Senator Lautenberg said. In the final analysis, the educational gap between the computer literate and the computer illiterate is further "reinforcing disparities in opportunity," between rich and poor, he concluded.

Regrettably, such an understanding of the critical importance of education in providing equality of opportunity for minorities and the poor is lost upon the current Administration. In a recent education forum in Hopkins, Minnesota,

-more-

President Reagan revealed a disturbing ignorance of his own actions in the education field. The President incorrectly asserted that the Administration had not cut federal outlays for education. In point of fact, in the proposed budget for 1984, Federal education expenditures for 1981 were $15 billion but have been reduced to $14.4 billion this year and $13.5 billion next year. When inflation is factored in, these cuts are even more substantial.

The President apparently believes that any increases in the wages of already low-paid teachers should be funded by cutbacks in other school expenditures. Whether these cuts would come in the areas of school books, the purchase of computers to train students in new information resources, or in future cutbacks for school lunches for the poor, Mr. Reagan does not specify.

President Reagan's entire approach to education suggests that he is woefully unaware of the fact that our economy is undergoing significant structural and technological changes which require a massive federal commitment to education in order to create a qualified and productive workforce, and to help blacks and the poor gain necessary skills for productive employment.

Clearly, on the evidence of recent years, no one can argue that education is the cure-all for our economic and social problems. Clearly, during this recession, even the well-educated have been locked out of meaningful work. A college diploma does not automatically guarantee a well-paying job at a time of high unemployment.

Yet, when and if the recovery comes, minorities and the poor may find that they are permanently locked out of equal participation in our nation's economic life. They may find that they are the permanent victims of this Administration's disastrously inadequate commitment to education and skills training. They may find that, thanks, to Ronald Reagan's education program, unemployment is a permanent and not a temporary phenomenon.

****

apri news release

78

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

August 24, 1983

IN AFRICA: AN IMPORTANT GAIN FOR DEMOCRACY

by Bayard Rustin

While much press attention has been rivetted to the Libyan-backed invasion of Chad and its resultant upheavals, a second far more significant event has occurred in Africa's second-most populous nation--Nigeria. There, some 25.5 million voters participated in an amazing expression of democracy.

In a recently held election President Shehu Shagari, the inncumbent, was reelected with 47 percent of that vote, compared to 31 percent which went to his closest rival, Chief Abafemi Awolowo. More significantly, the people of Nigeria were able to choose their nation's leader in an orderly procedure free of conflict and bloodshed.

The results of Nigeria's election were a clear victory for the idea of democracy-- an idea which is very new and very fragile in that country. For as recently as 1979, the country was ruled by

182

a military dictatorship. The results are of abiding significance, moreover, because the election occurred in a country whose population numbers some 100 million, making it, by far, the largest state in black Africa. Thus, the election's implications for all Africans and, indeed, for the entire developing world cannot be overstated.

Serious problems continue to confront this oil-rich and mineral-rich democracy. The world-wide recession and its resultant lowering of revenues for oil have deeply eroded the standard of living of millions of Nigerians. The country remains troubled by tribal differences. Yet the very fact that an election did take place in a poor, developing country suggests that democracy is relevant to the entire Third World. The election results also fly in the face of the false arguments of white racists who have suggested that majority rule in South Africa will inevitably translate into communist dictatorship or tribal conflict, turmoil and instability.

It is regrettable and, indeed, ironic that in the face of such an important instance of thriving democracy some Americans, black and white, continue to romanticize such repressive and anti-democratic Third World dictatorships as Grenada, Cuba, Mozambique, and Angola, each of which oppresses its black and colored populations in a most brutal fashion. Rather than romanticizing these modern repressive behemoths, America's defenders of Third World "revolutions" should join in a chorus of praise for Nigeria's peaceful and democratic evolution.

Now, clearly, Nigeria's government is not without blemish. Indeed, as recently as last February President Shehu Shagari was responsible for a massive violation of the human rights of some two million Ghanaians who on short notice were expelled from Nigeria.

Moreover, there have been some charges of vote fraud and voter irregularities in Nigeria's electoral process. Yet such charges, though unfortunate, are very much part and parcel of any democratic system. They are abuses that vigilantly must be guarded against and corrected. Yet the very fact that political opponents in Nigeria are challenging the validity of ballots, rather than exchanging gunshots, is to my mind an immensely encouraging sign.

Despite the severe problems Nigeria confronts, both economically and politically, despite the mistakes its leaders have made in the past and may make in the future, blacks and all Americans must draw inspiration from that country's recent election, which clearly and unequivocally demonstrates that democracy is not incompatible with the developing world. Nigeria's example confirms to us that there is only one yardstick by which to judge the openness and freedom of all societies.

*** *** *** *** *** ***

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
March 8, 1984

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

IS ORGANIZED LABOR A SPECIAL INTEREST?

by Bayard Rustin

An idea has crept into our nation's political discourse in recent years which is both erroneous and terribly damaging to the cause of social justice and racial equality. That idea-- to date, largely unchallenged--is that organized labor is a narrow, selfish, special interest group seeking to impose its will on an unwitting American public.

Almost daily new attacks on labor are carried in our nation's newspapers. Countless articles decry the unions' attempts to promote an allegedly narrow agenda by backing Walter Mondale in the Democratic primaries. Some 40 percent of Democrats and independents appear to agree.

Yet the reality is far different from the shrill rhetoric. The labor movement, in contrast to the oil industry or the tobacco lobby or the American Medical Association, is not monolith of identical special interests. It is a broad-based coalition of diverse interests seeking to coalesce around a program of jobs and economic growth. In the labor movement we find represented an economic, racial, social, and political cross-section of America. The labor movement, after all, is the only mass-based democratic institution which includes Hispanic garment workers eking out a living on $200 a week and middle-income black and Polish-American steelworkers struggling to hold on to their decent jobs at a time of economic decline; male and female municipal workers, grappling with the knotty problem of equal pay for comparable work and chemical workers exposed to hazardous wastes.

The labor movement includes Blacks and whites; Hispanics and Italian-Americans; men and women; 65-year olds and teenagers; high school dropouts and

Ph.D's; Christians, Moslems, and Jews. In short it includes a representative cross-section of Americans.

Clearly, when a single union negotiates a contract for its members it is acting out of a special interest. It is after all concerned with getting the very best wages and working conditions for its members and for assuring them job security. Yet even such interests--although negotiated for a small group of interested parties-- are worthy and much needed. After all, decent, safe jobs are vital to the revitalization of our economy.

And when organized labor acts together, as the national AFL-CIO, or when it acts in a city or state though a central labor council, the labor movement is not a narrow special interest group. It is the consensus voice of the interests of a broad cross-section of Americans. The ethnic, social and economic range it spans is far broader than that represented by any group of businessmen or financiers.

Frequently, as when it calls for minimum wage legislation, labor cannot even be said to be acting largely in behalf of its own members. For union members' wages already are protected by collective bargaining agreements. The labor movement is also on record for occupational safety and health standard-enforcement for all workers not merely union members.

And when the AFL-CIO and the trade union movement lobbies for jobs, for increased aid to education, for a national industrial policy designed to promote economic growth at home and U.S. competitiveness abroad it is acting as a voice for all of us who work for a living. If this amounts to a narrow and special interest then it is the special interest of the vast majority of Americans.

At a time which seems like "open season" on the democratically-elected leadership of the labor movement, it might be useful to remind ourselves of these elementary truths.

The Republicans and Democrats who campaign for high office on an anti-labor plank may be playing to the misguided sympathies of some Americans. Yet they are doing a great disservice to our nation's future. For they are attacking the one democratic institution in American life which is a reliable force in the struggle for jobs and social justice at home and democracy and security abroad.

****

—THE CAROLINA TIMES—SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1984

commentary

Editorials

Political Pandering: A Recipe for Dividing the Nation

By Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Increasing pandering to ethnic groups is a dangerous phenomenon that has come to dominate American politics and thus further fragment our nation.

In the current Presidential campaign we have witnessed numerous illustrations of this trend. Rather than addressing the fundamental issues of unemployment, inflation, and lack of educational opportunity that cause agony among poor ethnic groups; rather than presenting concrete proposals to eliminate such problems, politicians spend their time in minortiy communities eating spaghetti, kielbasa, knishes, or rice and peas. We have seen this currying of favor in the unseemly atempts by politicians to debate where the U.S. Embassy in Israel should be located rather than presenting the American people with concrete proposals for peace in the Middle East. Such pandering gives no credit to candidates but is a measure of the degree to which the political process has deteriorated.

Running for the Presidency of this great and diverse country ought to be an enterprise of unification and coalition-building. Those who seek to be President should engage in those efforts which speak to all Americans. Their responsibility is to fashion out off diverse and frequently competing group interests in our country a common interest, an AMERICAN interest. Their responsibility is to put forth an economic and social program for the uplifting of all society. The politician has an obligation to articulate the fundamental issues which confront our society — the problems of deindustrialization, of a growing underclass of poor, of unacceptable levels of joblessness.

We live in a difficult economic and social climate. The rich become richer, the poor poorer; the middle class is anxious about its future; and the unskilled have become economic untouchables.

In such a climate those who are running for our nation's highest office owe it to the electorate to speak about these issues which have created deep divisions within our country and to articulate programs and themes which will fashion a national unity out of the diversity and agony that abounds.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not suggest that blacks should not be proud they are blacks, or that Poles should not be proud they are Polish, or that Jews ought not to be proud they are Jewish. I am, however, suggesting that whatever different histories, traditions, and faiths we may hold, we must be united in social goals if we are to solve the vast problems our nation faces.

As November, 1984 approaches blacks and all working people must look carefully at their political leaders and examine whether in action as well as words they are serving to bring this country closer together.

Only if we elect leaders who possess a vision of the transcendent, common national purpose will we be able to enjoy the climate of opinion in which true social progress can be achieved.

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
August 23, 1984

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

THE POOR GET POORER

by Bayard Rustin

It is now more than three years since the economic programs known as Reaganomics were enacted by a compliant Congress and implemented by an overzealous executive. The Reagan program, we were told by the President's supply-side theorists, would lead to an expansion of opportunity for rich and poor alike. "A rising tide lifts all boats," was the elegant metaphor used to embellish a program of tax cuts and government restrictions on social spending. The centerpiece of the Reagan program was the Reagan-Kemp-Roth tax cut of 25 percent. The President's spokesmen, and our Chief Executive assured us that this tax cut was equitable. We were told that everyone, no matter what his income, would pay 25 percent less in taxes than before. Everybody would benefit, the President's aides assured us.

Now, more than three years later, it is fair to take a look at the social consequences of the Reagan program. Who were its big winners? And who were its big losers? Did a rising tide emerge? And, if so, did it lift all boats? As the 1984 Presidential election nears it is well to ask whether the Administration's program has been fair?

-more-

The answers to a number of these timely and vital questions can be gleaned from a recently published report by the Urban Institute, a Washington-based research organization devoted. Now, the Urban Institute is not some politically partisan institution. Over the years it has earned a high degree of credibility through its politically unbiased examinations of social policy, economic trends, and urban life. The Urban Institute's conclusions about the effects of Reaganomics in the last three years deserve serious attention.

According to the Urban Institute study, since 1980, the real income of the poorest fifth of American families-- a disproportionate number of whom are black-- has declined by nearly 8 percent, while the income of the wealthiest one-fifth of American families has risen by nearly nine percent. In other words, under the Reagan Administration the poor have gotten poorer and the rich richer. Nor is the news very good for working Americans. The bottom two-fifths of America's families have lost all the ground they had gained toward equality in the last two decades. And the middle class, those in the middle fifth in terms of income, have had a four year gain in income which averages out to about thirty five dollars ($35.00) per year. In fact, overall, the real disposable income of American families has increased only an average of four percent in the Reagan years, which is less than half the average gain of comparable periods over the last thirty years.

-more-

In other words, while there has been some gain in earnings overall, it is largely confined to those Americans who are well off. The poor have suffered a serious erosion in their standadrd of living. Those in the middle have stayed about even. And, most significantly, when compared with the record of the post-war era, the overall rise in real income has been paltry indeed.

So much for the Reagan recovery and the new prosperity. The Urban Institute's close examination of "The Reagan Record" indicates that it is characterized by unfairness. It shows that under this President $25 billion has been taken out of the hands of the poorest Americans and transfered into the hands of the wealthiest. Moreover, under Ronald Reagan the proportion of taxes paid by lower income workers (those in the bottom forty percent) has risen, while the taxes of the top income group has fallen dramtically.

In this election year, the findings of the Urban Institute should be the occasion of a serious discussion of the so-called "successes" of the Reagan economic program. Reaganomics has taken from the poor, denied advancement to the middle class of working people, and benefitted only the rich. Now if each of these groups votes their economic interests in November, we will have a new President in the White House-- one who understands that economic growth is only possible in the context of social justice and equality.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
September 7, 1984

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

RONALD REAGAN AND SOUTH AFRICA

by Bayard Rustin

In recent days, our nation's press and evening news reports have been filled with accounts of protest marches, election boycotts, and widespread violence in South Africa. Some thirty blacks in the townships of Sharpeville, Evaton, and Sebokeng have been killed by the South African police. Protest marches against rent increases have been brutally suppressed. Leaders of election boycotts have been arrested and detained.

The new wave of violence is further evidence that no progress has been made toward majority rule in South Africa. The South African government's new constitutional "dispensation," which provides limited political rights for Indians and those of racially mixed descent ("coloureds"), has been repudiated by an election boycott by some 80 percent of eligible voters. The government's attempt to drive a wedge between black Africans and their non-white counterparts has demonstrably failed.

Recent economic trends also suggest that South Africa is in for a period of greater black worker unrest. In 1982, for example, while white earnings (already more than 4.5 times those of blacks) rose, the average black South African workers earnings

-more-

fell by 7 percent.

Yet despite the economic and political setbacks visited upon black South Africans, despite the suppression of black trade unionists, despite the brutality of the police in combatting demonstrators, there has been no public expression of outrage or criticism from President Reagan.

When he assumed the Presidency, Ronald Reagan inaugurated a policy of "constructive engagement" with the racist regime in Pretoria. The stated purpose of this policy was to convince the government of P.W. Botha to move toward resolving the question of Namibian independence and to encourage the government to take concrete steps toward increased representation for blacks, Asians, and "coloureds." In the service of this policy of cordiality, U.S. Ambassador Herman Nickel has invited some of the most brutal South African government officials to U.S. Embassy functions. For example, P. G. J. Koornhof, the architect of South Africa's evil policy of forcibly relocating blacks from areas in which they have traditionally lived, was shown on the front pages of South Africa's newspapers joining a smiling Ambassador Nickel in an Independence Day toast at our Embassy in Pretoria. Such travesties have been motivated, Reagan officials claim, in the interests of greater U.S. leverage to plead for better treatment of blacks. Now, nearly four years after the launching of the new course of cordial relations between the Reagan Administration and South Africa it is clear that "constructive engagement" has yielded nothing for South Africa's blacks.

-more-

If President Reagan indeed was sincerely pursuing the policy of "constructive engagement" with the goal of encouraging the South African government to move toward improved conditions for blacks, it is time that he acknowledge that this policy has failed. It is high time, as well, that the role of the U.S. in combatting apartheid become a matter of debate between the Presidential candidates.

*** *** *** ***

Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, recently returned from a fact-finding visit to South Africa, where he participated in a conference on strategies for non-violent change.

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
October 19, 1984

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

BISHOP TUTU'S GREAT STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

by Bayard Rustin

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, the black South African fighter for racial justice, is a joyous and historically significant event. It confers a great honor upon a deeply religious man and strengthens his struggle for the principles of democracy, majority rule, human dignity and non-violence.

Over the years, the Nobel Committee has made a number of wise and outstanding decisions to honor struggles for peace and democracy, the world over. Previous Nobel laureates include Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Russian human rights advocate Dr. Andrei Sakharov, and Polish trade union leader Lech Walesa.

Bishop Tutu recognizes the common threads in this legacy of support for freedom and implacable opposition to tyranny when he asserts that through this honor is "a tremendous political statement ... has been made--... those who oppose apartheid are seen in the same light as those who oppose communism."

There is a great truth in this assertion. For both communism and apartheid are ideologies of oppression. Under both systems, small

-more-

privileged minorities (in the communist world-- the Communist Party bureaucracy, and under South Africa's apartheid system the ruling white minority) deny free expression and democratic rights to the vast majority. And both systems make use of repressive police and security system. Under both, political opponents are sentenced to harsh terms of imprisonment.

For black Americans, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu invites another quite different comparison-- the awarding of this honor to another great black proponent of non-violence, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. However, despite the deep religiosity of both men and despite their abiding respect for the principles of non-violence and civil rights, it would be a great oversimplification to assume that the conditions in which they waged their struggle are identical. Dr. King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and other great fighters for civil rights in this country led a struggle for minority rights. Because blacks are a majority in South Africa, the struggle they are waging is in essence a struggle for majority rule.

Bishop Tutu well understands this great difference and therefore is aware of the immense difficulties that the anti-apartheid struggle confronts. He recognizes that South African blacks confront a setting of extreme violence and repression. Moreover,

-more-

they have no ally within the central government as did our own civil rights movement. Bishop Tutu is a man of peace. Nonetheless, as he indicated to me in our meetings in Johannesburg over the last year, he knows that the violence and repression of the South African authorities breeds a climate of resentment and frustration in which violence is bound to erupt. He is a realist who understands that brutality has driven some black South Africans onto a path of violence. And he warns that unless blacks are able to protest openly by democratic means and unless they attain majority rule violence is certain to be an ugly part of South Africa's future. But the Bishop also knows that violence strengthens those who depend on oppression in that racist apartheid state, which has created one of the world's great military and police forces.

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu in this violence-prone setting is nonetheless a powerful acknowledgment of the wisdom of his strategy of non-violent struggle to achieve democratic change. In 1960, the Nobel Committee honored another great black South African advocate of nonviolent change-- Albert Luthuli, a leader of the later outlawed African National Congress. Luthuli, like Tutu, rejected violence as a response to the inhumanity and brutality of racism and apartheid. Today some of Chief Luthuli's followers have been driven by decades of

-more-

murder, repression and harassment into pursuing an armed struggle. Yet that struggle is likely to lead to a desperate bloodbath from which no winners, black or white, will emerge.

Bishop Tutu knows this and therefore strongly advocates peaceful public protest, independent black organization for self-defense, and a strong black-led and multi-racial trade union movement as vehicles for pressuring the racist regime of P.W. Botha into undoing the evils of apartheid.

But Tutu also knows that time is running out for a peaceful resolution to the tragic South African impasse. Even as he preaches the ideology of peace, he knows that if change does not come, the only possible outcome will be violence and upheaval in that beautiful, rich, and benighted land.

For further information, contact:
Lesley Chenoweth
(212) 533-8004

For Release:

Immediately
October 26, 1984

Rustin Column

VOTE FOR MONDALE: PROTECT YOUR FUTURE

by Bayard Rustin

Black and white workers need not be told that the results of the presdential election on November 4th will determine whether America's industrial base continues to crumble or not. Recent economic figures show that the recovery has not really stemmed the decline in our basic industries. Even though the unemployment rate has dropped from a high of over 10 percent (20 percent for blacks) to today's 7.5, (and more than double for blacks),in September the number of jobs in goods-producing industries fell an additional 90,000 in September. In the manufacturing sector, factory jobs fell a further 124,000. The gains in modest employment over the past six months have come primarily in the low-paying service sector.

It is no secret that the decline in industrial production is directly related to the flood of imports. Because of the persistence of the U.S. dollar's strength on the world market, the American economy has been sucking in foreign-made goods at an unprecedented level. American exports are strongest in raw materials and agricultural products; industrial exports have declined. Our trade deficit has doubled in the last year, and

-more-

ninety percent of total import growth over the past year was in factory goods. What all this means is that unless there is a drastic change in current policy more and more jobs in industry will be lost to foreign competitors.

The problem of imports will become even more serious as the economy starts to slow down, which it will soon, according to most forecasters. According to Business Week: "In the early quarters of the recovery output and jobs were growing so fast that the economy was easily able to absorb the rising tide of imports. But now that growth is slowing, the extraordinarily high level of imports will eventually lead to lost jobs for American workers."

For industrial workers used to decent wages, it is little consolation to know that employment in low-wage service occupations has gone up. In basic industries such as auto and steel, where large numbers of blacks have been employed, strong unions have won contracts in the past that made possible the emergence of a workers' middle class. The decline of those industries has meant the lowering of living standards for laid-off workers who have taken jobs in the service sector. It is even more discouraging that the U.S. has already lost large chunks of its market share for many industrial products on the world market because of the dollar's over-valuation.

The contined decline of our nation's industries is just one

-more-

of the most significant reasons why black and white workers must make their voices heard this election day. Our economy and our social fabric cannot endure four more years of the supply-side free-for-all that has given the rich and well of lots of ways to become even richer by speculating and dodging taxes while the nation's economic strength is been drained.

This year pollsters and politicians will be looking at the black vote and the union vote to see whether the upsurge of political activity surrounding the Jackson campaign and the AFL-CIO endorsement of Mondale were mere will-o'-the-wisps or whether blacks and all workers will continue to grow in their use of political muscle to defend their interests. But this election goes far beyond the presidential contest, important though that is.

Blacks and all workers need only look at some of the close Senate and House races around the country to see that it is essential that every registered voter get to the polls on election day. If Mondale should be elected, he will need a Democratic Congress if he is to act successfully to assure economic growth, protect jobs, enforce civil rights, and fight for greater social justice. It will be up to every one of us to make sure that the next Congress is one that is accountable to workers and the poor. The defeat of Jesse Helms in North Carolina would be a great step forward for the whole country, as would the election of Mississippi's Robert Clark who is seeking to become

-more-

the first black elected to the House of Representatives since Reconstruction. There are other blacks seeking to augment the number of black legislators at all levels.

All around the the country there are local, state, and national seats to be filled that will help to determine whether money is spent for good or for ill--whether the environment is protected, whether workers' health is protected, whether unions are busted, whether the minimum wage is gutted, whether poor children get the educational opportunities they need, whether the urban poor are to have some hope in the future. From local issues to Supreme Court appointments, the results of the 1984 elections will touch black people's lives for years to come. In 1984, blacks and all workers have to make sure that they get out and vote for Walter Mondale and other fighters for equal justice and social equity. The stakes after all are our future and our childrens' future.

****

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:
Immediately
November 9, 1984

For further information, contact:
Rustin & Hill Column

EVALUATING THE ELECTIONS

By Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

Before we lament the results of the Presidential election, we ought to look at some good news.

The large majority votes that Mondale received from blacks (90%), Jews (66%), Hispanics (65%), and members of AFL-CIO union households (57%) justify our belief in the traditional coalition upon which we have always relied to pursue the interests of common people. Those figures ought to encourage us to continue building the labor-ethnic ties that are the strength and sinews of a truly progressive agenda.

Another piece of good news is that the massive voter-registration campaigns did have an impressive effect on voter turnouts: more people voted this year than in 1980. This increased participation in the electoral process is a healthy trend, and it will be important in the years ahead to continue efforts to bring more people into the democratic decision-making process.

In addition, Mondale succeeded in attracting a large share of very poor people's votes; his program and campaign were clearly perceived as favoring the poor and unemployed.

However, the problems that will be facing Democrats, as they analyze the results of the election, loom large, as we see in some other figures.

Among the 15% of the voters earning under $12,500 a year, Mondale won a

-more-

majority of 53%. The largest income group, that is, those earning between $12,500 and $24,999, rejected Mondale by 57% to 42%. Even more distressing from the point of view of coalition-building, the Democratic Party, which has not succeeded in winning a majority of the national white vote since the landslide victory of Lyndon Johnson in 1964, this year won a mere 34% of the white vote.

Those figures must lead the party to a serious re-evaluation in the months and years ahead. The party that claims to speak for the people has lost the loyalty of large numbers of the working and middle classes. If the party does not revise its message and program, it is simply asking for more defeats and greater demoralization. The manner in which the labor and civil rights movements participate in the debate may well be of great significance in the party's search for a road to electoral victories. For blacks and labor, this must not be a time for despair, nor a time to question our most deeply held principles, but an opportunity to examine our strategies and tactics.

It would be easy to explain the polarized white-for-Reagan, black-for-Mondale vote simply as the result of old-time racism. A more accurate explanation is perhaps more difficult, but the solutions are less formidable, than when we did face the racism of Jim Crow days.

This year the party adopted some positions--both on domestic and foreign policy--and tolerated some forms of behavior that seemed almost calculated to alienate large numbers of traditional Democrats. Many people watching the Democratic convention on television did not see a party representing the common man and woman's aspirations, nor one articulating a dream for a strong and prosperous America that all people could share in, but rather they saw a scene of perceived cliques jockeying for power and scheming on behalf of their respective "interest groups." Ronald Reagan did extremely well with his unifying themes of patriotism, pride, and common effort for a better society--themes the Democrats did not even try to enunciate.

Also of some significance is the failure by Democrats to emphasize traditional moral values. Reagan's largest vote came from the 15% of the electorate describing themselves as born-again Christians.

Clearly our challenge is to help to formulate a program that brings the working and middle classes of all colors back under the umbrella of a party that truly looks out for people and not for elites. The interests of blacks, other minorities, ethnics, and women, though each having special features, do not diverge from those of the vast majority of the American people. The interests of union members surely do not diverge from those of other working Americans. The values of all these groups are consonant with the mainstream. So the Democrats have indeed no reason to turn their backs on the aspirations and ideals that minorities, women, and labor have always been proud to fight for and to uphold. On the contrary, our common aspirations are the basis on which to build a winning coalition in the future.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

For further information, contact:

Immediately
December 20, 1984

Rustin Column

DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHS IN GRENADA

I spent a week in Grenada during the the first election there since 1976. In a day remarkably free of tension or violence, Grenadians overwhelmingly elected Herbert Blaize as prime minister; his party, the New National Party (NNP) won fourteen of the fifteen seats in Parliament in an election that was both free and fair.

This great triumph is evidence that the political pessimism that followed the tragic events of October 1983 has been overcome. When we were there in December of 1983 and January of 1984, most people had lost their political will and did not want elections. Many said they no longer trusted politicians.

This is understandable, because since gaining independence in 1974, the people of Grenada experienced first the authoritarian, often brutal, regime of Eric Gairy, and then the totalitarian program of the People's Revelutionary Government, headed by Maurice Bishop. Among the few institutions that resisted the erosion and eventual elimination of democracy were the free trade unions, whose members faced harassment, intimidation, and sometimes imprisonment. Both the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union and the Taxi Associations, two key trade unions, had members imprisoned in Richmond Hill

Prison.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the free trade unions emerged eager to play a crucial role in overcoming the people's apprehension, apathy and uncertainty. The Committee of Trade Union Council's Executive Committee, sponsored an island-wide non-partisan, get-out-the-vote campaign. It included door-to-door distribution of campaign materials bearing a single message, "VOTE DEC. 3," buttons, bumper stickers, and leaflets explaining the voting process. Union members fanned across the island, even to remote rural villages to urge Grenadians to participate.

With both Eric Gairy's Grenada United Labor Party and the Marxist Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement failing to gain sufficient support to form a real opposition. The CTUCA can continue to play a role in promoting public discussion and understanding of issues. The free trade union movement, which is the institution most sensitive to the economic and social needs of society, will lobby the newly-formed government on a wide range of governmental policies and legislation initiatives dealing with economic, political, and social issues of major concern to workers.

Grenadian trade union leaders told us that although the United States played a crucial role in creating the atmosphere which made the return of democracy possible, the American government still has major responsibilities to this Caribbean island. According to them, the United States must assist the country's economic development with an eye toward full employment; continue support for Grenada's security and remain a constant and reliable ally.

The present transition to democratic rule in Grenada provides the United States with a unique opportunity. The country does not suffer from the entrenched social problems plaguing other Caribbean nations. A modest amount of economic assistance and private investment can literally transform the socioeconomic conditions of this small country of 110,000 and ensure the survival and strengthening of the new democratic system. This would have positive effects around the Caribbean and demonstrate that the United States is not only committed to containing communism, but also is fully devoted to sustaining democracies in need.

* * * *

apri
news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
February 19, 1985

For further information, contact: Rustin [illegible]

AMERICANS SHOULD DEMAND FREEDOM FOR BLACK JEWS

BY Bayard Rustin

Operation Moses, Israel's rescue of Ethiopian Jews, is another dramatic example of worldwide Jewish unity - a unity that transcends both color and culture. It is also a striking reminder of Israel's commitment to its role as a haven for refugees, a role that entails financial burdens.

The history of Israel is a history of refugees, encompassing the survivors of Hitler's death camps, the North African Jews held in bondage in Arab countries, the continuing stream of those seeking freedom from the Soviet Union, and the Vietnamese "boat people" plucked from the sea by Israeli ships. Throughout history,Jewish morality has commanded that refugees be taken to safety.

Now we have the heart-rending case of Ethiopia's black Jews, a poor farming people and an ancient sect, which has resisted centuries of religious persecution and efforts at forced cultural assimilation. They have maintained their identity as descendents of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Their condition grew worse under the current Ethiopian Marxist regime and today they are faced with the famine that is decimating Ethiopia's population.

In 1977 Prime Minister Begin began the daring rescue of this long-lost Israelite tribe. The mission's "shroud of secrecy' was dictated by Ethiopia's hostility towards Israel and by the fear of reprisals should the Sudanese government admit to collaborating with Israel, even in such a humanitarian effort. In return for certain still unpublished incentives, the black Jews

-more-

were permitted to enter Sudanese territory, where they were met by Israeli planes waiting to transport them safely to Israel.

When the rescue effort was leaked to the press, Ethiopia labeled it a "sinister" and "illegal" operation, and accused the Sudanese government of accepting money for its cooperation. Libya called for a special Arab conference to condemn the "betrayal." Sudan denied the accusations but halted the operation. As of this writing, Operation Moses has not been resumed.

The deafening silence from world leaders and relief organizations about this turn of events is a shameful comment on the selectivity of humanitarian compassion. Groups who are so generously helping to alleviate the horror of the Ethiopian famine have been rendered mute in the face of political pressure and fear of Arab retribution.

Jews in America and Israel have been generous in their support of Ethiopian relief efforts. Americans, indeed all persons committed to democracy should support Israel in its effort to see that Ethiopia's black Jews are united with their brethren in Israel - an effort that should finally lay to rest the false notion that "Zionism is Racism."

* * * *

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: Immediately
March 14, 1985

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

WHICH WAY FOR SOUTH AFRICA?

For the last 25 years, predictions of an imminent race war in South Africa have abounded. Most of these warnings have come after sporatic outbursts of violence such as the shootings at Sharpeville in 1960 and the 1976 Soweto student demonstrations. These dramatic tragedies drew world attention leading many people, unfamiliar with the complexities of South Africa, to believe that violent revolution was imminent. With whites less than one quarter of the total population, their days in power seemed numbered.

Recent events have again drawn our attention to South Africa and there are renewed warnings of a bloody race war if the government does not act quickly to end apartheid and establish majority rule. But if we have learned anything about South Africa during the last quarter century, it is that the random acts of violence there are just that, and that an organized, violent opposition which has the strength to topple the military might of the South African government is not a likely prospect. While the world has waited for what seemed to be inevitable, the South African regime has continued on much the same course that was set in 1948. Apartheid has been entrenched by the recently adopted Constitution and the homelands policy continues, making the majority of South Africans foreigners in the land of their birth. All this is bolstered by a military force more powerful than the combined forces of sub-Saharan Africa.

To be sure, apartheid will end someday and there will be black rule in South Africa. However, to continue to assert that violent revolution is imminent is to ignore both the extraordinary military capabilities of the South African regime and its ability to employ extreme forms of violent oppression to maintain the status quo. I believe that change in South Africa will come about

-more-

182

through an evolutionary process which will include continued spontaneous violent outbursts on the one hand, and the resistance of individuals and groups dedicated to nonviolent, peaceful change within that country, on the other.

It is the ongoing violence of the government of South Africa and the occasional acts of sabotage by its opponents which attract the fleeting attention of the news media. Consequently, most Americans are not aware that there are hundreds of groups within South Africa working for peaceful change. They include churches, trade unions, civil and human rights groups, women's groups, and social welfare and humanitarian agencies. People of all races who are committed to seeking democratic change in South Africa are struggling, as individuals or in groups, under the harshest of circumstances. The degree to which peaceful change is possible in South Africa depends largely on the ability of its nonviolent groups to continue the fight. These groups face incredible odds but are committed to the struggle to democratize South Africa.

The South African government responds to both violent and nonviolent resistance with more and more oppression. Its opponents who employ violence face a death sentence or exile at the infamous Robben Island prison. Those who resist nonviolently face detention without trial, jail, and the peculiarly South African invention known as banning which, briefly, relegates one to the status of a "non-person". Some who resist are forced to seek refuge in neighboring states or in Europe.

To date most Americans who abhor apartheid have expressed their oppostion in three ways: 1) they have urged the American government to abandon "constructive engagement" and to adopt a policy which clearly opposes apartheid; 2) they have called for disinvestment on the part of American corporations doing business in South Africa; and 3) they have supported the sports and cultural boycotts of South Africa conducted by much of the world community. While these

-more-

efforts have not brought about the end of apartheid, they have let the people of South Africa know that they do have foreign allies in the struggle for freedom.

I believe that it is time we found ways to broaden our support for the freedom movement in South Africa. During my two recent visits there the point which was most frequently stressed was this: that meaningful change in South Africa can only come about from within. The struggle for change within South Africa is primarily the responsibility of the people of South Africa. This was reaffirmed to Senator Ted Kennedy during his visit there by Winnie Mandela, the wife of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress.

In my next column I will discuss one method by which Americans can broaden their support for those working to bring about peaceful change in South Africa.

* * * *

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
May 2, 1985

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

BLUNDERS SURROUNDING GERMAN VISIT CREATED NEEDLESS CONTROVERSY

by Bayard Rustin

"I never thought I'd see the day when Ronald Reagan could get the American Legion angry at him," said a U.S. diplomat recently, according to Time magazine, "but, by God, we've done it."

The President's trip to West Germany, charged with historical and ideological symbolism, has created unnecessary controversy through a series of blunders and gaffes. The errors of judgment, deplorable in themselves for their insensitivity and over-reliance on shallow public relations gestures, will have serious consequences for the Western democratic world in its battle of ideas with the Communist world.

The troubles really began two years ago, when democratic West Germany--an ally created from the ashes of the Nazi regime--was shunned during the commemoration of the Normandy invasion. There was every reason to include West Germany, giving the West German people and government a chance to demonstrate their total break with the Nazi past and to celebrate together with the Allied powers the key battle in Hitler's downfall. However, the Allied powers decided not to invite West Germany, unnecessarily creating bad feelings.

Hence Chancellor Kohl's emphasis last year, during the planning of Reagan's summit trip, on some symbolic gesture of reconciliation with the German people. Kohl requested a visit to a military cemetery. Reagan's staff traveled to West Germany, wishing to find a cemetery that would not be "embarrassing"; but it is difficult to find such a cemetery. Having fixed on Bitberg, they would not

-more-

back track, even when it was discovered that 49 of the 2000 graves there were of Waffen SS officers--the SS itself having been the most infamous and cruel manifestation of Hitler's plans to wipe out Jews, labor leaders, intellectuals, and subjugate all of Europe. The German Army itself also had its role in the systematic killing of Jews and other civilian populations, but the very name "SS" conjures up the most heinous and horrible crimes of the Nazi regime.

This would have been error enough; but then it was announced that Reagan had no plans to visit one of the death camps where millions of Jewish men, women, and children were starved, killed, tortured, and worked to death in fulfillment of Hitler's largely successful plan of genocide. These camps left an irremovable scar on the Jewish people and on the civilized Western world. Their discovery and liberation by Allied forces, in which American soldiers of all colors took part, was a stunning event in the history of conquering armies. Reagan's stated desire to avoid "reawakening old memories" was completely unaccountable, given his own previous sensitivity on the subject, the importance of the liberation to American veterans, and the overwhelming need for the German people--and all people--never to forget to what unimagined extremes of inhumanity totalitarian fanaticism can lead.

Later Reagan decided to visit the site of the Bergen-Belsen camp, but the damage had already been done.

One serious consequence is that the Soviet Union will find in all this grist for its mill. Its anti-Semitic propaganda machine has for decades been covering up the Holocaust, reinventing it, creating horrific myths about "Zionist-Nazi collaboration." Moreover, it likes to portray itself as the true anti-Nazi power, and democratic West Germany as the heir of the Nazi regime, when in reality the Soviet Union helped Germany in the crucial early days of Nazi conquest, by signing a mutual non-aggression treaty. Later, having been betrayed

-more-

by Hitler, Stalin joined with the Allied powers in defeating Hitler, only to become the new slave-master of the Eastern European countries freed from Nazi occupation.

There is no excuse for giving the Soviets the opportunity to gloat over the sight of the U.S.-West German leaders seeming to honor the S.S., nor for letting the genocide of the Jewish people or the bravery of American soldiers become an "issue" in constituency politics. Let us hope for clearer understanding and better leadership in the future.

****

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release: June 6, 1985

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

AMERICANS CAN LEND AID TO DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA

During my two trips to South Africa, blacks repeatedly stressed that meaningful change there can only come about from within. Social activists, educators, political leaders, virtually everyone with whom I met wanted me to understand that the struggle to achieve justice and democracy in South Africa ultimately depended on the action of the South African people. While they welcome international demonstrations of support, they know that outside pressure cannot be the determining factor for basic change. The struggle for justice in South Africa must be fought on South African soil by South Africans, black and white.

Recently events have taken a turn for the worse in South Africa. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the infamous Sharpeville massacre of 69 blacks by security forces, police gunned down 19 black demonstrators marching in a funeral procession near Uitenhage. This incident touched off violence in many of the black townships and for several days reports of the violence dominated the news. The government (in what was called "an act of desperation" by the Rev. Beyers Naude, the twice-banned General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches) banned 29 black organizations from holding meeting for three months.

This was followed by the government's announcement that it was abolishing its statutes prohibiting sexual and marital relationships across racial lines. Although the decision was hailed by some few as an indication of the government's willingness to bring about reform, the

-more-

relaxing of these laws will have little or no effect on the average black suffering under the apartheid. A more important announcement was the modification of the government's plan to relocate the residents of Crossroads, the infamous squatters camp on the outskirts of Cape Town. It now appears that the government will raise the number of residents who will be allowed to remain in that area. So the struggle continues, punctuated by acts of violence on the part of the oppressed followed by grudging and inadequate reforms on the part of the government.

How can Americans express their support for the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa? Must we limit our actions to pressuring for changes in U.S. policy, or is there a more direct method for demonstrating our solidarity with those struggling for freedom? This is the question I repeatedly posed while speaking with both black and white anti-apartheid activists during my last visit to South Africa. Based on the responses I received to that question, I believe that Americans can best help to end apartheid by providing direct support to both non-governmental agencies and to individuals in South Africa working to democratize that country.

Many Americans do not know that there are hundreds of anti-apartheid groups there that are committed to bringing about a democratic South Africa by peaceful means. These include civil and human rights groups, trade unions, educators, women's groups, humanitarian agencies, and church groups. Their membership is composed of people

-more -

from all racial groups who are committed to freedom and justice for all South Africans. These groups are anxious for contact with those outside South Africa who are interested in lending moral and financial support to their struggle. They believe that building relationships with foreign groups can strengthen their organizations and help educate people outside South Africa about the complexities of their struggle. Contact with foreign agencies will, I believe, help protect these individuals and groups from arbitrary harassment by the South African authorities who may not wish to provoke an international outcry by their actions.

Americans have demonstrated a renewed interest in South Africa. The arrests at the South African embassy and the demonstrations on college campuses across the country indicate the concern we have for those who are suffering under apartheid. The legislation pending before Congress may help to change the direction of U.S. policy towards South Africa. That would be a step toward ending the policy of "constructive engagement" which has fostered much anti-American sentiment among South Africans who are working against apartheid. Perhaps if we begin reaching out directly to those in the midst of the struggle with offers of concrete moral and financial support, we may help to restore the image of America as a nation that supports justice and democracy. We may also hasten the advent of a democratic South Africa.

# # #

MORALS CONCERNING MINORITIES

-- Mental Health and Identity

by

Bayard Rustin

It would appear that the public morality in America at the present time is being dominated, to an alarming degree, by a concern with technological and coporate priorities. This concern, quite naturally, ignores the problems and aspirations of the ordinary individual, particularly the individual who is not equipped either by spiritual inclination or technical training to participate in the processes and values by which these priorities are pursued. A humane culture as we have imagined it and dreamed of it in America, and which at certain periods of our history has appeared possible, seems today to be on the verge of being sacrificed to the special exigences of the marketplace: That is to say, as the new technologica and organizational obsession spreads, the possibility of our creating an engaged social conscience recedes further and further into the back ground, leaving more and more people, particularly our minorities, stranded and neglected in a deepening mire of social and economic problems.

This, I must concede, is, in some ways, a familiar process. The roots of the crisis in which the individual life now finds itself are deep in the processes that for a long time have been at work in the cultural and economic history of the west: We have been victims not only of faulty planning, but also, in crucial respects, of no humane planning at all. As Michael Harrington remarks in The Accidental Century:

> History, after all, has always been stumbling into new social systems. The industrial revolution and the capitalist economy were neither anticipated nor planned. The English in the 17th century thought that their upheaval was over theology, the French of the 18th that theirs was over philosophy. In retrospect, each event had more to do with the rise of a business civilization than with either God or man.... This accidental revolution is the sweeping and unprecedented technological transformation of the Western environment which has been, and is being, carried out in a casual way. In it, this technology is essentially under private control and used for private purposes; this situation is justified in the name of a conservative ideology; and the byproduct is a historical change which would have staggered the imagination of any 19th century visionary. In following their individual aims, industrialists blundered into a social revolution. There is indeed an

invisible hand in all of this. Only it is shaping an unstable new world rather than Adam Smith's middle-class harmony.

If it is true, as seems probable, that more and more of our cities will be the homes of the very poor and the very rich, that generations of poor will breed more generations of poor, that crime and mental disorder will increase, and that the gap between the very rich and the very poor will increase, then there can be no doubt in the minds of those who retain a belief in a humane future that one of our higher social priorities in the coming decades must be the development of an environment of conditions compatible with, or dedicated to, the restoration of the dignity of the individual, particularly those who have been most grievously victimized. That dignity cannot be achieved unless man is able to control his environment, rather than having his environment control him, as happens today. To cite Michael Harrington again: "The hope for the survival and fulfillment of the Western concept of man demands that the accidental revolution be made conscious and democratic."

In preparing ourselves for this task, and in seeking to enlist the cooperation and support of some of the major institutions in our society, one of the efforts we will have to make is to demand of people more than private expressions of their commitment, which, as we well know, have never been in short supply in America. We have seen on many occasions that while many Americans have been ready to confess personal anguish and declare personal morality, they have nevertheless been quite prepared to go along with business as usual. They have, in other words, been far less ready to mobilize these personal concerns -- assuming them to be sincere -- into any concerted social action to bring about necessary social change. This must be deeply troubling, because the problems we are in, and the greater problems we face, are not going to be solved by token individual concern, but by relating commitment to practical action in behalf of social and economic change, and also by the institution of conscious and democratic planning.

To pause at this point for a moment. There are many examples in our history of people who declared their personal commitment, but who remained hestiant to place themselves in the service of causes to bring about broad social change. Let me cite two of these examples. One night, one of our founding fathers had a frightening dream. He dreamed that he saw America being torn asunder by slavery. On waking, he inserted into his will a provision for the manumitting of his slaves upon his death. But like Pilate of old, who had found no fault whatever with the accused, all that great American did was to wash his personal hands of a great moral issue. What he ought to have done was to have followed the full moral implications of his dream and put the full weight of his power and prestige behind measures in the Congress of the land to abolish the brutal institution of slavery. Instead, several decades later, when that founding father had, we suppose, won a place for his private conscience in heaven, the nation was indeed being torn asunder by one of the bloodiest civil wars in human history.

A more recent example: During the summer of 1966, Martin Luther King was stoned and spat upon in Chicago while helping Negroes to fight segregation, one of the continuing legacies of slavery. Many people, confessing themselves of liberal sympathies, claimed that they were shocked by the treatment received by Dr. King. They referred to King's attackers as bigots, racists, and old Nazis. Yet the truth of the matter is that none of these people, proud as they claimed to be of their liberalism, cared to involve themselves deeply in efforts to bring about the kind of social and economic change in Chicago that would have made the demonstrations which King led unnecessary, or, since they were necessary, that would have made it possible for him to exercise his democratic right free of the threat of such ugly reprisals.

Therefore, I repeat: to do the things that are necessary to be done to restore decency and concern to the problems and aspirations of the individual, some way must be found to mobilize personal commitment and personal morality into an affirmative surge of national action and will.

II

At the heart of this problem -- the dehumanization, demoralization, and exclusion of the individual from the prevailing concerns of our society -- is the problem of our minorities. And increasingly today the heart of our minority problem is being located in the urban centers of our nation. None of us -- even those who are least interested in solutions -- can have escaped the sense of fear and frustration that are building up in our cities, perhaps towards an explosion whose effects we might not be able to control. And none of us can deny that this situation is being brought about by the gradual diminution of social morality and social concern for the value of the individual. As minorities are driven to the cities in search of a better life, those in a position to help them fulfill these aspirations shrink from them to the greener suburbs, leaving behind growing reservoirs of helplessness and misery.

This is by no means an excessive estimate. An objective profile of what the cities will look like in the year 1980, or even 2000, gives no less cause for concern. In a paper written for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Victor Palmieri, president of the Janss Corporation, states:

> Within the next two decades -- probably by 1980 -- the core area of almost every major metropolitan city of the United States will be a racial -- predominantly black -- island. This is not a speculation. It is already very largely a fact in Washington, Chicago, and New York City. It is rapidly becoming a fact in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. Three established factors -- the rate of population growth among minority groups (almost three times that of the white population in the City of Los Angeles); the increasing income level and mobility of middle class white families; and the resulting domino effect on racially impacted school districts -- will maintain the velocity of the trend and virtually guarantee its ultimate outcome... This, then, is the city of the future -- the very near future. A black island spreading like a giant ink blot over the heart of a metropolis which is bankrupt financially and paralyzed politically

One dosen't even have to wait for tomorrow. The situation as it presently exists in the cities is frightening enough. Heads of minority families are demoralized by the lack of the kind of employment that would enable them to support their families in dignity and decency. Crime and drug addiction increase as young men and women cast about to find a way out of the pressures of their situation. The transportation system is inadequate. We do not have schools that take into account the lives and backgrounds of the minorities nor the need to prepare them to play a profitable or meaningful part in the technological revolution. We do not have housing that minorities feel is decent enough for them to live in. There is a shortage of the kind of work that can create in them a feeling of self-respect. The air is being poisoned. The rivers are contaminated. The slums grow, and the conditions in them become more intolerable every day.

It is in the face of this situation that white majorities become fearful of their mental and economic security and the minorities become more and more frustrated. The privileged majorities either retreat into pockets of resistance or flee to the suburbs, a flight, incidentally, which the government has been subsidizing for years now by the building of new highways and the establishment of surburban housing. While the white majority has been able to find these outlets for their fear, there has been no outlet for minority frustration except in rioting. The cycle seems so vicious that I'm convinced that this whole problem -- the problem of our minorities and of our cities -- grows out of one source, and that is fundamental social immorality in our society; the failure or unwillingness to establish humane priorities; the absence of a major public commitment to eradicate poverty and slums.

Of course, it would be a mistake to believe that these conditions penalize only the ethnic minorities. Studies, such as Michael Harrington's The Other America, show that the white poor in some of the cities and in certain rural areas of America are every bit as deprived and demoralized as are the black and other minority poor. What is interesting and startling in this regard is that the white poor remains relatively quiescent, due no doubt to the fact that there are forces at work in the society which inhibit them from forming a common front with other minorities to find common remedies for their common problems. No one minority segment can, in the present circumstances of American economic life, lift themselves up by their own bootstraps; and therefore there can only be the most limited gains from the lonely struggle being waged by the black poor, the Puerto Ricans, and the Mexican Americans. The reason for their lonely struggle is not because blacks and other ethnic minorities are any more convinced of the need for social change than are poor whites, but because the poor whites are convinced, from thei belief in some of the racial assumptions of the society, that they are superior to Negroes and other minorities. This is another instance of what I mean by saying that the plight of the poor and other minorities is the result of being moral, social and economic contradictions in our society.

For a general overview of the factors at work against the American worker, black and white alike, I will quote again from the Accidental Century and then from the AFL-CIO. Harrington writes:

> Between 1909 and 1962, American industry increased the worker's output by 2.4 percent a year. But then, this five-decade

trend conceals a most significant shift. From 1909 to 1947, the productivity gain was only 2 percent a year. But between 1958 and 1963, productivity per man-hour went up 3.1 percent a year. And it was, of course, in this period of accelerated productivity growth in the fifties and early sixties that automation and cybernation began to emerge as an important factor in the American economy.

Translate these gross quantities into some of their significant details. In 1964, ten men could produce as many automobile motor blocks as 400 men in 1954; two workers could make a thousand radios a day, a job that required 200 a few years before; 14 operators were tending the glass-blowing machines that manufactured 90 percent of all the glass bulbs in the United States of America. During the fifties, Bell Telephone increased its volume by 50 percent and its work force by only 10 percent.

This same trend also illumines an economic paradox: the coexistence, in the late fifties and early sixties, of prosperit and chronic unemployment. More unskilled and semiskilled jobs in private manufacture were destroyed than created, and joblessness persisted at over 5 percent of the work force despite the prosperity (this 5-percent figure is an understatement; it does not count those driven out of the labor market, possibly a million and a half workers, nor the underemployed; a "true" estimate of involuntary idleness would be in the neighborhood of 9 percent). At the same time, the machines were the source of enormous profit, and thus there was a deformed "prosperity", benign for corporations, malignant for millions of workers.

And a resolution at the 24th meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council, August 1966, pointed out:

> Profits have skyrocketed - moving up far out of line with wage and salaries. The result has been increased living costs that have washed out much of the value of workers' wage gains. In the past year, the buying power of most workers' take-home pay has hardly advanced at all.
> - Corporate profits soared 52 percent before taxes, and 67 percent after payment of taxes.
> - Dividend payments to stockholders rose 43 percent.
> - Weekly take-home pay of factory workers increased only 21 percent and, in terms of buying power, merely 13 percent.
> - Total wages, salary and fringe benefits of all employees in the entire economy increased only 33 percent -- reflecting increased employment, as well as gains in wages and salaries. This trend continues in 1966, with wages and lagging behind the sharp rise of profits and dividends.

I myself wrote in the November 1966 issue of Federationist magazine that a vicious cycle was being set in motion:

> Failing to deal with the social and economic roadblocks to equality, we stoke the fire of frustration in the ghetto; violent riots and cries of "black power" in turn feed a white backlash which make constructive solutions to the problems of blacks and whites more difficult. Finally, backlash only confirms Negro isolationists in their hostility toward white America. We are today at the crossroads. Within the next 50 years, if the cycle of fear and frustration is not broken, if the just economic demands of the labor movement are not coupled with the democratic aspirations of the Negro people, and if men of goodwill do not join in the fight for programs such as the Freedom Budget for all Americans, which would end poverty within the next ten years in this country, then we may very well be propelled into a racial nightmare. And not only the ethnic minorities will benefit from the Freedom Budget; 75 percent of the poor white. All of us are affected by the persistence of poverty -- in the conditions of our neighborhoods and schools, in our tax rates and public services, in the quality of our lives.

III

The excluded and victimized minorities are composed basically of three groups: (1) those who, through no fault of their own, cannot find work; (2) those who work but do not make enough money to live decently; and (3) those who are physically and psychologically incapable of working, or who, because they are too young or too old to work are not provided for. And finally, to identify a feature that touches upon all three groups, these minorities are, by and large, people who, because of their race, their color, or their creed, are deemed to be unequal to the others. Any solution, therefore, of the problem of our minorities, of their morale and identity must deal, in one way or another, with all of the above conditions.

Let us therefore look at some of the specific areas of minority problems, how they developed, how we can attack them, and, in attacking them, how we can restore individual dignity to the lives of our minorities.

The Ghetto: Many of the proposals which have been made to improve the ghetto seem to center around the need to renovate them and make them more habitable. I find myself in basic disagreement with this approach. The problem of the ghetto cannot be solved with scotch tape, string and paste. It is a problem which needs to be attacked radically, which is to say, from the roots. Therefore, rather than attempt to improve the ghetto, what we need to do is tear it down, physically and spiritually. We ought to make it possible for many people who up until now have been forced to live there to move out into new towns and communities and neighborhoods; we ought to make it possible for some to make a voluntary decision to remain there; and we ought to make it possible for others who are now living outside to move in without fear of feeling degraded. Let us not forget the fundamental nature of the ghetto: no amount of repairing can remove from it the stigma of what the society says it is -- a reservation in which to keep people whom the larger society does not care to associate with and whose problems it has no interest in dealing with.*

---

*For a description of positive practices, case studies of successful projects in a number of cities, as well as a broad outline for a program for planning and developing integrated cities, see Albert Mayer's The Urgent Future, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1967.

The people who are most overcome by the spirit of the ghetto are the young people, those bursting with optimism, hope, and a sense of possibility, but who are forced to make a truce with the reality that there is nowhere outside for them to go. The result is that they turn in on themselves and on their own neighbors with self-destructive frustration and violence. We cannot afford to preserve, in any form, an environment that breeds such bitterness, such despair. I think that Arthur Dunmeyer, a young man from Harlem, in his testimony before the Ribicoff Committee in Washington, expressed as graphically as I have ever heard what it means for a young man to deal with himself and his sense of possibilities from within the confines of the ghetto. He said:

> It is not a matter of a guy saying, "I want to go to jail. I am afraid of jail." Jail is off the street just like it is inside. The same as like you are in they tell you, "Look, if you do something wrong you are going to be put in the hole." You are in jail in the hole or out of the hole. You are in jail in the street or behind bars. It is the same thing, a matter of existing, and this thing of feeling like a person regardless of if it is illegal or not.

The mental health of young Negroes in the ghetto is therefore essentially the mental health of someone who is actually in prison, and if we are going to liberate hundreds and thousands of young, pent up, frustrated minds into the optimism and open air of the American dream, then we have got to abolish the institution of the ghetto, not refurbish it. Ghettoes have no place in the spirit which for centuries we have been told is the spirit of America.

Ralph Ellison, in his testimony before the same Ribicoff Committee, suggested a new morality for our cities that I believe is identical with the climate that needs to be created in place of the one that presently hangs over the ghetto.

> Well, I think that one of the things that we can do about the city is to look at it, to try to see it, not merely as an instrumentality for making money, but a place for allowing the individual to achieve his highest promise. And with that in mind, you would try to construct a city or reconstruct a city in ways which would encourage a more gracious sense of human possibility. You would teach, if at all possible, the immigrants, whether they are black or white or brown, that there is certain knowledge which one must have in order to live in the city without adding too much discomfort to his neighbors.

The Negro Family: The social psychology of the Negro family is one that is relevant not only to life in the ghetto, but also to the life of any low-income Negro community in general. And the source of this psychology is to be found in the traditional and

and systematic exclusion of the Negro man from employment opportunities that would enable him to bear his full responsibility in the home as man, husband, and father. There are few fathers in American social science literature who have been studied as thoroughly and as closely as the Negro father and, yet, there is no father for whom so little has been done. In 1940, Edward Bakke described the tragedy in which a jobless father finds himself.

> ....the jobless father is no longer a provider, credit runs out, the woman is forced into the labor force. Then, if relief becomes a necessity, the woman is even more of the focal point -- and the welfare investigator is often a woman, too. The father is dependent, the children bewildered, the stability of the family is threatened and often shattered.

The above was a description of the plight of a white unemployed family, which indicates that the problem of being an adequate provider and maintaining an image as man and father is not one that is peculiar to the Negro father. Here, more recently, (in The Mark of Oppression), is a description of the mental disposition and social situation of the Negro father vis-a-vis his wife and family:

> The common feature of paternal care in the lower class is its frequent absence...For many reasons...the father is a lesser figure in the household. The fathers frequently oscillate between two poles: they are either seclusive, taciturn, violent, punitive, and without interest in the children, or they are submissive to the mother. Often, they are irresponsible or alcoholic... Nevertheless, kins, benevolent and provident fathers do appear in this group. Here again, this occurs mostly when the father can achieve economic security and, with the assumption of full masculine prerogatives is enabled to express more positive behavior toward his children.

What has happened in America is that the post-Emancipation labor market denied many Negroes the opportunity to become "economic fathers" -- the breadwinning heads of stable families -- just as the laws of slavery had denied them the juridical right to marriage and children. Therefore, we find today that 35 percent of all Negro children live in broken homes; 25 percent of Negro women who have been married are divorced or seperated; 14 percent of all Negro children are receiving Aid of Families of Dependent Children.

There is only one answer to this problem, and it is not to give impoverished black families lectures in the virtues of middle class living. The answer is to give the men jobs, provide every able-bodied man a job, and provide the opportunity for them to avail themselves of decent housing and decent schools. As Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, remarked, "If the Negro woman has a major underlying concern, it is the status of the Negro man and his position in the community and his need for feeling himself an important person, free and able to make his contribution in the whole society in order that it may strengthen his home."

Minority Poverty and Joblessness: The white immigrant waves of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries faced ethnic and religious prejudice but they were never confronted, as today's ethnic minorities are, with an organized system of race hatred with its own laws and myths and stereotypes, its own economy. Those of the older generations of the white poor who fought their way out of poverty could thus assimilate into American life as soon as they acquired money, education, mastery of the language, and so forth. Also, the older white immigrant came into an economy which could put grade school drop-outs to work. The minorities who are struggling today are faced with an entirely different problem; they must compete not only within race prejudice but also against machines.

Moreover, the unemployed rates today are much higher than they were even during the worst years of the great depression. As James McGregor Burns points out, 20 percent of the population was then unemployed. Today, a U.S. Department of Labor study estimates that in the 12 largest areas unemployment rates between 14-and 19-year-olds range from 18.4 percent in Washington, D.C., to 36 percent in Philadelphia, with the rate running about 30 percent in seven areas. The rate for nonwhite girls is somewhat higher than for boys (over 40 percent in Philadelphia and St. Louis.*)

I believe, therefore, that , in the same way the society provided the old immigrants with opportunities to lift themselves and play a meaningful role in the American social and economic order, so also it is obliged to find a way to provide today's minorities with the opportunity and potential to lift and save themselves: And, in keeping with our present circumstances, any program which is conceived to help our minorities out of their present plight must include, first and foremost, a program for full and fair employment, i.e., federally guaranteed jobs for all those - whether members of minority groups or not -- who are eligible or can be made eligible for employment in the production of goods and services in

*"A Sharper Look at Unemployment in U.S. Cities and Slums," United States Department of Labor.

the public sector. Gerhard Colm of the National Planning Association is correct when he suggests that such a program of full employment *per se* will not solve all the problems of poverty, and especially not the racial problems, but it would contribute substantially to the solution and would create the best conditions for attacking the residual problems. Secondly, the program must include a two-dollar minimum wage; and, thirdly, a guaranteed annual income for those too old, too young, or too sick to work.

We need federally financed public works programs for the creatio of the necessary physical institutions -- more schools, more hospital more roads, more clinics, more psychiatric facilities, more libraries Not only should the poor benefit from the increased services of these physical facilities, they should also participate in building them -- acquiring skills while being paid. This is especially important if we are going to convince young minority group members to take advantage of training or retraining programs. One cannot train young people in a vacuum and expect to win their seriousness, their hope, or their cooperation; in other words, one must show them that the jobs exist for which they are being trained, and that they can work on those jobs even while they are being trained.

Part of any program for full employment is the need for a "redefinition of work." This is necessary to make up for the inroads which automation has made into areas traditionally served by human labor. That is to say, we must redefine work around those kinds of efforts which the technological revolution cannot affect. What are some of these efforts? They involve creating a whole new hierarchy of non-professional workers to help the professional perform some of the functions he now performs.

Elizabeth Wickenden, Consultant to the National Social Welfare Assembly, describes those functions very well:

> Creative play with young children, visiting home-makers service for the ill or the motherless home, work with older people, masculine leadership for adolescent boys, the interpretation of family planning to overburdened mothers, neighborhood organizations - to make just a few of the present sub-professional jobs - are possibilities.

Jack Conway correctly points out that by creating "decent jobs, a whole host of public and private services will be improved and the entire population will benefit. In short, the public wants improved services and education, health, recreation, police protection, housi and other public and private services."*

There must be creation of new opportunities for human services. Academic study should be redefined as work and paid for. Many functions which are performed today by underprivileged people but which do not have the stamp of prestige should be redefined as prestigious labor and be paid for at dignified wages. All of this, of course, must be part of a grand plan to solve poverty and to create new motivations and liberate new energies by which minorities can achieve a new sense of belonging and a new sense of identity in American life.

I would make the two-dollar minimum wage the next major priorit That alone could do as much as the entire poverty program in terms of helping people rehabilitate themselves through their own lucrativ labor.

James Farmer, James Forman, Dorothy Height, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and myself all testified to this need before the General Sub-Committee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor on June 29, 1965. We said:

> We believe that minimum wage protection must be extended to one of the most cruelly used groups in the land, those people who work long hard hours at back-breaking or menial jobs and who are nevertheless poor....If the country faces up to this problem it will do more than grant justice to a particular minorit It will take a giant step towards the solution of the problems that affect all of us, black and white....This nation can take an important step in remedying part of the injustice that has been done to the Negro. It can simultaneously better the situation of an even greater number of whites. We have the opportunity, in short, to achieve an integrated social justice.

Even the passage of a two-dollar minimum wage is modest. It guarantees an income of $4160 for a year's work, and that is roughly $2000 less than what the government has computed to be a "modest but adequate" urban family budget. We should not be satisfied until e every American family has at least that "modest but adequate" income For now, however, an increase of the minimum wage to $2.00 is a responsible and reasonable step in the right direction.

Here, I would like to discuss the most common argument against extending wage coverage and against raising the minimum wage itself to $2.00. Rising labor costs in unskilled and semi-skilled work, it is said, provide an incentive to employers to mechanize or even to automate. The results will be the elimination of precisely thos marginal jobs which now provide at least an employment opportunity for unskilled Negores, young people, and others who are not qualified to compete in the modern economy. There is some truth in this argument. If congress simply amends the Fair Labor Standards Act and lets it go at that, then the result could be negative That is why we cannot regard minimum wage as a panacea. That is why my proposals make sense only within the framework of a national commitment to generate new jobs.

---

*For a more detailed and complete study of the New Careers concept, see New Careers for the Poor, by Frank Riessman and Arthur Pearl, and a pamphlet on the same subject published by the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, and written by Frank Riessman; with an introduction by Michael Harrington.

I would then add a guaranteed annual income. But let us consider a few figures. As recently as March 3 this year, Joseph Alsop wrote in his syndicated newspaper column:

> At present, a million American families with 3,200,000 children are living on welfare. In addition, another 3,600,000 American families with 11, 800,000 children, though not caught in the welfare trap, are subsisting in grinding poverty that mocks and dishonors our national affluence.

To this, I would add a recent observation by Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers:

> Measured by our resources, we are doing less to provide our older citizens with security and dignity than any other industrial country in the world.

Now, obviously, we need a bold social and economic innovation to end the pathetic dependence of so many millions of our citizens on the caprice of welfare agencies, and I would suggest that the innovation ought to be a guaranteed annual income for those who are too old, too young, or too sick to work; or mothers of families who cannot or should not work.

I do not believe that the way to deal with man is to deal with him only as an economic person. In this society, one's spiritual judgement of himself has to be related to his role in the production of goods and services. He is someone because he does somethin which society puts value upon; and, therefore, while I am for a guaranteed income for the categories I have described, I am for a guaranteed wage, not income, for others. We cannot keep on handing out checks like leaflets. A man needs to feel that the check he gets is a wage for services to the society and, given the nature of our Western values, I do not believe that he can feel dignity and humanity by simply having checks given to him periodically.

Education: For more than twenty years, the quantitative and qualitative shortages of classrooms in our public schools have been accumulating. Instead of remedying these adequately, we have tended to reduce the estimates of shortages. We need, for many years to come, a construction program of more than a hundred thousand public classrooms a year. This would require outlays of several billions of dollars. Allied with this we need a hundred thousand new teachers per year in the public schools. Regarding higher education, it has been estimated that there are now at least 200,000 young people who are ready for college but lack the means; the figure is probably much higher, and this problem is acute amony young Negroes and other minorities. The number will increase, in consequence of the very high birth rates during the early postwar years, and further improvement in secondary education. Comparing 1975 with 1963, the number of students who should be enrolled in schools of higher learning should approximately double. Under existing programs, neither the facilities nor the personnel will be available to meet these needs.

Any new and progressive education program for the future must include in its priorities the provision of the above needed facilities as well as plans to upgrade and improve the climate of learning in our schools and most urgently in our ghetto schools; motivate minority group youth; reinforce in them a respect for their own past and history; prepare them to share in the benefits of the technological revolution; destroy all forms of segregation; and create in them a sense of unlimited possibilities in the present and future processes of the society. Above all, with respect to excluded minorities, the society ought to address itself to the following question posed by Irving Howe:

> What then is to happen to these millions of young people for whom the society has less and less need, who are kept penned up in schools simply because no one knows what else to do with them, and whom the dominant values they have absorbed from the social air keep from grasping the true ends of education?

Housing: (On the question of housing, particularly as it concerns our minorities, I will quote directly from "The Freedom Budget for All Americans," which embodies my thinking on the subject, and with whose preparation and writing I was associated. The Freedom Budget states:) "The removal of the slum ghetto which now infect our cities, and of substandard housing in other areas as well, is the top specialized priority...It is an 'end' priority because slum-living is an ultimate evil in itself, both a cause and a by-product of poverty, and perhaps the main factor is what has been called the "self-perpetuating" nature of poverty. And it is a "means" priority, because rapid expansion of home construction, with other outlays which it would spark, can perhaps contribute about half of the 22-27 million new jobs we need by 1975.

"Although there is no decisive single test of what constitutes unsatisfactory housing, the 1960 census described as "seriously deficient" about 9.3 million housing units in the U.S., or about one-sixth of the total. Allowing for what appears to be some understatement, at least one-fifth of all our people were ill-housed when this Census was taken. The bad housing is occupied predominantl by the poor. According to the Census, less than 21 percent of all owner-occupied housing in metropolitan areas were unsound. But in the case of occupancy by families with incomes under $3,000, about 60 percent of the former type of housing and about 34 percent of the latter type were unsound. And among consumer units with incomes under $2,000, it appears that at least 4 out of 5 lived in unsound housing.

"The poor in the main are not getting decent housing because it is not "profitable" to provide it for them. Even with the protection of Government insurance through the Federal Housing Administration, far less than one percent of the new single-family homes are purchased by those with incomes under $4,000. The production of new rental housing for the poor on a "profitable" basis has been even more negligible. And the provision of new housing for the higher income groups does not enable decent housing to be "handed down" to the poor in any substantial volume. The proof positive of this is the amount of substandard housing still in use, and its highly unsatisfactory rate of reduction in recent years... Although our urban renewal efforts have been grossly inadequate, the re-housing of slum dwellers has lagged even further. In consequence, many slum dwellers have been crowded into other slums, where they pay even higher rents because of the shortages thus created. In a more commendable effort, massive projects to re-house the poor should be built first and, after they move, the slums they have left should be torn down...Making our cities decent places in which to live would reduce the outflow of the affluent to the suburbs. It would at least slow down the process whereby we are now rapidly becoming two Americas -- with the poor forming increasing proportions of those living in the cities, while others move out. And with the affluent and influential forming a reasonable proportion of the total city population, the cities would have both the means and the will to finance adequately the popular services which are now being starved -- with this starvation aggravating the very poverty which it reflects....

"The replacement of slum ghettoes with new housing for their occupants at an adequate pace would not only make other aspects of urban renewal acceptable, but also augment them greatly. Development of community facilities and public improvements of all types would follow in the wake of the needed housing effort. More would be spent for every commodity which enters into housing and every other urban construction, and for furnishings and equipment within the structures. An annual average of almost 700,000 more housing starts during 1966-1975 than in 1965, or 7 million more for the decade, coupled with extensive rehabilitation and related community improvements, would entail for the decade as a whole about 230 billion dollars more direct investment than would result from maintenance of the 1965 level of housing and related activity. Considering the multiplier effects, the increased spending due to this program over the decade might aggregate 450-560 billion dollars and create 45-65 million man-years of employment, or 4½-6½ million on an average annual basis."

IV

The foregoing are some of the basic areas in which minority mental health and identity have suffered in the past, and are still suffering, but in which they should be protected from suffering in the future. And, as I suggested earlier, the creation of a more humane future -- a more humane 21st century -- for these people requires a commitment in social morality such as we have not had at any previous period of our history.

And here I should like to say a word about one or two of the possible ways in which the minorities themselves can help to generate or set in motion the sweeping social changes that the coming decades demand. Without going into the Freedom Budger*, I must say I believe the programs it puts forward represent the most urgent demand for economic change in the lives of the poor in America, and provides a rallying point around which millions of America's poor and excluded can mount a massive campaign in behalf of their own future.

Which brings me to the point I really want to make: the need for organization and coalition. As stated earlier, the only elements among the minorities that are in any significant motion are the Negroes and Spanish-American minorities. This is a serious problem because these groups do not have sufficient political power to deal with any of the stubborn economic problems in the society. The only way in which these problems can be dealt with is through the creation of a political coalition made up of Jews, Catholics, Protestants, the labor movement, liberals, the students, intellectuals, civil rights, and other minority groups. And I believe one of the key partners in this coalition has to be the labor movement, particularly because it has been the most successful voluntary organization for the abolition of poverty in American history.

---

*Bertram Gross' ideas for metropolitan Freedom Budgets are excellent, and similar to a notion currently being tested by the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The Institute has set up local committee in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Sacramento in an effort to rally local support behind the Freedom Budget and to develop economic plans for metropolitan areas. The Budget has strategic importance; it is, of course, a prime example of the type of economic planning this paper would advocate - one that sets priorities and establishes a time-table while measuring resources. Strategically, the budget provides a meeting ground for civil rights leaders to discuss strategy and tactics. It is neither an abstract demand nor a one-issue document and provides the opportunity for labor, liberal, religious and other white supporters of the civil rights movement to ally themselves with the civil rights movement in an on-going project, rather than just during periods of crisis or mass demonstrations. It gives an opportunity to students, who have become disillusioned with social and economic conditions to join the civil rights movement, because it provides work opportunities for those who are academically oriented as well as those who are activist oriented. The budget is particularly important at the grass-roots level. It removes the intercommunity squabble for money and adds a programmatic and ideological rallying point, while helping local people relate their demands to the national economy.

Elizabeth Wickenden points out that "such a coalition will become effective when there is a wide-spreading network of mutual interest. This involves a very delicate balance of what is particular to one group and what is the common interest of many groups...More members of the majority need to recognize their own interests are jeoparadized by an excluded submerged minority, not through fear but through real understanding."

The economic challenge that now faces minority groups gives the labor movement an opportunity to face up to a new and profound challenge. Almost half of the heads of poor families work hard and long -- yet they are still poor. Some of them are denied coverage under the nation's collective bargaining policies -- especially Mexican-American farm workers -- others lack Social Security, some work at sub-poverty wages, and many work in unorganized shops. Therefore, I believe the labor movement's program for increasing minimum wage and extending its coverage can constitute a major step forward for the working poor. I also believe that the labor movement must bring its unique skills -- organization and collective bargaining -- to the unorganized poor. Some trade unionists have already suggested that strong, stable internationals and locals should "adopt" organizing campaigns among workers who are so poor that they cannot pay the cost of organizing themselves, at least at the outset. Others have indicated that union organizing experience can make a major contribution to help organize the poor for "maximum feasible participation" in the war against poverty.

While I have no doubt about the value of maximum feasible participation in solving problems of poverty, or any other problems, I would just like to add that we ought to look at maximum feasible participation as broadly and realistically as possible. More than anything else it should represent from here on one of the vital features of the grass-roots relationship to the political institutions of the society. In other words, I am all in favor of maximum participation if it means participating as fully as possible in the political decisions of the entire society. Finally, in whatever way one interprets maximum feasible participation, it should not relieve political parties and other social institutions of their obligation to act with courage, commitment and responsibility in solving people's problems. That is to say, maximum participation of the people in the solution of their problems should not be an excuse for the traditional political institutions to shirk their own responsibilities to seek and propose remedies for the ills of the people.

All of which takes me back to the need for coalition -- a coalition of effort, a coalition of conscience, a coalition of social morality, and a coalition of concern. I have no crystal ball, I have no way of knowing whether the new century that we create in America will be the one that ought in all justness to be created, But I do know that we can at the present moment ask no less. I do know that it will be a tragedy if we cannot find social answers to the problems created by the progress of technology and automation. So we, therefore, ought to fight for what is right, now. And in doing so we have to work to weld behind us a broad coalition of morality, now. For if we reject the possibility of this kind of coalition, or if we despair that it will ever come about, then we are rejecting and despairing of the only viable democratic alternative that is available. We cannot look any longer to third political parties. No third political party could do what Catholics, Protestants, Jews, intellectuals, students,civil rights workers, labor organizations, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other minorities did for the passage of civil rights bills, voting rights bills, public accommodations bills, and the March on Washington. If we cannot build that force again, this time around economic and social priorities for the excluded members of our society, then we are on our way to a social cataclysm that we will not be able to control except perhaps by tyranny.

V

One last word. To effectively regulate the human environment for the next fifty years two factors are essential: (1) deliberate planning and (2) a strong coalition to force to compel the national government to embark upon that planning.

In his Beyond the Welfare State, Gunnar Myrdal writes:

> There is in all planning, even if it were ever so earthily rooted in comprehensive studies of fact, an element of belief in reason as an independent force in history and in the freedom of choice by which man can change reality according to his design and so turn the course of future development. In essence, planning is an exercise in a nondeterministic conception of history....

Albert Mayer interprets this statement as a cry to move "forward boldly and resolutely." I agree with him entirely. As I think about the necessity for coalition, however, I am forced to recognize that there is no definitive blueprint for its achievement. I do believe, though, that the conditions and the elements exist around which we can begin resolutely to try and bring about such a coalition.

Already, the labor movement, the civil rights movement and many liberals have agreed on a series of ideas, many of them put forth in the Freedom Budget for all Americans. While I do not believe the Freedom budget, as it stands, represents the end of our fight for social progress, I think that if we can agree on the goals and strategies it puts forward it can mobilize us into action and ultimately into social and economic change.

Undoubtedly, there will be differences among those of us who represent the basic hope for coalition politics. Some of us will make mistakes, and some will even backslide. But these differences will be inherent in our commitment to democratic methods and democratic discussion.

One thing stands out clearly, however, and that is that the problems that face us are of immediate concern to every one of these groups. Every one of these groups is concerned with the fact that 5% of the families in the country still get as mush as 20% of the total income and that the lowest 20% get only 5%. Everyone is concerned that there must be a redistribution of wealth and an increase in democratic and social equality. No one of these groups can by itself achieve the remedies for these situations.

One way of bringing about this coalition is to weld it from within the Democratic Party where all the groups are now represented. This means organizing as a strong counterforce to the Dixiecrats - Republican coalition that stymies the progressive programs of the Democratic party. This means that we must support Southern Negroes in their efforts to defeat Dixiecrat candidates for congress. It means, ultimately, working within all the State Democratic parties to make sure that candidates - from dog catcher to senator - are people committed to creating a climate within the national party that will represent its natural majority.

Those of us who are planners must not let a given "demonstration city" or a new town or urban renewal project divert us from the massive changes that must be made in the society. The Freedom Budget for all Americans is only a skeleton. It needs flesh on its bones. That flesh will be provided by local people, by city planners, by educators, and by professionals.

In closing, I quote again from Michael Harrington's Accidental Century:

> ...America has for some time been engaged in the wrong argument. It has been debating as to whether or not the future should be collective and social, and ignoring the fact that the present is already becoming so. The real issue is not whether, but how, this future will arrive -- unwittingly or consciously chosen. If the new society imposes itself upon a people who do not notice a revolution, the moment will constitute the decadence of the western ideal...Either western man is going to chose a new society - or a new society will choose, and abolish, him.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN

Save The Children

by
Bayard Rustin

One of the less publicized problems within the present urban situation is the great number of homeless children who are now languishing in institutions and foster homes in desperate need of parents to come forward and adopt them. Since the overwhelming majority of these children are Negro and Puerto Rican, there is a most urgent need for more Negro and Puerto Rican adoptive parents.

The number of these children grows each year. Last year there were 1,110 of them, this year there are 1,400 and by next year there will be close to 2000.

Early this year, Mayor Lindsay announced an expansion of the city's adoption program and the formation of two new citizens committees to assist the city in recruiting new parents. They are the Parents Action Committee for Adoption, and the Advisory Council on Adoption. The former is comprised of parents who have already adopted children through the Department of Welfare's Division of Adoption, and the latter comprised of representatives of the mass media, public officials, and interested citizens, all of whom cooperate to disseminate information about the city adoption program. In spite of these committees, however, there has not been a significant increase in the number of parents willing to adopt children.

One reason for this is that Negro and Puerto Rican parents are not really aware of the problem; but an equally important reason may well be that there should be more Negroes and Puerto Ricans on the major Advisory Council.

One of the busiest and most concerned Negro members of the Advisory Council (also chairman of the Parents Committee) is Mr. Amos Taylor who, in cooperation with the Department of Social Services, is conducting a wide campaign to inform parents of the adoption situation and to appeal to them to adopt young children. Mr. Taylor volunteered his services to the adoption agencies only after he and his wife adopted a little girl in 1963. TheyTaylors had been childless through 12 years of marriage.

"It's a lot easier to adopt now than previously" Mr. Taylor says. "It's really a simple procedure. And although it takes about a year for final adoption papers to go through, the child is with his new parents about eight weeks after the application is filed. The majority of the children waiting for homes are under two years old, and many of them unfortunately will move from foster home to foster home several times before we find permanent homes for them - or sometimes they grow too old to attract adoptive parents."

All that is required of prospective parents is that they have enough money to support a child; enough room to provide proper sleeping arrangements; good health; religious and spritual values in living; and the desire to have and love a child.

As Mr. Taylor says, "there are many children in this city waiting for what is every child's birthright - a home with parents to love them. Some children are born to such a home. Others must look to strangers with hearts big enough to take in a child and make him their own through adoption."

Those interested in becoming adoptive parents should get in touch with the Department of Social Services Bureau of Child Welfare (Division of Adoption Services) 80 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 433 - 3306.

Reverberations

Now Kennedy: The Bill Mounts Higher

By **BAYARD RUSTIN**

(Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute)

Within two months two Americans who exemplified the best their country stands for — or should stand for — and who worked to create a climate of justice, civility, and moral sanity in the world have been brutally destroyed by one of the very evils they sought to eradicate.

RUSTIN

Much of the moral upheavel and restlessness now going on in the world and in America is a justified revolt against conditions which are no longer acceptable and against certain outmoded authorities which are no longer either relevant to the realities of the new age or responsive to the aspirations of a young generation which has every right to be considered a vital and legitimate constituency of the age.

Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King understood this deeply, and gave responsible, inspiring and high moral leadership to the new feeling and the new aspiration, as well as to the demand in our own country for a just, nonviolent and open society for all.

The tragic removal of these two men, at this time, from the American scene reveals the problems and crisis that plague our society in the starkest relief. Both men were deeply committed to the elimination of poverty in a land of such plenty. Both men were dedicated to peace and to the restrained and moral exercise of American power abroad.

Both Understood

Both men understood the human wastefulness of violence and the folly of utilizing violence in a democratic and humane society as the chief instrument for social and moral change. Both understood and supported the absolute necessity for the total freedom of black Americans. Both were in touch with the alienation of American youth, black and white, and their demand to be involved in the shaping of a new and more just society. Both were fully aware of the risks they ran and the penalties they faced for trying to work against the current American moral gain.

And yet both men, believing as Kennedy did that "man was not made for safe havens," accepted the risks and paid the penalties as a price for trying to make a difference in their time and for striving to show mankind that it can be better than it is.

We do not have enough of such men. And one wonders whether a country in which it cost so many decades to rear such affirmative and humane spirits can afford the destruction of two of the best of them within the short span of sixty days. Either answer to this question is frightening, and that may well be one of the truest measures of the crisis we are in.

Better Relationship

But while these were men for all good seasons and all moral causes, their loss will be felt most severely by the new young American generation, struggling to forge a more satisfying relationship with American values and institutions; by the Negroes struggling to win their total freedom and privileges as American citizens; and by the black and white poor who at this very moment are petitioning the President and the Congress for an equitable share in the great affluence of American society.

To feel and express a deep fear for the future of our democracy is not to sound a melodramatic alarm. For if all those who represent the hope and the chance for moral and racial reconciliation as well as the demand for social justice in America, if all these men are removed, then we are creating a no man's land which the armies of extreme reaction and extreme despair may well rush in to fill.

With each assassination, the bill for moral and social change in America mounts higher and higher. The question is when will America be ready to make good on this debt. And a far more serious question is whether it will make good before the bill mounts still higher, and before the armies move into the no man's land from which men like Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been violently eliminated.

Rustin

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN

By: Bayard Rustin

POLITICS AND SPELLING

A plan has been put forward to decentralize the New York school system into 30-60 districts, placing the control and administration schools into the hands of local community boards. Given the problems that exist under the system by which the schools are presently administered, no one could in good conscience be opposed to changes. Yet we have an obligation to be reasonably sure that the changes are in fact better and do not merely appear so on paper.

Therefore, though I am not opposed to decentralization in principle, I would look very carefully at the plan that has been presented to us. Unquestionably, it is a plan that reflects deep concern with the present state of education in our city. And, unquestionabley, it promises improvements in some very important areas. It will bring parents more cosely in touch with the education of their children, particularly parents in the black communities; it will enable them to affect educational program and policy; and it could compel teachers to be more responsive to parents' concern for the education of their children. All these objectives are good.

But there are real dangers. First, though the above problems are serious enough, the real problem in the schools today is the need to find a way of making children learn to read and write. This is what parents are basically concerned about. I am not sure that the decentralization plan as it is presently proposed gives us an answer to that problem. An if the plan is pushed, even while it does not propose that answer, then, presently, it may be more useful as a remedy to the political climate of education than to the quality of education.

Second, the communities are told they are going to be given control. But political control without a corresponding control over the financial resources that are going to be required to institute and upgrade facilities is something less than real control. It could turn out to be nothing more than a mirage, untimately increasing community frustrations.

Third, there is a danger of school boards being taken over by radical groups -- on the right and on the left -- who are less interested in improving education than in establishing a platform for community politics. The education of children should not be recruited to the service of these ends.

Fourth, in welcoming community involvement in the education of their children, let us not forget that we are in danger of sancitioning and institutionalizing the same segregated education which only yesterday the majority of black parents in this society were fighting against. If it was good to fight it then, it ought to be good now. It was good for the de facto segregationists to defend segregegation then and they are welcoming their victory even more sweetlynnow. I agree that it has not been easy to achieve quality integrated education, but the fact that an objective is difficult to attain does not make it any less desirable. I do not happen to think a school is necessarily inferior simply because the students are black. Nor do I think a school is necessarily superior because the students are white. What determines the quality of that school is the ability of the teachers and the quality of the facilities. But I think we know enough about the way this society operates to realize that it will find every way possible to put superior facilities in white schools and inferior or inadequate facilities in black ones.

Educationists, of course, will cite other dangers. I will say only this: Let us welcome the principle of decentralization that the present plan affirms. While the proposals contained in the Bundy Plan must be debated and amended, I support it. The Bundy Report must be the rallying point around which ways to seek an improvement concerning the issues I have raised must be explored. And while exploring, let us not forget that though we need to improve the climate in which the educational process takes place, our first and fundamental concern must be to find ways of teaching kids to develop skills in reading and writing, and arithmetic

* * * *

Miami times 5/23

Bayard Rustin Speaks

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS ISSUE STATEMENT IN BEHALF OF FIRED WORKERS IN CHARLESTON, WEST VIRIGINIA

Eight civil rights leaders urged support of 3500 fired Road Commission Employees today. Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. joined Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, Dorothy Height, A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Roy Wilkins and Whitney M. Young, Jr. in supporting the strike in Charleston, South Carolina, but this is the first time they have united in support of a strike of poor white workers.

The full text of the statement follows:

"We believe it is necessary to speak out in support of the 3500 workers who were callously and wrongfully fired by the State Road Commission of West Virginia for attempting to exercise their constitutional rights to join a union of their own choosing.

"We view this struggle of the State Road Commission workers for union representation as being part of the larger fight going on in our nation against all forms of discrimination and exploitation. We are no less outraged because the great majority of these workers are white. Their struggle is for economic and human dignity.

"We, therefore, applaud the West Virginia Labor Federation and the Laborers' District Council of West Virginia for their tireless efforts to obtain justice for the State Road workers.

"Surely, Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., must realize that it was the stubborn refusal of governmental officials to recognize the rights of public employees to unionize that was the reason for last year's Memphis tragedy.

"We believe that the state government of West Virginia must immediately rescind the decision reached on March 11, 1969, to fire these workers so that they may enjoy the right to job security and union representation to which every American worker is entitled."

The Rev. Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Dorothy Height, president, National Council of Negro Women; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; A. Philip Randolph, vice president, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations; Bayard Rustin, executive director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director National Urban League and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm.

The. Shreveport Su. J

Rustin Column

The Disease Of Racism

by Bayard Rustin

Mahatma Gandhi, the great revolutionary of this century, who led India to independence often said, "One becomes the thing he hates." And there is disturbing evidence that some black youth today have begun to accept the very worst ideas and concepts that were employed by Southern white racists to brutalize and emasculate black people.

The racist argues that their culture is threatened by blacks and that segregation is the only policy to insure racial purity. Now, 'we find black extremists arguing that separation is the only course to be followed if black identity is to be nurtured and maintained.

The racist contends that whiteness is in itself a value that supersedes all other values. Love, affection, truth and justice are to be sacrifieced on the alter of whiteness when white culture is "endangered." Now we find some black people contending that blackness is a value that supersedes all others and that the old fashioned notions of fair play, consideration and honesty will occasionally need to be abandoned if the black community is to be preserved.

The racist violates the democratic process. They use fear, economic pressure and threats. Their slogan is, "Keep the black from the polls. "Given the fact that scores of black men and women have been lynched in seeking the right to vote, it is ironic today to hear so many black people argue that the vote is useless. The expression of such sentiments in the black community must bring much solace to the hearts of Eastland, Wallace and Thurmond.

The racists have always argued that the Jews and the "Niggers" are primarily responsible for all that is wrong in the United States and that they should go back where they came from. Today, there are black people who have borrowed these attitudes toward the Jews, and who now argue that the Jews are primarily responsible for all that is wrong in the ghetto.

The racist, in his insecurity, bolsters his sagging ego by calling black men "boys"; by calling black women "Negresses," and by calling black people, in general, "boots," "spooks," "niggers," etc. Now we find young black people calling all white people (good, bad, and indifferent) "honky," "whitey", "blue-eyed devils," and "pigs."

The racist uses economic pressure, brutality and threats of death not only to supress black people, but also to supress white people who support the civil rights struggle. Their aim is to contain the "nigger lover." and to act as a veto power over men of good will. Now we find some black extremists using threats, insults and intimidation against those forces in the black community who seek the cooperation of white in our struggle for justice.

This whole process raises for the black community som
very serious questions: Do w
believe that we can make pr
gress adopting the very val
and concepts that have b
alized us? Do we believe
we can make progress by
doning the very values a
cepts that have undergir
all to limited progress
made to date? Are we to
the thing we hate?

Bayard Rustin Speaks

Did Congress Miss The Boat

A great deal was made in the press and in the Congress of the thefts, beatings, shootings, and other activities alleged to have taken place a Resurrection City. Strangely, this is precisely one of the justifications for the existence of Resurrection City and for the Poor People's Campaign. Both dramatized before the very eyes of the Congress and the nation what actually happens among people who are grounded in poverty -- the acts of violence which frustration, deprivation and desperation drive them to commit. Resurrection City was indeed a reflection of life in the ghetto and other centers of Negro impoverishment.

The Congressmen, therefore, missed a great opportunity. Rather than throwing up their hands, condemning the conditions that existed in Resurrection City, demanding that the poor be chased out, and that the city be torn down, Congressmen should have used the opportunity to commit themselves to the spending of billions of dollars to destroy the real ghettos, build more decent communities, and eradicate poverty.

Besides, if the Congress had been addressing itself to the problems of the poor and the problems of the ghetto long ago, there would have been no need for the Rev. Abernathy to lead a Poor People's Campaign in Washington.

It is naive, in any case, for anyone to expect that a serious demonstration by the poor and the needy against the intolerable conditions in which they live will be as prim and proper as a soriee by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Poverty creates frustration and breeds unhappy conditions and when the poor protest these conditions the style and intensity of their protest will inevitably reflect the desperate nature of their situation.

It is significant that the symbolic City of the Poor -- Resurrection City -- was built near the foot of Abraham Lincoln's statue - a man who more than a hundred years ago had to confront a bloody civil war because he refused to accept the idea of this nation existing half slave and half free. Resurrection City is further proof that that war is not quite over yet, because the conditions which victimize the poor are not only legacies of the days when this nation was half slave and half free but also examples that the country is increasingly becoming half poor and half rich. There really could have been no more appropriate place for the poor to congregate and pettion. this country than in the shadow of Lincoln's memorial.

Finally, Resurrection City helped the nation to see the dire consequences of poverty on human life. and what the consequences may well be for the country if people are continually forced to live as badly as they do. It has also made clear for all the nation to see that the poor--black, white, Puerto Rican, Indian, and Mexican American -- are in motion and that they intend to stay in motion until their needs are justly met.

Reverberations

The Politics Of Violence

by *Bayard Rustin*

Since we live in a society that teaches young people-- particularly young Negroes -- that they won't get anything unless they riot, it is not quite true that violence gets nothing. Mainly, it gets attention, and for young people that is important. It gets a few other things as well: emotional cartharisis, token concessions, and scraps of programs to buy temporary peace. But that is the limit of its positive gains.

BAYARD RUSTIN

It never gets what we really need: social commitments and national programs which alone can eliminate the root causes of violence. It gets national programs, yes, but not the ones we need: repressive measures, such as the careful preparations now being made across the country to put down "crime in the streets," which to reactionaries means "keep the niggers in their place and lower taxes."

A few years ago, mobilization of repressive force against Negroes would have stirred a great national outcry. Today, the voices of Negro violence have stilled that response and ushered in a period of moral indifference.

The reason for that indifference is clear. In an earlier period the Negro struggle set an exemplary moral tone by turning its back upon both the language and the strategies of violence. By so doing, it dramatized the brutal nature of those who opposed us, stirred the national conscience, and won millions of allies to the cause of human rights. Today, the politics of violence have been endorsed by so many so-called militant groups that the great middle ground in American society which should be supporting our rights find it difficult to defend Negroes even when they are clearly brutalized.

In such an atmosphere, injustice is the only winner, because it is not easy for the nation as a whole to exercise those discriminating moral judgments that are necessary to preserve the idea of and the hope for a just society. For example, many people suspect that LeRoi Jones may well have been innocent of the charge of carrying weapons in Newark last summer. But even if he is innocent, it becomes difficult for the society to defend Jones against such an allegation when he has been reported so often to be calling upon Negores to "get you some guns." Confused, the society stands back and asks: May not a man who speaks as though politics begin at the mouth of a gun be in fact busily preparing his own violent platform?

The same applies to the students in Orangeburg, South Carolina. I can easily believe that the students who were killed did not start the disorders. But five years ago, there would have been no doubt about that. The assumption would have been that the southern police were responsible, and the country would have expressed its outrage. Today, the suspicion tends to be that these students may have themselves been advocates of violence. And all because of the violent language now heard from coast to coast.

This atmosphere is not only muffling the nation's moral conscience, but also stifling the democratic process. At the New Politics Convention in Chicago last year, the give and take of opinion and democratic discussion, so essential to clear action, were not allowed to determine the program that emerged from the conference. Thus, many Negroes are today repeating the tactics that were used to keep them out of the American political and economic mainstream: They are now hooting down speakers, taking over platforms, issuing physical threats -- denying to others the freedoms of speech and belief they claim for themselves. In short, those who fight most vigorously for the right to dissent are themselves the first to deny it to others.

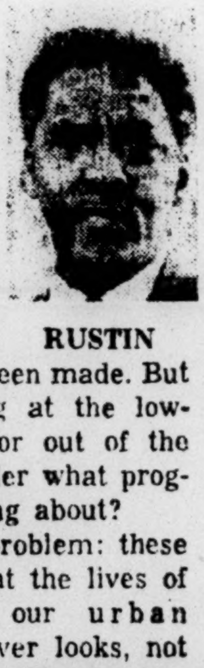
Such methods are not compatible with the growth of viable democratic political institutions among Negroes. They are inspired merely by the lust for control, not by what is going to be controlled. But before we can control we must develop a program. And the politics of violence only obscure programs; it does not create the atmosphere conducive to democratic control and does not produce anything worth controlling.

Reverberations

Money For All Seasons

By BAYARD RUSTIN
Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

I am still amazed to hear affluent Americans, both black and white, wondering why Negroes riot. "Why," they say, "with all the progress that's been made, is there so much turmoil?" Even the fancy words they use give them away. Anyway, what do they mean by progress? Progress for whom? If these people are looking at the black middle class, then I suppose progress has been made. But if they are looking at the low-income blacks in or out of the ghetto, then I wonder what progress are they talking about?



RUSTIN

But that is the problem: these people never look at the lives of black people in our urban ghettoes. Nobody ever looks, not even the government. That is, they never look until the people in the ghetto make them look at the chronic unemployment, overcrowded housing, inferior schools, rats and roaches feeding on young babies. So in the summer, Negroes riot. They riot to force society to stop and to look!

And only then — only in the summer — does the government scurry frantically about, knocking make-shift remedies together, and rushing into the ghettos with string, scotch tape, paste, and first-aid kits. But, evidently, this is not the answer. The string and paste fall apart by winter time, and by next summer, the people in the ghetto, facing the same conditions, tear up things again.

So it ought to be clear why Negroes riot. Society is teaching them more clearly everyday that their only way of getting any help is through violence. The evidence grows.

In Harlem, they didn't raise policemen to the highest ranks and put them in charge of ghetto precincts until young Negroes rioted. And only after riots did the city and federal government rush in with summer money and summer programs.

In Watts, the young Negroes said: "We won. You know we won. We asked the Mayor to come, he would not come. We asked the governor, we asked the chief of police, none of them would come. But after we burned, baby burned, they all came." It might have been a token victory, but, to the hopeless youths, a victory nevertheless.

In Chicago, last year, young Negroes said again: "When we wanted sprinklers, we went out in the street, forgetting nonviolence and patience, and we tore up the street, and in 24 hours we had not only the $8 sprinklers we wanted, but they also gave us swimming pools." Another token victory, but, to the demoralized youth, a victory.

In Buffalo, just the other day, it was only after young Negroes rioted that the Mayor begged them to hold off while he ran to the Chamber of Commerce to get jobs that had been promised a whole year before. So it took two riots to obtain 100 inferior summer jobs.

So the society is teaching Negroes that they won't get anything until they tear up everything, because it is fundamentally concerned with cheap ways of buying social peace instead of establishing social justice. This is the tragic lesson that America is teaching young Negroes.

But, as I have always insisted, riots won't solve the problem, and scotch tape and paste won't solve it either. The problem will never be solved until the entire nation commits itself first of all to a multi-billion dollar program of full employment for all its citizens. Negroes in the ghetto, like citizens anywhere else, deserve more than summer money used to cover-up year-round injustice. Like everybody else, they deserve money and justice for all seasons, and only then will summer rioting stop.

Bayard Rustin Tells It Like It Is —

THE NINETEENTH OF JUNE MOBILIZATION

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

The poor people's campaign presently being conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has touched the conscience of all those who believe in social justice and has aroused in hundreds of thousands of such people, most of whom are not poor, a desire to demonstrate their solidarity with the demands and objectives of the campaign. All such Americans will have an opportunity on June 19, by joining the national Mobilization in support of the poor people's campaign which will march on the nation's capital on that day.

At the request of Dr. Ralph Abernathy and the SCLC staff, I have assumed the task of directing and coordinating the June 19 Mobilization. I do so not only out of my deep committment to the principles of the SCLC and the objectives of the poor people's campaign, but also because I believe that all Americans who believe in nonviolence, democracy and integration should be given an opportunity of affirming, before the eyes of the national Executive and before the eyes of the national Congress, their vigorous support of the cause of the poor and the cause of simple human decency in American society.

The June 19 Mobilization will re - emphasize and re- define these goals: That every able-bodied citizen has the right to a decently paid job which provides the opportunity for individual growth and advancement. And that all those who cannot work -- because of age, ill health, or other reasons -- have the right to a just and liveable income.

But the Mobilization will not confine itself to defining such goals. It will make specific demands which can, and must be immediately translated into law by Congressional action and Executive Order. We will insist that new iniatives be taken here and in the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. . ." And in pursurance of this, we will invite the Congress of the United States to come and hear the poor and their allies describe how it can live up to the promise which it made four years ago.

One of the first questions that will be raised concerning this Mobilization is whether it might not touch off civil disorders in Washington on June 19th. While recent events have shown that no one can guarantee that a riot will not take place, my experience in helping to organize the demonstration in Memphis, on the day before Dr. King's funeral, convinces me that a carefully planned well-organized demonstration can be a major alternative to violence.

In the long run, however, there is only one way for this society to prevent violence. That is the removal of the conditions which drive people into a desparing rage against the symbols of authority, and into a desperate attempt to share in that affluence which mocks their poverty in every medium of mass communications.

Perhaps this Mobilization is the last chance America will have to make an effective choice for nonviolence, for democracy and for the integration of our national institutions.

---

human dignity and nobility of soul does not depend on any color scheme.

Amsterdam News Column

Did You Get A Raise?

by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Poverty grows among Negroes and other unorganized working poor not only because they do not get enough jobs, but also because some of the jobs they get do not pay enough. In some cases, they have to work for less than a decent minimum wage, and in other cases no minimum wage at all.

A new minimum wage law has been in force since February of this year, which raises the minimum hourly rate for some workers and sets a minimum for others. Of course, a higher minimum wage alone is not going to solve poverty, but it is going to be of considerable help. As George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, said when the new law came into effect, (and as statistics have proved), it is "by far the greatest single victory up to now in the war against poverty".

But the fact that a law exists does not mean that it is being carried out. It is possible that there are still thousands of workers who do not know of the new law. And if they do not know about it, they cannot depend on their employers to tell them that they are now entitled to higher pay. As a matter of fact, last year Labor Department investigators found that more than 430,000 workers were underpaid a total of $90 million by employers who violated the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The first category of workers affected by the new law are the 32 million or so wage-earners who up until January of this year were covered by the $1.25 an hour minimum wage. Beginning as of February 1, those workers should have been earning $1.40 an hour. And by next February, according to the new law, they are supposed to earn $1.60 an hour. A partial list of such workers are those who work in certain areas of communications, telephone, radio, television, transportation, road-building, trucking, airlines, factories, wholesale, mining, lumbering, retail stores, banks, insurance compaines, etc.

The second category of workers affected are those 9 million who were not previously covered by any minimum wage at all. Such people are now to be paid a minimum of $1.00 an hour. For this category, as well as for the first, there are also provisions for overtime pay, child labor, and equal pay for women. The workers who qualify under this category are some of those who work in hospitals, nursing homes, schools, colleges, laundries, dry-cleaning establishments, motels, hotels, restaurants, and certain farms.

Therefore, if you were earning $1.25 an hour last Decembere and haven't gotten a raise to $1.40 an hour, or if you work in a service industry and earn less than $1.00 an hour it may be because your employer is violating the law. Previously, the unorganized worker had no recourse, but now any worker who wants to know whether he is being paid his fair wages should contact the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor. The Regional Office is at 341 Ninth Avenue, and the phone number to call for information is 264 - 8185. The AFL-CIO fought hard for the increased minimum wage and you should contact your union local if you are a member of a union or if your shop is unionized.

Of course, my own feeling is that we are not going to make any real inroads on poverty until we obtain a $2.00 minimum wage across the board and full employment as well. But this change in the minimum wage law, especially for non-union workers, is a change in the right direction, and we can use it as a lever on which to mount a wider campaign for a $2.00 minimum.

berations

al

Dr. King's Painful Dilemma

By BAYARD RUSTIN

One of the undertones of the attacks in the white press on Dr. Martin Luther King's recent statements on Vietnam may well reveal that America really does not believe that Negroes, as citizens, have yet come of age: Like children, we should be seen but not heard.

RUSTIN

I say this because the criticism of Dr. King was not limited to an evaluation of his proposals and his strategy for ending the war. It was, by and large, an attack on his right to debate, or even to discuss, Vietnam. In substance, many editorials seemed to be asking, "What is Dr. King doing discussing Vietnam?" or "Who gave him the right to make proposals about our (meaning white America's) foreign policy?"

In a democracy all citizens have not only a right but also a solemn duty to vote, to advise on domestic affairs, and to address themselves to all aspects of foreign policy. As Americans, Dr. King and all other Negroes have such a duty. First it is their duty as citizens. Second, it is their duty as black citizens, considering that twice as many Negroes proportionately are fighting and dying in Vietnam.

Equally compelling for Dr. King, is the fact that he is a Nobel Peace Prize winner. As such he has a moral obligation to speak out for peace according to his insight as a man of God and in keeping with his conscience as a free man.

They May Differ

On the other hand, however, if Dr. King makes proposals that others disagree with, they have the duty to differ with him, on the merits or demerits of his proposals. Dr. King knows this, and he will expect no less. Such honest differences may encourage Dr. King to embark upon a reexamination of his position. Such honest discussion will encourage all of us to keep the vexing problem of Vietnam in constant review.

This process might very well turn out to be as illuminating for Dr. King as for the rest of us. But to assume that any individual (particularly any civil rights worker) does not have the right to discuss any problem that affects his nation is to propose that such an individual is still a second class citizen.

The Negro community should, and, I hope, will, continue to enter all discussions relative to their experience as Americans. We must, of course, be prepared to accept the political consequences and responsibilities that result from taking such a position.

Called Suicidal

Perhaps the real question is this: How should Negroes who have a concern for peace, organize to express these sentiments? Should they organize through the existing peace organizations, or should they organize within the civil rights movement? I must say that I would consider the involvement of the civil rights organizations as such in peace activities distinctly unprofitable and perhaps even suicidal.

Yet, there must be an opportunity for Negroes to work for peace. For many Negroes do take a deep and genuine interest in the problems of war and peace, if, for no other reason, because of the disproportionate number of Negroes in Vietnam.

I am often asked by young Negroes what they can do for peace. I advise them to become members of peace organizations: The War Resisters League, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the American Friends Service Committee, or the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy.

Which is not to say that there is going to be any tremendous onrush of Negroes into the peace movement. The immediate problems facing Negroes are so vast and crushing that they have little time or energy to focus upon international crises.

Nevertheless, when Dr. King speaks out as he recently did, we are forced to recognize and clarify the problems of strategy, tactics and philosophy that confront the Negro freedom movement in a time of war. Dr. King is, no doubt, more aware today of the subtleties of these conflicts than he was before he made his statement.

Bayard Rustin Tells It Like It Is —

AS GOES MISSISSIPPI---------

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

One of the urgent democratic causes in America at the present time is the Mississippi Challenge in which, for the first time, black and white Southerners -- the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi -- have joined to challenge racist political power in their State. Specifically, they have come together to challenge the credentials of, and seek to replace, the regular Mississippi delegation to the Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago.

This regular delegation of 66 have not only been handpicked by the white racist power structure in the Mississippi Democratic Party, but include only two black representatives. Nothing could be more blatantly racist, especially when one considers that Negroes constitute 40% of the Mississippi population and of these almost 250,000 are registered voters. Thus, the Loyal Democrats are justified not only in challenging the credentials of the regular Mississippi delegation but demanding that they be unseated.

The Loyal Democrats consist of an unprecedented coalition made up of the State branch of the NAACP, the Freedom Democratic Party, the Young Democrats of Mississippi, and the Mississippi State AFL-CIO. The Chairman of the group is Dr. Aaron Henry (head of the State NAACP); the Vice Chairman is Hodding Carter III, publisher, and Chairman of the Young Democrats of Mississippi; and the chief coordinator is Charles Evers, field secretary of the NAACP.

"We intend," says Dr. Henry, "to choose a delegation representative of all the people of Mississippi, and, if we can find funds, to transport this delegation to Chicago to challenge the delegation handpicked by the white power structure of the State. We shall convince the Democratic Party and the convention's credentials committee that they should recognize our delegation as the only one in Chicago representative of the registered Democrats in Mississippi."

This challenge would have been unnecessary had not the regular Democrats of Mississippi flouted the mandate issued by the 1964 Democratic Convention in Atlatic City. That mandate called strongly and clearly for fair representation of the races, and required state units to take affirmative action to bring Negroes into

The Mississippi regulars have refused to honor the wishes of the national party. According to the Loyal Democrats, officials of the regualr party organization have barred Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries; they have stood at the doors of meeting places to bar Negroes from entering and participating in the selection of delegates; they have gerrymandered districts to prevent fair and equitable black representatiion. On the basis of such practices, there can be no doubt that the regular Mississippi delegation is not qualified to be seated at the national convention.

As part of the nationwide sympathy which the cause of the Loyal Democrats has aroused, Mr. A. Philip Randolph has become Chairman of a national Committee to support the challenge of the Loyal Democrats. This support the challenge of the Loyal Democrats. This committee consists of some of the most prominent figures in American life: civil rights, civic and liberal leaders: Protestants, Catholics and Jews; supporters of Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and the late Senator Robert Kennedy; as well as such prominent trade union leaders as George Meany and Walter Reuther.

The committee, in addition to its other activities, is also engaged in a massive fund raising drive. The Loyal Democrats do not have access to party funds. They need money for precinct,

BAYARD RUSTIN

district and state conventions; and they need funds to transport the challenge delegation to and from Chicago and to defray their expenses at the convention. (Contributions should be sent to Mississippi Challenge, Room 315, 217 West 125th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.)

With the support the Loyal Democrats are receiving from the major factions within the Democratic Party, the Mississippi challenge has emerged as the most dramatic and the only one in the national spotlight. Nevertheless, similar, if less spectacular, challenges are being made in Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina. These may not be as successful as the one in Mississippi, but if the Loyal Democrats win in Mississippi, then their victory will lay the groundwork for the eventual democratization of the Party across the South.

In the meantime, no effort should be spared nationally to support the challenge of the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, because the practices of the regular Democratic organization in that State are not only blatantly racist but also ultimately degrading to the entire system of electoral democracy in the United States.

The seating by the Chicago Convention of the Loyal Democratic challenge delegation from Mississippi is the first and indispensable step in involving poor whites, white moderates, and almost a quarter of a million registered black voters in changing their lives and in democratizing politics in the State of Mississippi.

Reverberations

It's Your Money You're Losing

By BAYARD RUSTIN
A. Philip Randolph Institue

According to William Kuntz, manager of the social security district office on 125th Street, Harlem residents are losing over $20,000 a month because they do not get in touch with that office. At one time the figure was as high as $100,000.

RUSTIN

Not long ago, Mrs. M - - -, a 78-year-old widow, lost over $1,800 because she did not know how old she was. She became eligible to receive full social security payments three years ago, but could not prove her birth date. "I did not have anything to go on," she said. "I thought they'd just laugh at me if I tried to get payments."

But she need not have worried. Mr. Kuntz's office would have helped her prove her date of birth. That is, if she had come in.

In fact, when Mrs. M's case came to the attention of Mr. Kuntz's office that is just what they did. They were able to establish her date of birth by securing a Bureau of Census report. Recently, Mrs. M was presented with a check for twelve months retroactive payments.

Lost 24 Months

But she lost twenty-four months of payments anyway, because a social security applicant cannot receive any more than twelve months retroactive benefits. This is not an isolated instance, Mr. Kuntz says: "This story is repeated every day of the week in our uptown social security district office."

To those who may not know of the operation of the uptown office the following information may be useful. The office is situated at 230 West 125th Street. It is the largest local office in the United States and serves the residents of the following postal zones: 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 37, and 39.

Every month a total of 58,144 checks are mailed out to residents in these zones. "However," says Mr. Kuntz, "it is a strange fact that there are fewer checks going out to the Harlem postal zones of 30, 35, 37, and 39, than in the single postal zone of 25."

The reason for this, he believes, is that residents of these postal zones "are not as aware as they should be of the benefits paid under the social insurance program."

The 1965 amendments include a proposal to pay a special benefit of $35 a month for a single man or woman and $52.50 for a married couple, where either individual is 72 years or over. However, despite this law, very few residents of Harlem, 72 and over, are taking advantage of the provision.

Urged To Come In

The local office urges residents to come in and claim their benefits. In order to stop losing their money, the following people should always keep in touch with the social security office on 125th Street: (1) those who are over the age of 62; (2) those disabled and not working at the present time; (3) those with parents and relatives over the age of 62 who have not been receiving benefits; (4) those who have any question whatever regarding the social insurance program.

It is important that people be aware that social security benefits are not charity benefits and are not the same as welfare payments. To collect these payments one does not have to submit to the indignity suffered by those who collect welfare payments.

It is not only the obligation of older citizens to claim the money to which they are entitled under the national social insurance program, but also the duty of younger people to inform the older ones of the channels and procedures through which these payments may be obtained.

The following original pages are of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

Amsterdam

Rush

THE CASE OF LEROI JONES

In a million quiet ways, the majority of white Americans go about insulting the manhood of Negroes everyday. And every now and then they do it for all the world to see -- by denying to some prominent Negro the elementary rights of justice and due process.

They took away Mohammed Ali's heavyweight title because they didn't like his views on Vietnam or the way he spelled his name. In the same year, they kicked Adam Powell out of the House of Representatives, a clear violation of constitutional procedures. And the kind of justice they recently handed out to LeRoi Jones in a ~~Newark~~ New Jersey courthouse is the latest case in point. I may not share in all the political ideas of these men, but I am second to none in my concern for their civil liberties and human dignity.

To begin with, what happened to Jones vindicates, ironically enough, one of the charges that Negroes bring against the system in Newark, and which, in fact, was one of the reasons for last summer's disturbance in that city. The charge was made by a young Negro after the riots in Newark last summer: "It was a rebellion against the one-sided legal and political system we live with up here...."

Spokesmen for New Jersey's legal and political system have said that this is not true, that in Newark blacks and whites are equal in the eyes of the law and the police. Well, in the trial of Jones, they had a chance to prove this, and they blew it.

The spectacle of that trial has seriously damaged whatever vestige of faith Negroes have in the judicial system. They do not believe, for instance, that Jones was tried before a jury of his peers. They do not believe that an all-white jury can be expected to ignore or forget that Jones holds very controversial views on race and on whites in particular. They do not believe that it was Jones who broke open his own skull in jail and knocked loose some of his own teeth.

If that were not serious enough, they are now asked to swallow the spectacle of his sentencing. According to the New York Times, "The judge indicated that he based the severity of Jones's punishment to a large extent on a poem published last month in Evergreen Review, a monthly magazine. He read the poem in the courtroom...." The Times goes on to say that the judge handed down the sentence "after he said one could SUSPECT that the 34-year-old poet and playwright was a participant in formulating a plot to burn Newark on the night he was arrested."

My God, we were under the impression that Jones was being tried for alleged illegal possession of firearms, and not for his political ideas nor anybody's suspicion that he planned to set fire to Newark.

We were under the impression that facts which have no immediate bearing upon the case against an accused cannot properly be used to justify ("to a large extent" or any other extent) the severity of his sentence.

We were under the impression that guilt of accused must be established beyond all reasonable doubt and that suspicion was both irrelevant and insufficient as a ground on which to bring in a conviction.

We were under the impression that we lived in America and not in Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union where the freedom of artistic expression is not recognized nor protected.

And we were under the impression that in a free society writers are not thrown into prison for their poems.

Well, we too can now suspect that such freedoms apoly to everybody else in the society but Negroes.

#

Reverberations

The Cops And The Schools

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute)

After the recent incidents in Brooklyn, in which a school principal was attacked, there can be no doubt that protection has to be provided for public school personnel. However, I am appalled at the proposal that the police should be used for this purpose.

RUSTIN

What the incidents illustrate, after all, is that there has been a serious breakdown in the relationship between the Negro community and the school authorities. Therefore, policemen with guns and billy clubs will not repair the damage; if anything, they will only make it worse. The damage will be repaired in one way only: by eliminating the conditions that breed community resentments.

Instead of bringing in policemen, a much more creative alternative would be to hire well known residents of the ghettos and barrios at decent salaries to deal with such disciplinary problems when they arise.

This would achieve more than one objective. It would (a) provide the protection needed; (b) increase community involvement and interest in the functions of the school; (c) prepare residents to work as teacher aides and — by being trained on the job — eventually qualify to become teachers; and (d) reduce unemployment and under-employment by creating new and meaningful careers for Negroes and Puerto Ricans who can make an important contribution to the educational process.

New Careers

In fact, there is now a movement to implement the idea of new careers as one of the more useful strategies against poverty. This movement claims, quite rightly, that the objective of the new careers idea is:

(1) To make public and human service institutions more responsive to the poor and to members of minority groups by using them as aides to professionals;

(2) To provide large numbers of minority group members with visible, non-menial employment in schools, social agencies and the civil service, thereby reducing the hostility these groups feel at being excluded from dignified and meaningful employment;

(3) To provide jobs for poor people in the public sector of the economy — the fastest growing sector and the one in which prospects are bright for long-range growth.

Will Free Teachers

The value of this concept to education should be evident. It proposes that untrained non-professionals can perform a great many of the tasks now performed by teachers (E.G., tying children's shoelaces, taking them to rest rooms, taking attendance, doing secretarial work, etc.). Most importantly, it proposes that such a reorganization in duties will free teachers to perform at a much higher standard the specialized services they were trained to perform. In other words, it frees teachers to teach.

The present rigid system in the human service fields is one in which little or no new employment opportunities are provided for the poor, especially Negro and Spanish-speaking minorities. If such a system continues, it will be serveral decades before Negroes and Puerto Ricans are absorbed in the professions at a rate proportionate to their population. The new careers idea provides an opportunity for opening up the system — and doing so much more rapidly.

Therefore, the answer to the problems in our schools is to call in the para-professionals, not the para-military.

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN
by
Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

TO KICK A HABIT

If there is one thing the junkie and the rest of the society are agreed upon it is that junk is a bad habit. Even when he cannot resist the next fix, the addict wants desperately to be free. But the society's concern is not always that desperate. Every so often when an addict searches about for a humane way out of his nightmare, he can't find any real help.

A few weeks ago, a young man came into my office. He said he was an addict, had been on drugs ever since he got out of high school ten years before. He had tried a few times to kick the habit, but each time had gone back. Could we help him? We said we would try.

We called up the East Harlem Protestant Parish. Could they do anything? They said to send the young man over. He left looking happy. He called up later that day from a phone booth. The Harlem Parish people had told him they couldn't do anything for him until he checked into Manhattan General Hospital for detoxification. Nothing doing, he said. He had been to that hospital several times before, and it had done him no good. We told him to come back, we'd try something else.

We called Ernest Papanek, former head of the Wiltwick School for Boys. Papanek said he couldn't do anything, but he called Dr. Ramirez, the Mayor's Coordinator of Addiction Programs. They said we should ask the young man to call. But he didn't come back that day, nor the next. We thought he wasn't going to come back. But he showed up early one morning towards the end of the week. We gave him the phone to call Dr. Ramirez's office. Someone there told him he should call Encounter, a program run by Daytop Village along

Synanon lines. When he called, Encounter told him they were willing to have him, but he would have to kick the habit cold turkey. No, Thank you, he said. He had done that several times already, and each time he had gone back on the stuff. He didn't want to go through all that pain again for nothing. He didn't want to go to Lexington either. Many of his friends who had gone there were back on the streets hustling in order to continue the habit as soon as they came out.

How about the Rockefeller program? He said he had thought about that too. His sister had suggested it to him, but that meant three years of voluntary incarceration. Almost like being in jail. He wanted those three years for himself. All he really wanted, he said, was to get into a rehabilitation program that used methadone.

That immediately reminded us of Dr. Marie Nyswander. She is a pioneer in this method, and here is the only program in New York that can legally use methadone. While the young man was still sitting there, we tried to get Dr. Nyswander. We didn't, but her secretary gave us a number to call. We gave the young man the phone again. They told him he would have to fill out an application form or send in a resume. This was the easiest part. The toughest part was that he would have to be on a waiting list for one-and-a-half to two years. Not good enough, he said. He could be dead on junk by then. Someone else told us about a program called "Haven." He could get in touch with Dr. Robert Beard.

We gave the young man the phone again. This time they told him that Dr. Beard's program doesn't give methadone. We were right back where we had started, we didn't know where else to turn, and we could understand the young man's bitterness. "Everybody talks about helping drug addicts," he said, "but all they want to do is lock you up." He lift us that day saying he "knew somebody" who could give him some dolphines.

We haven't seen him since. He could be off junk. He could be in jail. Or he could be dead.

#

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN

THE COST OF THE RIOTS

by

Bayard Rustin

The angry young men who are shooting, looting and fire-bombing in our cities say it's "whitey" they're mad at. If white America does not come around, they say, "We're going to burn this country down." But everytime they riot, they destroy a community where Negroes have very little and where they have to struggle to hold on to the little they have. These desperate young men also claim that they are affirming their manliness and self-respect. But why is the victim of their affirmation their own Negro brother? In their anger against "whitey", whohhave they left hurting most, who have they left with more misery than before? Innocent black people!

In Detroit, for example, the rows upon rows of burnt-out tenement buildings are places where Negroes used to live; and now, they must depend on "whitey's" relief for a place to lay their heads. In this self respect and manliness? No! Their clothes and furniture and whatever little money they had went up in smoke. The women and children on the fool lines are black. Most of those who died in their homes, victims of anti-sniper bullets, never owned a gun and were simply sitting in what they supposed to be the safety of their homes. Almost all of those who died in the streets were black; almost all of those now lying in hospitals are black; and almost all of those now in jails are black.

As one thoughtful Negro observed in the heat of the Detriot rioting "Man, this is crazy. We burnin' our own houses up. Where these poor people going to live now? That's not right. Goddamn And there's not a house burning in Grosse Pointe [the upper-class white surburb of Detroit]." That's right: Never in the annals of the black man's struggle in America have a misguided few done so much to hurt so many of their own kind. Now, there can be no denying that the underlying causes of violence are social and economic nor that white America needs to come around and face these realities. But those who, despite just grievances, blindly ignore damage to their own people, and so callously aggravate conditions that are already intolerable cannot really be interested in a just and iltelligent solution. They may or may not realize it, but their action is courting suicide, and it will be a tragic waste of their energies if ultimately, as seems likely, they are asked to bear the consequences of their hasty and destructive action. For thoughtmost allNNegro are impatient with their conditions, they prefer to seek redress through constitutional and democratic strategies of resistance. This is the only radical course open to us.

The dangers are not only physical and financial, Yet another danger (perhaps to the immediate future of Negroes and to all Americans) is the peril that rioting pose to the survival of civil liberties. There is no group in our society to whom the survival of these liberties is more vital than to the Negro, whose right of protest and dissent depends, first of all, on strict adherence to the principles outlined by the Bill of Rights. Today, with the national Congress showing clearly and nakedly that it is hostile to the legitimate demands of the Negro, the riots can only provide a further excuse for cutting back on Negro freedom (look at the anti-riot bill) on a scale that could well repeat the disasterous set-backs of Reconstruction following the withdrawal of the union Army from the South in 1877. Those who do not remember the mistakes of history are doomed to repeat them. No matter whom they affect the rioting must stop. It is entirely possible that unless some constructive action is begun, we may be confronting an era of repression aimed specifically at crushing Negroes.

All people of goodwill - black and white - must close ranks and demand that Congress pass an Emergency Work and Reconstruction Act designed to put the unemployed to work -with training and at decent pay. If we could spend billions of dollars to save Eurppe after World War II we can surely spend billions to build democracy and assure justice at home. The alternative is chaos.

Rustin
Article

On Langston Hughes

by

Bayard Rustin

There was in Langston Hughes's face a resemblance to the character of his work. His face had a warm, dreamlike, and sardonic quality. It was full of secret and secure wisdom: the face of a man who knew the score and who rather than shouting it would whisper it with a smile that made you feel that the secrets he knew about himself were exactly the secrets he knew about you.

To know the score as a Negro American is to know a lot about pain and denial and the antidotes that are necessary to support those if one is not to be defeated. If at least two of those antidotes are smiles and dreams, then Hughes was their preeminent poet. He was not a political thinker. He did well enough what he had to do, or lived well enough what he had to be. He looked at life, not with piousness or didictism, but with eyes that cauthg experience inaall its dimensions, suffering in all its ambiguities, without ever reducing in his own mind the particularity of Negro identity and experience.

It is increasingly being recommended that Negroes should not look at life, certainly not American life, that way. However, Hughes, for what it is worth, remains a representative writer of that period of Negro American thinking when the attack upon America was grounded in an affirmation of common humanity, when humor and optimism survived as necessary accompaniments to the freedom struggle. His "Simple" as a man who used smiles and humor as a weapon against adversity, remains the "homespun "existentialist" archetypeoof the Negro streets.

He was a leading figure of the Negro Rennaisance of the 1920's. As an artist he could well afford to contemplate the special pleasures and advantage of this momement for the Negro creative spirit. Nevertheless, he brought to it the same sardonic criticism that was his characteristic weapon: "I was there, I had a swell time while it lasted. But I thought it would not last long... For how could a large enthusiastic number of people be crazy Negroes forever?... They thought the race problem had at last been solved by art... I don't know what made many Negroes think that - except that they were mostly intellectuals doing the thinking. Theoordinary Negroes hadn't heard about the Negro Rennaisance. And if they had, it hadn't raised their wages any."

New

AMSTERDAM NEWSPAPER COLUMN

Bayard Rustin

The Freedom Budget, published in October by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, represents the first detailed and comprehensive program for social and economic change for all Americans to have been worked out and proposed from within the Negro community. By balancing economic and social priorities against feasible expenditures and national resources, the Budget calls for the investment of 185 billion dollars over the next ten years in the task of breaking the cycle of poverty that strangles the lives of millions of Americans, the most impoverished of whom are Negroes.

It is important for all to understand, however, that this is not only the first such program yet proposed from within the civil rights community, it represents a new and most difficult phase of organization. Now we must work to create new jobs, rebuild slums, redefine work, secure a guaranteed annual income, increase minimum wage, build new schools and hospitals, humanize the urban centers, and deal with the problems of automation.

What we have been forced to see, also, as a matter of sound economic sense as well as a matter of practical strategy, is that these conditions, though they afflict Negroes most grievously, are also the real conditions of millions of poor white Americans. Consequently, the Budget reflects the backing and some of the thinking of a coalition of liberals, trade unionists, religionists, intellectuals, and grass roots activists

The major support, of course, has come from the civil rights groups. The NAACP, the Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, are all distributing the Budget. And Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph and myself recently testified in its behalf before the Ribicoff Committee hearings in Washington,, The trade union movement has been pushing an educational campaign with its membership, black and white. Articles in support of the Budget not only appeared in many national newspapers, but a number of these articles have continued to appear in newspapers supported by the AFL-CIO, the IUD, the American Federation of Teachers, and the Steelworkers Union. The Budget has extensive support in the liberal community as well.

Supplementing all these efforts has been the educational campaign being organized by the Randolph Institute itself. The West Coast Conference Committee for Action on the Budget, which incorporates many groups, is calling a regional conference on April 11.to draw up a local Freedom Budget, in which they will interpret their regional needs in terms of the national priorities stressed in the Budget. The Committee for a Philadelphia Freedom Budget, made up of 175 Community leaders, is doing substantially the same thing for that area; and similar projects are now underway in Boston and Pittsburgh. In addition, the Institute has already distributed 50,000 of the original version of the Budget and 70,000 of the recently published popular version. And in the coming months, the educational campaign will extend to other major cities, all kinds of local organizations, students, and youth groups. This in-depth and intensive grass roots thrust will soon be translated into affective lobbying and political action.

As I think of the massive coalition of forces that joined in the Selma and Birmingham demonstrations, led to the passage of the 1964 and 1965 civil rights bills, I cannot help believing that the job now is to organize the same kind of process in support of the Freedom Budget; to help grass roots people to understand the political nature of the job to be done, and to assure that they are supported by a coalition of men of good will.

In further columns I will discuss the economic and strategic importance of the Budget, as well as organizational development.

###

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN

THE FIVE PERCENTERS

by

Bayard Rustin, Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

At one time, the words Five Percenters used to be feared in Harlem. In fact, in 1964, New York newspapers ran stories to the effect that the Five Percenters were one of the most violent youth groups in the city. But these could not have been the same young men I saw two Fridays ago, shortly after they had been visited and interviewed by Senator Edward Brooke, in his capacity as a member of the President's anti-riot investigating commission.

The young men Senator Brooke and I saw were a quiet, ernest, and disciplined group of students hard at work in the Street Academy at 2122 Seventh Avenue, a school they had helped create for themselves -- an experience they had never had before. They seemed interested in nothing else than in learning English, Mathematics, Arabic, Hygeine, and Science. And from what I was told of their extra curricular activities -- United Nations field trips, Swimming, Film Discussions, and Track and Field Athletics, -- they seemed anything but potential recruits for urban street violence.

We must all applaud the Street Academy as one of the most constructi contributions to the maintenance of stability in the Harlem community, as well as creating an effective instrument for the rehabilitation of young men who might otherwise have no choice but the streets.

Chief credit for the founding of this institution goes to two young ministers (Allah and Akbar) and to the Rev. Eugene Callender of the New York Urban League. Several months ago, the two young ministers approached Howard Bennett, a Harlem community worker, with the idea of establishing a school to help the Five Percenters. Some of them had been expelled from school, some of them were drop outs, some hadn't gone to school at all, and some had had trouble with the police. Bennett suggested a meeting with other Harlem community leaders, but, as he said, "none of them got the message." In disappointment, Allah and Akbar turned to the Rev. Callender who liked the idea and gave it the financial support of the Urban League. They financed the rental and refurbishing of a storefront at Seventh Avenue, installed school furniture, and hired and paid Herbert Miller to serve as its educational director.

Besides their academic and social activities, the Five Percenters told me that they pursue a spiritual ideal of "helping others discover a true knowledge of themselves." They said they are "neither anti-white nor pro-black," and are convinced that they "Possess the power to be perfect in all our ways and actions."

Allah and Akbar are so proud of the success of the school that they are thinking of throwing its doors open to any young person between the ages of 14 and 19, whether or not he or she is a member of the Five Percenters. Plans are also underway to open a similar school in Brooklyn.

One of the finer tributes one can pay to the establishment and success of the Street Academy is to say that should trouble break out on the streets of Harlem, I am convinced that the FiverPercenters certainly won't be available. As one of them told me, "we are definitely not interested in rioting; the education we are getting is far more important to us."

AMSTERDAM NEWS COLUMN

The New Strategy

by

Bayard Rustin

The recent victories of Stokes and Hatcher point dramatically to one of the crucial shifts that has taken place within that segment of the Negro struggle still committed to the democratic integration of American institutions. In states across the South and in some of the major urban centers of the North, Negro political activity is beginning to generate significant momentum in support of the principle of Negro representation on government bodies that effect the solution of their problems.

This shift is not surprising. It has been anticipated for the past couple of years as a logical consequence of the protest activities of 1955-65, and the very limited results that protest activities can achieve today.

I will point out a few of the more important factors that dictated that shift.

1. From 1955-65, the clear objectives were voting rights and integrated accommodations. These affected Negreos alone and promised exciting emotional involvement and spectacular victories. The problems today are not only more complicated, they do not affect Negroes exclusively, and they promise neither emotional excitement nor spectacular victories. The problems today are largely problems of poverty and economic redistribution, and as such affect blacks and whites alike. Therefore, today there cannot be an exclusive Negro campaign for economic change, but Negro political activity in concert with other groups fighting for progressive social and economic legislation.

2. In 1955-65, Negro unity cut across class lines. Most Negroes, regardless of class, were subject to the same discrimination in public places. Today, the civil rights revolution has freed the middle class to take advantage of integrated and other opportunities while leaving no tangible benefits in the hands of the masses. This has caused latent class resentments to emerge within the Negro community, resulting not only ih disunity but also in hostility.

3. In 1955-65, the only money the Federal Government was required to spend in behalf of the Negro struggle was what was necessary to provide for police protection and law enforcement. Today the expectations by Negroes are immensely higher: The Federal Government will be doing nothing for Negroes today unless it spends billions and billions of dollars on social and economic programs.

4. In 1955-65, one of the factors that held and sustained the protest movement was the experience of common suffering at the hands of racist brutality. Today, the movement has to sustain itself without that kind of emotional fuel: it has to create its own dynamic around program and organization.

5. In 1955-65, the movement received great help and publicity from the mass media mainly because of the great drama it created. Today, the movement is almost totally ignored by the mass media since the kind of dogged and unspectacular groundwork it is now doing does not make for dramatic headlines.

6. In 1955-65, the nation's most compelling social problem was civil rights. The majority of Americans agreed on that. Today, they feel differently: they now consider Vietnam to be the foremost problem. This means that the movement must now struggle against a phychological withdrawal both on the part of the congress and on the part of the society as a whole.

7. In 1955-65, it was a period of nonviolence. Even those Negroes who did not agree with nonviolence as a principle, accepted it as a viable tactic. Many of these young people are now convinced that a violent confrontation is both necessary and inevitable.

8. Finally, as I have said many times before, the Negro community hew has to share with other groups in the development of massive economic programs and strategies and use their voting power and political muscle to make those programs and strategies respond to their needs.

###########

Reverberations

"Why Don't Negroes . . . . ?"

By BAYARD RUSTIN,
Executive Director A. Philip Randolph Institute

July 25

More and more white people are asking, "what do the Afro-Americans in this society really want." The next question is "why don't they pull themselves up by their bootstraps."

RUSTIN

First of all, we want what every other American wants: a job, decent housing, dignity, decent treatment and an opportunity to educate our youth. So far so good.

But when it comes to asking why we don't pull ourselves up by our own energy, not only white people, but Negroes as well, only reveal their ignorance of Negro history — for our history is replete with illustrations of our making a greater effort than any other group in America to help ourselves:

—The first school for Negroes was not started by white people — but by free Negroes in South Carolina in 1792.

—The first college for Negroes was not started by white people but by Richard Allen, founder of the AME church. That was Wilberforce University, in 1798.

—When the major insurance companies would not bury or insure our people, Negroes in North Carolina and Georgia set up what were to become national insurance companies.

—Jubilee Hall at Fisk was built by money earned by Negro college students who studied by day and sang by night in city after city.

—Afro - Americans organized churches, lodges and numerous societies for mutual financial cooperation and assistance long before the federal government instituted social security and old age pension.

—It was our ancestors, in the late 1860's during the reconstruction period, who voted in North Carolina to establish the first universal free educational system in America. They voted for free education not only for Afro-Americans but for all citizens.

—It was Negroes themselves, such as Frederick Douglas, who traveled across America and Europe to drum up sentiment against slavery.

—It was the Negro slaves who begged Lincoln to let them fight for their own freedom in the civil war, contrary to the impression given by most histories of the period.

—It was not some white person, but Mrs. Rosa Parks who became the mother of modern protest by refusing to sit in the back of the bus in Montgomery.

—It was Harriet Tubman, a jet black woman, who with a price on her head, led more slaves through the underground railway to freedom rather than the Quakers to whom history books give the credit.

Not 19th Century

So, let no one demean us by asking why we have not helped ourselves. We are not living now in the 19th century when problems can be solved by individuals. In the 20th century, a man cannot help himself to a job that does not exist, or to a decent house that someone else controls or to a decent education which the society has barred him from.

But we are not helpless. Today there are more committees, groups, and agencies working in the ghettoes than ever before. They are doing more work to try to find jobs, decent housing and education for their children than ever before, against ever increasing odds.

But we do have a problem. The problem is to organize our political strength. To this day, less than half the people in the ghettoes register and vote. We must give attention to politics since the objections we seek cannot be realized unless we can obtain billions of dollars from congress for a planned program to tear down the slums, create a new school system and create public works. To do these things is a political job and the first step is voting power.

When we have developed that power, WE CAN HELP OURSELVES to what is rightfully ours.

Reverberations

Another Season, Another Reason

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute)

The present withdrawal into frustration and separatism by segments of the Negro community may be unfortunate but it is neither new nor surprising. We have seen a number of such withdrawals before.

RUSTIN

The first came at the turn of the century, when the nation had turned its back on Negro rights. As W.E.B. DuBois wrote, "the nation was a little ashamed of having bestowed so much sentiment on Negroes, and was concentrating its energies on dollars."

Instead of keeping up the pressure for his full rights of citizenship, the Negro withdrew into frustration. Booker T. Washington enunciated his program for conciliation and compromise, advising Negroes to "cast down your buckets" — which was to say, accommodate to segregation and disenfranchsement. He called on Negroes to ignore higher education and concentrate instead on industrial education, and, in effect, counseled their withdrawal into the ghetto, self-help, and economic self-determination.

By World War I, however, there was new hope that the rights revoked at the turn of the century would be restored. Some 360,000 Negroes entered the military service and fought overseas. Thousands left the South to seek a slice of the economic prosperity the war was creating in the North. Prospects for a breakthrough into the full rights of citizenship again seemed bright.

Hopes Dashed

But by the end of the war those hopes were quickly dashed. In the first year after the war, more than 70 Negroes were lynched. In the last six months of that year, there were 24 race riots throughout the country. White mobs took over whole cities, flogging, burning, shooting and torturing Negroes at will. Negroes were kept out of unions.

Others were thrown out of jobs — including federal jobs — they had won during the war. The KKK began to ride again — more brutally than they had ever done before.

Once more the Negro withdrew from hope in America, and the largest mass movement ever to take root among working class Negroes was born — the Back to Africa movement led by Marcus Garvey. The slogan in the Ghetto became "Buy Black." Faith in integration was abandoned. And ships were bought to take the blacks back to Africa.

Then came the post-Depression 1930's, and hope — in America — began to rise again. The Congress of Industrial Organizations announced a policy of nondiscrimination and reawakened the old dream of a Negro-labor alliance. The New Deal let Negroes into relief programs, WPA jobs, and public housing.

As jobs opened and more Negroes pressed for employment in mainstream organizations the cry of "Buy Black" softened into "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work." A. Philip Randolph organized a great march on Washington demanding a wartime Fair Employment Practices Code. CORE was born. The sit-in technique was developed. In 1944, the NAACP put an end to all-white primaries.

Non-Violent Alliance

This momentum carried up through the post-World-war II years. And by the 1950's and 1960's the non-violent civil rights alliance had achieved the desegregation of public accommodations and established the right to vote. It had been the longest and most sustained period of Negro optimism in America.

By the middle of the 1960's, however, when the long civil rights struggle lost force, Negroes in the North and South found that economically they were in worse shape. They had a higher rate of unemployment, lived in worse slums, and more of their children attended segregated schools than before. In short, in spite of all the civil rights bills and court decisions, their day-to-day economic lot had not been improved.

And that is where we are again today. The old conservative bugaboo of Negro frustration and withdrawal has set in once again.

New File
Amsterdam
news
columns

AMSTERDAM NEWSPAPER COLUMN

Bayard Rustin

The Freedom Budget, published in October by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, represents the first detailed and comprehensive program for social and economic change for all Americans to have been worked out and proposed from within the Negro community. By balancing economic and social priorities against feasible expenditures and national resources, the Budget calls for the investment of 185 billion dollars over the next ten years in the task of breaking the cycle of poverty that strangles the lives of millions of Americans, the most impoverished of whom are Negroes.

It is important for all to understand, however, that this is not only the first such program yet proposed from within the civil rights community, it represents a new and most difficult phase of organization. Now we must work to create new jobs, rebuild slums, redefine work, secure a guaranteed annual income, increase minimum wage, build new schools and hospitals, humanize the urban centers, and deal with the problems of automation.

What we have been forced to see, also, as a matter of sound economic sense as well as a matter of practical strategy, is that these conditions, though they afflict Negroes most grievously, are also the real conditions of millions of poor white Americans. Consequently, the Budget reflects the backing and some of the thinking of a coalition of liberals, trade unionists, religionists, intellectuals, and grass roots activists campaign will extend to other major cities, all kinds of local organizations, students, and youth groups. This in-depth and intensive grass roots thrust will soon be translated into e ~~a~~ffective lobbying and political action.

As I think of the massive coalition of forces that joined in the Selma and Birmingham demonstrations, which led to the passage of the 1964 and 1965 civil rights bills, I cannot help believing that the job now is to organize the same kind of process in support of the Freedom Budget; to help grass roots people to understand the political nature of the job to be done, and to assure that they are supported by a coalition of men of good will.

In further columns I will discuss the economic and strategic importance of the Budget, as well as organizational development.

###

INDIANA HERALD
Published each Thursday at
2449 N. Rader St., Indianapolis, Indiana
WA 5-2311-2-3-4
National Advertising Representative: Amalgamated Publishers, Inc.,
310 Madison Ave., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

O. L. TANDY PUBLISHER

WORDS, TEARS, WORDS?

By Bayard Rustin

The murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was a tragedy for the freedom movement and a blow to the prospects for a just and civil society Perhaps only once in a century do the ideas of a man and the needs of his time meet in such a dramatic way.

Historically, Dr. King's death marked the end of one stage of the Negro struggle and the begining of another. As his leadership of the Montgomery bus boycott ushered the in struggle for desegregated public accommodations and voting rights, so his entry into Memphis opened the basic struggle for economic justice on which all other dignities are ultimately based.

The national tributes paid to him were richl ydeserved, but they are b yno means enough. Flags were flown at half mast; the President proclaimed a national day of mourning; the mass media devoted unprecedented coverage to his death and funeral; and the 150,000 people ,black and white, who marched through the streets of Atlanta was the largest crowd to ever attend a private funeral in this country.

But there is a silent tragedy in all this adulation and respect. What Dr. King would have wanted,and what he did not get, was a national commitment to the human rights and the social and economic programs for which he fought and for which he died.

Thousands who only yesterday rejected his principles of non-violent struggle are today the one's who shed the most tears: And yet they still do not commit themselves to the achievement tomorrow of integration, non-violence and the democratic society for which Dr. King stood.

For example, politicians from all over the land gathered at his funeral. But with few possible exceptions they did not run back to their legislatures to demand the programs that will solve the major problems which Dr. King struggled to solve. This proves that respect and honor are not enough.

Dr. King's death forced millions of Americans who have been parcticing racism and discrimination to confron the implications of these practices. His death seemed. to have awakened in these millions a desire for repentance. But merely having memorial services or issuing public eulogies is not sufficient repentance. Repentance consists in two acts: 1) Acknowledging one's guilt and expressing one's sorrow; and 2) dedicating and committing one's self to better conduct in the future. What I am fearful of, and what in fact seems evident, is that most people, while taking the first step, will stop short of the second.

True repentance is reflected in the new policy announced by Levitt and Sons in its full-Page ad in the New York Times the day after Dr. King(s funeral. It said in part: "As a tribute to Dr. King,this Company has adopted a new policy -- effective at once -- eliminating segregation in any place it builds-- whether in the U.S. or any other country in the world.We ask all our colleagues to adopt a similar policy without delay. The forces of bigotry and prejudice must not be permitted to prevail any longer, and we urge all builders -- large and small alike -- to do their part in making America once again the ideal of the world."

When such a policy is endorsed by all institutions and segments of this society, Dr. King's tragic death will be easier for Negro Americans, especially the youth, to understand and to bear.

Miami Herald Times

Bayard Rustin Speaks

RUSTIN EXPLAINS NEGRO ANTI-SEMITISM

NEW YORK. — Some 400 leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith were brought to their feet in a sustained ovation as Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, completed an hour-long analysis of the current Negro situation and a moving call for continued Jewish participation in the civil rights struggle. He spoke at the annual meeting of the League.

Rustin said he is "No apologist" for Negro anti-Semitism, that "it is here, it is dangerous, it must be rooted out. We cannot sweep it under the rug. What we can and had better do is understand it.'

Such anti-Semitism, the national civil rights leader held, should be seen in context, as part of a larger picture in which Negro militants are out to destroy a society which (a) promises but doesn't perform, and (b) teaches them that "violence is a force for social change."

Where anti-Semitism exists, he said, it is a reflection of a "love-hate syndrome" in which "you attack first those you love, those who have, in fact, carried your banner."

In addition to Jews, Rustin noted, the young Negro today is equally disdainful of moderate Negro leadership and the liberal community in general, including the labor movement.

Further, he said, "If you happen to be an uneducated, poorly trained Negro living in the ghetto . . . then you only see four different white people:" the policeman, the businessman, the teacher and the welfare worker. In most cities, Rustin pointed out, the last three "are predominantly Jewish.'

The businessman may keep people "alive for three and four weeks at a time . . . until they can pay for what they bought," but television sets cost more in Harlem--although extended credit time permits people to have a TV they wouldn't otherwise have, Rustin explained.

Similarly, he said, "In the ghetto one does not analyze that the whole educational system may be corrupt, that not matter how much that teacher wants to teach she cannot in those conditions - how can you teach children when you have thirty in a class and two disruptive children who need psychiatric care?

"But to the ghetto mother, there is the teacher--and she's Jewish."

The same holds for the welfare worker in a system where "spying is part" of the job, Rustin maintained. "The method by which the [redacted]ing a man in the house."

The Jew, he contended, is again being scapegoated for the evils of society.

Rustin warned that in each case where there has been rioting, moderate forces had been working for months, if not years, to effect change -- to little avail. Change came only with rioting--in Chicago, in Watts, even at Columbia University--thereby teaching militants a lesson and undercutting the moderate leadership.

"The action for dealing with the problem of justice must come quickly, " Rustin declared, "and prior to rioting, lest we further teach people that the only viable method of social change is an act of desperation.

"What I know, and what you ought to know, is the tragedy of society which will not make basic changes but will make rubber band, bandaid, mercurochrome accommodation to rioting --- so long as the rioting goes to point X. When it reaches X plus one, we are all in trouble, for then there will be repression and vigorous repression. You cannot repress on-tenth of the population, no matter how badly it behaves, without threatening the civil liberties of everyone in the nation."

Rustin has been one of the chief strategists in the nonviolent Negro struggle for equality since the forties, when he helped to develop the Congress of Racial Equality. In the fifties, with Martin Luther King, he was the chief architect of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In calling for a national land use policy and national migration policy to deal withthe influx of Negroes from southern rural areas to the cities; for a $2 minimum wage, with the small businessman subsidized by government if he cannot afford it; for a program of public works "to put people to work and without a lot of talk about pre-training;" a guaranteed income, and free medical care — Rustin asked for "the understanding, the cooperation, the aid of JEWS.

"I know how Jews must feel when they hear some Negro extremists talk," he said. "But I want you to know that if every Jew in the United States -- not just a small minority of extremists--called me a black nigger and said "We don't need you to speak out against anti-Semitism in Poland, we can handle it ourseles," I would not stop speaking out against anti-Semitism in Poland.

"I would continue to speak because I could do no other, bebecause Isaiah and Jeremiah have taught me to be against injustice wherever it is, and first of all in myself . . . The problem is man's inhumanity to man and must be fought from that basic principle regardless of race or creed."

THE LOUISVILLE DEFENDER

Stokes And Hatcher Victories May Have Ushered In New Era

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

Bayard Rustin

The past two years have not been cheerful ones for those involved in the civil rights struggle. The period begun by the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 and which encompassed the sit-in movement and the March on Washington came to an abrupt end in 1965.

Discussions about the Negro family and Negro image replaced cries for massive social and economic programs to deal with poverty and despair. Tanks instead of jobs were sent into the ghettos. "Black Power" replaced "Freedom and Jobs."

The mass media celebrated the movement for separatism and violence and almost totally ignored that segment of the movement still engaged in unspectacular but constructive groundwork among the Negro grass roots. Finally, the Congressional backlash threatened to wipe out the negligible economic programs that had been won.

In the face of this unhappy recent history, election day, November 7, 1967 became a great day for our cause. The elections in Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Indiana may well mark the end of a long series of reverses. It may well have formally and symbolically ushered in the new period of Negro politics of which I wrote two years ago in an article in Commentary magazine called "From Protest to Politics."

POLITICAL ALLIANCES

The victories of Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher demonstrate what Negro politics and Negro politicians can achieve by making necessary and intelligent political alliances with constructive elements of the liberal political community. The Montgomery bus boycott was the cat-

protest in the streets.

If the victories of Stokes and Hatcher have a similar effect in the new political period, then we can look forward, in the immediate future, to their victories being duplicated in such cities as Philadelphia, Richmond, and Newark. Not only will victories such as these prove that Negroes can be elected to top political offices, but they will also prove that Negro political power is a force to be negotiated with, and that Negro economic demands can be backed with political muscle.

We should be careful, however, not to see these victories merely as racial victories. The victory of both Stokes and Hatcher is a victory for the Negro in American politics and a triumph of, and tribute to, the personal qualities of these men. Yet, it ought to be clear that in spite of the attractiveness of their campaigns, and the support of the Negro population, neither of them could have won without the support of a significant segment of the white population.

Beyond this, it ought to be noted that in their compaigns both candidates made it clear that the social and economic reforms for which they would

life of their administrations would be for the benefit, not just of a special segment, but to the entire community.

In taking such a stand, both candidates were also affirming the principle that ought to underline the new period of the Negro political and economic struggle, and which indeed forms the basis for the development of such economic documents as the Freedom Budget. This document addresses itself not only to the needs of Negroes___who are most grievously victimized by poverty___ but also to the needs of all economically depressed Americans.

The victories of Stokes and Hatcher and the principle in which the Freedom Budget is grounded point to one clear moral and strategic imperative: that we cannot concentrate exclusively on organizing Negro power, but must organize that power in a manner, and around such programs and issues, as can attract the support of many segments of the American society.

John Factor, left, hands an envelope containing $20 to an indigent sharecropper at Tri-Union AME Church in Yazoo City, Miss., as aides Shirley Brookins and the Rev. H. H. Brookins call out more names.

Brainwashed...

BY FAY D. BELLAMY

Why do you question Black Power and accept White Power without question?
Why do you think the fight is for equality when you are already superior?
Should you not question why we permit genocide to be practiced on us?
Should you not question why your brothers are sent to murder so the white man can retain his power position?
Should you not question why white jails are filled. . filled with our young black brothers?
Should you not question why you allow these things to go on?
Should you not question why you do not question?

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: IMMEDIATE

For further information, contact:
Tom Kahn 666-9904

BAYARD RUSTIN WITHDRAWS FROM JUNE 19th MOBILIZATION

Bayard Rustin, at a press conference this afternoon, made the following statement:

Gentlemen:

Thank you for coming.

In my press conference yesterday morning, I reported to you that I had suspended my activities in connection with the June 19th Mobilization to Support the Poor People's Campaign.

I made clear that I could not resume these activities until Rev. Ralph Abernathy and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had satisfactorily clarified the status of the 14-point agreement which was the basis of my assuming the responsibility of National Coordinator of the Mobilization.

I further stated that serious and conclusive discussions toward such a clarification had to be underway by noon today. I want you to know that this deadline was not established out of personal irritation. Nor was it intended as an ultimatum to cause embarrassment to anyone. Rather, it was based on the assessment that indecision on this matter beyond noon today would render me incapable of organizing a massive and successful Mobilization.

I know from long experience that large numbers of people cannot be enlisted in such a Mobilization unless they clearly understand its aims, objectives and tactics.

I must now report to you, with deep personal regret, that I have been compelled to send the following telegram to Rev. Ralph Abernathy, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Chairman of the Poor People's Campaign:

> Dear Ralph:
>
> As you know, I accepted the responsibility of National Coordinator for the June 19th Mobilization only at your urgent request and on the basis of a 14-point agreement which we made on May 19th.
>
> In response to uncertainty and confusion generated by recent statements, I have repeatedly sought meaningful and enforceable clarification of this agreement. These efforts having failed, I am left with no choice but to withdraw as national coordinator of the Mobilization.
>
> You must know that I take this step with the profoundest regret and sorrow. You must also know that this action does not in the slightest diminish the high personal regard and great affection that I have for you. It is for this reason that I do not wish to add in any way to the enormous burdens that are on your shoulders.
>
> Bayard

Gentlemen, I want you to know that these last sentences are not mere diplomatic rhetoric. They are heartfelt and genuine. I have known Rev. Abernathy for 15 years, during which our relationship has been one of trust, confidence and honesty. He has inherited a grave responsibility, and he faces difficult problems.

Rev. Abernathy has not asked me to resign. If my resignation can dispel discord that is harmful to our cause, I shall feel completely gratified.

Now, gentlemen of the press, I ask your cooperation. I do not wish to be drawn into any controversies on this matter. I have said all that I can say now. I must ask you to excuse me without questions.

I appreciate your coming. Thank you

******

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release Immediate

For further information, contact: Rustin Column

The Disease of Racism

by Bayard Rustin

Mahatma Gandhi, the great revolutionary of this century, who led India to independence often said, "One becomes the thing he hates." And there is disturbing evidence that some black youth today have begun to accept the very worst ideas and concepts that were employed by Southern white racists to brutalize and emasculate black people.

The racist argues that their culture is threatened by blacks and that segregation is the only policy to insure racial purity. Now, we find black extremists arguing that separation is the only course to be followed if black identity is to be nurtured and maintained.

The racist contends that whiteness is in itself a value that supersedes all other values. Love, affection, truth and justice are to be sacrificed on the alter of whiteness when white culture is "endangered." Now we find some black people contending that blackness is a value that supersedes all others and that the old fashioned notions of fair play, consideration and honesty will occasionally need to be abandoned if the black community is to be perserved.

The racist violates the democratic process. They use fear, economic pressure and threats. Their slogan is, "Keep the black from the polls." Given the fact that scores of black men and women have been lynched in seeking the right to vote, it is ironic today to hear so many black people argue that the vote is useless. The expression of such sentiments in the black community must bring much solace to the hearts of Eastland, Wallace and Thurmond.

The racists have always argued that the Jews and the "Niggers" are primarily responsible for all that is wrong in the United States and that they should go back where they came from. Today, there are black people who have borrowed these attitudes toward the Jews, and who now argue that the Jews are primarily responsible for all that is wrong in the ghetto.

The racist, in his insecurity, bolsters his sagging ego by calling black men "boys"; by calling black women "Negresses," and by calling black people, in general, "boots," "spooks," "niggers," etc. Now we find young black people calling all white people (good, bad, and indifferent) "honky," "whitey," "blued-eyed devils," and "pigs."

The racist uses economic pressure, brutality and threats of death not only to supress black people, but also to supress white people who support the civil rights struggle. Their aim is to contain "the nigger lover." and to act as a veto power over men of good will. Now we find some black extremists using threats, insults and intimidation against those forces in the black community who seek the cooperation of white in our struggle for justice.

This whole process raises for the black community some very serious questions: Do we believe that we can make progress adopting the very values and concepts that have brutalized us? Do we believe that we can make progress by abandoning the very values and concepts that have undergirded the all to limited progress we have made to date? Are we to become the thing we hate?

# # #

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 666-9510
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediate

For further information, contact: Tom Kahn

Bayard Rustin
on
Shooting of Senator Kennedy

The shooting of Senator Kennedy is shocking and incredible. Coming before we have recovered from the assassination of Dr. King, it strikes another blow at the soul of this nation. Like Dr. King, Senator Kennedy is identified with the cause of America's poor and downtrodden. We can no longer confine blame to deranged individuals. An atomsphere of hate and fear has been created by the violent, rhetoric of demagogues, by a disintegration of trust and confidence.

This disintegration will continue so long as this nation is frustrated by its inability either to renounce its ideals or to live up to them. It is tragic that men of renowned dedication are the victime of this national sickness.

This country will not rediscover its purpose until the political and social stalemate is broken and we move forward toward the vision that men like Dr. King and Senator Kennedy put before the nation.

I pray for Senator Kennedy and his family.

# # #